

42

1 April – 30 June 1958

Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

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"So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote.... the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being."

Indira Gandhi

Rs 1000

**Selected
works of
Jawaharlal
Nehru**



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Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Second Series

Volume Forty Two

(1 April – 30 June 1958)

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FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

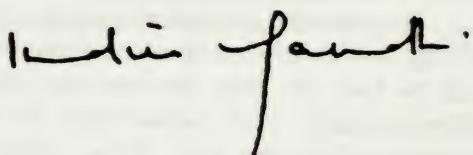
When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.



New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

This volume covers the period 1 April to 30 June 1958. During this time, the country was faced with problems of shortage of both foreign exchange and food. The foreign exchange crunch was such that the National Development Council suggested cutting down the outlay of the Second Five Year plan from Rs 4,800 crores to Rs 4,500 crores. But Nehru, taking a long-term view, decided to retain the original figure. However, it meant tightening of the purse strings and cutting down on avoidable expenditure.

He exhorted the nation to increase productivity and emphasised the role of the community development programme in nation building. Nehru envisioned national progress to be in the direction of socialism. However, for him there could be no socialism without democracy. Any policy that was to be initiated in the socialist direction had to carry the people along. Nehru was totally committed to achieving rapid economic growth with self reliance and equity, within the framework of a democratic polity with full civil liberties.

The polity, however, was beset with many problems. Chief Ministers of Orissa and Mysore had to resign on account of groupism and factional politics. Nehru had to look into a number of corruption charges against the Chief Minister of Punjab. He was quite distressed by casteism, communalism and the growth of petty politics. All this led to his announcement on 29 April 1958 of his intention to retire from Prime Ministership, at least for some time. However, he had to abandon his plan to resign respecting the overwhelming wish of the Congress Party in Parliament and many other leaders. Even US President Eisenhower wanted Nehru to continue in office given the international situation.

The international situation was rather worrisome. There was no progress in the efforts to hold a Summit Conference to ease cold war tensions. There were also signs of a growing ideological rigidity in the communist countries as was clear from the execution of former Hungarian Prime Minister Imre Nagy as also the strident criticism of Yugoslavia by both the Soviet Union and China. Developments elsewhere too engaged Nehru's attention: civil war in Indonesia and Lebanon; the Algerian crisis and its repercussions in France.

As usual, a lot of time and energy was devoted to India's relationship with Pakistan. Frequent cross-border firings from East Pakistan, the prolonged negotiations regarding the Indus waters under the auspices of the World Bank, and the recommendations of Frank Graham on Kashmir—all these were pressing issues to be addressed. On Kashmir, Nehru rejected third-party mediation, suggested both by Graham and President Eisenhower, to solve the Kashmir issue.

In his statement in Parliament and in his letters to President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, Nehru clearly set out the Indian position on negotiations with Pakistan.

In Kashmir, the re-arrest of Sheikh Abdullah made Nehru unhappy but he supported the decision of the Jammu & Kashmir Government to proceed against Abdullah given his ‘anti-national’ activities. However the anti-India propaganda unleashed by the Pakistan media following Abdullah’s arrest was disquieting.

In the midst of all this, Nehru went on a five-day visit to Kerala, the first State to be ruled by the Communist Party of India. He also managed to spend about a month at Manali in the Kulu Valley to rest, read and reflect. However, papers, files and messages pursued him there too. He made use of the leisure at Manali to write a rather long letter to Home Minister G.B. Pant, articulating his views on the Hindi-Urdu debate.

The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has, as in the past, granted access to the papers of Jawaharlal Nehru and other relevant collections. Shrimati Sonia Gandhi graciously permitted us to consult the papers in her possession, referred to as the JN Collection. The Secretariats of the President and Prime Minister, the Ministries of External Affairs, Home Affairs and Irrigation, the National Archives of India, the Sahitya Akademi, the Planning Commission, the All India Radio and *The Daily Telegraph*, London, have allowed us to use the relevant material in their possession.

Last but not least, it gives us pleasure in acknowledging the help and support we received from our colleagues in the creation of this volume. Indeed, we are deeply indebted to Consulting Editor Antony Thomas and to Sangam Lal, Geeta Kudaisya, Amrit Tandon, Shantisri Banerji, Etee Bahadur, Sain Dutta Das, Syed Ali Kazim, Anish Raveendran, Kalyan Kumar, Saumya Dey, Saroj Bishoyi, Mohammed Khalid Ansari, Fareena Ikhlas Faridi, M. Christhu Doss and Habib Manjar, all of whom rendered scholarly assistance in the collection of archival and other material and its subsequent organisation. We are no less deeply indebted to Malini Rajani, Saroja Ananthakrishnan, N.C. Bali, B.C. Minhas and Chandra Murari Prasad for preparing the script for the press. With their labour and commitment, it has been possible to place this volume, with its rich historical data, before the scholarly community and the general public, interested in the life and works of Jawaharlal Nehru.

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6 April 1958

With Indira Gandhi and Lal Bahadur Shastri at Okhla
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"What Does He Mean?" A cartoon from *Shankar's Weekly*,
13 April 1958

Inaugurating Mahatma Gandhi College,
Trivandrum, 24 April 1958

Unveiling the portrait of President Rajendra Prasad
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With Chief Minister Namboodiripad and his Cabinet,
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Receiving the salute at INS Venduruthy, Naval Base,
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Laying the foundation stone for an Engineering College,
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With G.B. Pant and Turkish Prime Minister
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With King Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah and Queen
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Holiday Again: A cartoon from *Shankar's Weekly*,
15 June 1958

ABBREVIATIONS

ADC	aide-de-camp
AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIIMS	All India Institute of Medical Sciences
AIR	All India Radio
AITUC	All India Trade Union Congress
AMS Division	Americas Division, Ministry of External Affairs
BHU	Banaras Hindu University
CID	Central Investigation Department
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPP	Congress Parliamentary Party
CPWD	Central Public Works Department
CSWB	Central Social Welfare Board
CWC	Congress Working Committee
DIB	Director, Intelligence Bureau
DPIO	Deputy Principal Information Officer
DTP	Diphtheria, Tetanus and Pertussis Vaccine
DVC	Damodar Valley Corporation
ECAFE	Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
GOC	General Officer Commanding
HMS	Her (Or His) Majesty's Ship
IAC	Indian Airlines Corporation
IAS	Indian Administrative Service
IBRD	International Bank for Rural Development
ICA	International Cooperation Administration
ICAR	Indian Council of Agricultural Research
ICFTU	International Conference of Free Trade Union
ICSC	International Council for Supervision and Control
IFAS	Indian Frontier Administrative Service
IFS	Indian Foreign Service
ILO	International Labour Organisation
INA	Indian National Army
INS	Indian Naval Ship
INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress
ISI	Indian Statistical Institute
JCO	Junior Commanding Officer

GENERAL PERSPECTIVES

1. A Blueprint for Development¹

Mr Chairman,² Mr Speaker,³ Mr Governor,⁴ Chief Minister⁵ and other dignitaries,

There are so many distinguished people present here that I cannot name all of them. You have heard many speeches in English just now and must have undoubtedly benefited from them. So, now I wish to say something in my broken Hindustani.

Two days ago, I received a letter from some people, and later a couple of telegrams to the effect that I would be committing a big mistake and an atrocity by laying the foundation stone of this building⁶ in Chandigarh at this time. They had thought that there was love for the common people in my heart and here I was doing something which would be a wasteful expenditure and hurt the people at a time when they were hard up.⁷ I was a little perturbed because I had heard nothing like this before. I remember that about two and a half months earlier this foundation stone was to be laid by our President Dr Rajendra Prasad and it was proper that it should have been done by him. He occupies the highest office in the land, and is an elder whom all of us love and respect. But he became slightly indisposed then and could not come. Then this date was fixed, and when you invited me I gladly accepted your invitation. So, these things have been going on for a long time and I had received no complaints nor any objections. I began to wonder what could have happened during the last four-five days that some people were raising objections. Was it because I was coming or what was it? The only new development has been my coming here in place of the President, for which all preparations had been made earlier. I could not

1. Speech while laying the foundation stone of the Legislative Assembly building, Chandigarh, 3 April 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Kapoor Singh was the Chairman of the Punjab Legislative Council. Gurdial Singh Dhillon, the Speaker of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, was also present.
3. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, the Speaker of the Lok Sabha, attended the function as a special invitee.
4. C.P.N. Singh was the Governor of Punjab.
5. Partap Singh Kairon was the Chief Minister of Punjab.
6. The three buildings in the Capitol Complex—the Assembly, the Secretariat and the High Court—are representative of the modernist and innovative approach applied by Le Corbusier in Chandigarh. The Assembly building was the third to be completed in the Complex.
7. Among the critics of this expenditure were Ram Saran Chand Mittal, former Speaker of the PEPSU Vidhan Sabha, and Thakurdas Bhargava, Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Hissar, Punjab.

KLM	Koninklijke Luchtvaart Maatschappij Or Royal Dutch Airlines
KPCC	Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee
LIC	Life Insurance Corporation
MA	Master of Arts
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MP	Member of Parliament
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NDC	National Development Council
NDMC	New Delhi Municipal Corporation
NEF	New Education Fellowship
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NHTA	Naga Hills-Tuensang Area
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
O&M Division	Organisation & Methods Division
PCC	Pradesh Congress Committee
PEPSU	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
PPS	Principal Private Secretary
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PTI	Press Trust of India
PWD	Public Works Department
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organisation
TB	Tuberculosis
TCM	Technical Cooperation Mission (of the United States)
TNCC	Tamil Nadu Congress Committee
UAR	United Arab Republic
UCRC	United Central Refugee Council
UGC	University Grants Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UN/UNO	United Nations / United Nations Organisation
UNCIP	United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPI	United Press of India
UPSC	Union Public Service Commission
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VIP	Very Important Person
WHO	World Health Organisation

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

think of anything else. Even my coming here had been decided more than 15 or 20 days ago. So, I was perplexed as to what the matter could be. I have not been able to get a satisfactory answer just as there are many other problems in Punjab to which I cannot find answers. Well, anyhow, it is obvious that I could not have changed my programme overnight and ordered an enquiry into the matter. Neither could I have phoned and asked to postpone the function because I had received a telegram asking me not to come, to postpone it. It is obvious that such things are not done. I am unable to understand why these objections have been raised at the last moment and cannot say if they carry any weight. But I would like to say something regarding a matter of general principle.

First of all, 10 or 11 years ago, when India became free and Pakistan came into being, a storm broke out in Punjab and as you know, innumerable refugees came here from Pakistan. It was a strange spectacle and it continued for long. Punjab was worst affected by it, more than any other part of India. One of the questions that arose at that time was, where should be the capital of Punjab. The debate continued for a year and a half. Some people wanted Jullundur, others Ambala and yet others Ludhiana or Amritsar—all the big cities were mentioned in turn. But ultimately it was decided to build the new city of Chandigarh as the capital of Punjab.

What was the situation in the country when this decision was taken? We were facing tremendous problems and shortages of everything. But the people of Punjab decided to build a new capital. It is obvious that it is quite expensive to build a new city and the time taken is also quite long. Yet, it was decided to build a new city. The argument that it is a wasteful expenditure to build this Assembly building is not new and it has been advanced forcefully ever since the new city of Chandigarh began to be built. From one point of view it is a very valid argument, for why should such huge buildings be built when there are thousands of other tasks to be done? Yet the people and the Government of Punjab and ultimately the Government of India accepted and liked this idea, and a vast barren land was dotted with buildings and gradually a new city began to emerge.

As you know, all over India many activities, big and small, are going on. We have drawn up five-year plans and are spending enormous sums of money on them. It requires a great deal of hard work, and there is considerable tension. But the process goes on and India is slowly advancing despite great odds. If anyone is asked suddenly what are the special things that have happened in India during the last ten years, I do not know what the answer would be. Many answers are possible. Many things have happened in the north, south, east and west, in every state in India. Yet, when one thinks of the achievements of the last ten years two names which spring rapidly to the mind are Chandigarh and Bhakra-Nangal. Why? As you are aware, Bhakra-Nangal is a project on such a vast scale that visitors from any country in the world are impressed with the

spirit of daring and courage shown by our country in taking up such great tasks. They are impressed not only by the projects themselves but also by the nation which has taken the decision to undertake them. Then, when they see the newly emerging Chandigarh, they see a new kind of city being built. Some people like the new buildings, others do not, and there are heated arguments about the designs. I will not go into that. But, it is a fact that people come from far and wide to see Chandigarh. If you go abroad and talk about Punjab, you will find that many people have heard about Amritsar because it is a famous city on account of the Darbar Sahib.⁸ But apart from that, they know neither of Jullundur, nor of Ambala, nor of Ludhiana. However, everyone has certainly heard of Chandigarh. Just imagine, it is a new city, still under construction, and already it is being talked about abroad. It is because Chandigarh is a new type of city and all kinds of new experiments are being made here with the advice of famous architects of the world. Therefore, it has become a special attraction and architects come from all over the world to see what is happening here and see the new designs, whether they like them or not. Both these things are happening as is natural in any new experiment. There are many people who do not like any deviation whatsoever from the old ways. They want to follow the old, beaten tracks, even if they are full of pot-holes and ruts, and do not like to choose a new path.

Well, Chandigarh has become famous, especially among the architects. It has been described in many newspapers of the world as a new city being built in Punjab in India with the help of the best brains in the world. People come to see it and learn something from it. Some like the new designs and others do not. If you ask me, I shall also tell you that I like certain things and cannot understand many other things. Opinions are bound to differ. I saw this place when there were no buildings and since then I have come almost every year and seen these buildings gradually coming up and the city beginning to take shape. There is no doubt about it that it will grow even more in the next four, five years and become more famous in its own way, not like Ambala or Ludhiana or Amritsar. But I am not talking about its beauty. What impresses me is that the decision to build this city was taken at a time when Punjab was passing through terrible circumstances. This is a mark of courage and vision, a tendency to look towards the future rather than backwards. A nation or a people who look ahead progress very fast. Those who look back and wallow in self-pity always remain backward. Life presents good things as well as bad; happiness and difficulties. You cannot have one without the other. Similarly, there are ups and downs in the life of a nation too. The question is how we face them, whether with courage or by

8. Built in the sixteenth century, the Harmandir Sahib or the Darbar Sahib, also called the Golden Temple, is one of the oldest gurdwaras.

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moaning about our fate. It is important whether we tend to look to the future or to the past. It is obvious that if you keep looking backwards, you cannot go very far. There are many people in India who keep looking backwards. If all the people had been like that, our country could never have become free, nor could ever advance. But if everybody looks forward, the country will progress very fast. So, the symbols of our far-sightedness are welcome because they are also the symbols of a changing atmosphere in the country. Therefore, Bhakra and Chandigarh are of great significance as all of you know. They are significant in yet another way because they have become symbols of progress, daring and a new India, a new Punjab, in fact, of building a new world, instead of living in an old rut. If you look at these things from this point of view, you will find that Chandigarh and, for that matter, certain other things in this country have acquired a much deeper and far-reaching significance. It is not merely that you are building beautiful houses or a beautiful city, though that is also a good thing, but the more important thing is that you have helped to create an atmosphere in Punjab and in India, of looking into the future, of making progress, and having the courage not to flinch in the face of difficulties. This is the most important thing and if we succeed in this, other things will follow automatically. So, this is how you should look at Chandigarh. At least, this is how I look at it and have watched it grow over the last three years as one would watch a dear child grow in strength and gradually become a youth. It makes me happy to see this symbol of a growing India.

There is one thing more. We have invited the best architects from all over the world to come and advise us on building Chandigarh. There is no dearth of engineers in Punjab, perhaps there are more engineers in Punjab than in any other State, and I think some of the best engineers are there. But building a house or a city is not the work of engineers alone. It is also the job of architects and town planners. These are new professions. Indians are also training themselves for such new professions, but we were far-sighted and invited some of the best professionals from outside, even though it meant spending more money. Some of them are present here today. One of them, the famous French architect, Le Corbusier,⁹ is seated here on the dais. The new breed of architects does not believe in building houses by just placing brick upon brick. They plan the entire surroundings before building a house—alignment of roads, ventilation, aesthetics and a thousand and one things which would not normally occur to others. The architects have become famous because they take these things into consideration. We invited them because we wanted this city to be built in a new way. The old types of cities have become outmoded and do not bear any relation to the modern times. They were all right in the olden days. The world has now changed. During the British rule a new type of architecture came into vogue which was neither

9. Adviser to the Punjab Government for the Chandigarh project.

Indian nor British but a mixture of both. Now, the difficulty is that we have become used to that kind of architecture and even a slight deviation from it annoys people. This type of architecture is not particularly beautiful; in fact, it is extremely ugly. Secondly, it is not quite suited to Indian conditions, climate, etc. It was a product of the British brain. We have to get out of this rut now and adopt a new style for the cities and buildings which will come up in the future. The old style of architecture or that of the British period is no longer suited to our needs. A new experiment is being made in the country now. New buildings are coming up. But in Chandigarh we have got a special opportunity of building a whole new city which will be completely Indian in design and will have all the modern amenities and facilities. This is the effort that is being made. I do not say that we will succeed in our effort or that the new city will become a model for others to copy. But many features of Chandigarh have already become a model and I am sure that not only this city and Punjab but the whole of India will benefit by the method that we are adopting.

Well, I have come here whenever I have been invited.¹⁰ Nowadays, I do not feel much inclined to run around too much or take part in such functions. But Chandigarh has drawn me here because, as I said, Chandigarh in one way and Bhakra-Nangal in a different way have become symbols of the new Punjab and the new India that we are building. So, I am present here. I do not care much about this ceremony of laying the foundation stone. I prefer to see something completed. It has sometimes happened that months or years have passed without anything being done after laying the foundation stone. One of my colleagues had a strange experience in Delhi. He laid the foundation stone of a building with great fanfare and a few months later we heard that it had been stolen away. Well, there is no such fear here. But I feel that it is always better to get the inauguration of a building done after it is completed because it is difficult to steal away a building. So, I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to come here once again and participate in this function.

I would like to tell you one thing more. I feel that we should not spend too much money on bricks and mortar. As far as possible we must try to save money on cement and bricks and mortar. You will ask how then can a building be built. As you heard just now, a building serves many purposes. One, it is obvious that it is used to house an office, a college, a hospital, or even a factory. But there are some buildings which have a special stature of their own. They are all symbols. Take the example of your Assembly or the Vidhan Sabha, or whatever you call it here, the place which is the nerve centre of power in Punjab, where laws for the entire state are passed and representatives from all over Punjab congregate. Such institutions and buildings acquire a special stature. The officers and members do not have a separate stature of

10. Nehru visited Chandigarh on 9 November 1957. For his speech on this occasion, see *Selected Works (Second Series)*, Vol. 40, pp. 417-429.

their own except as the officers and representatives of Punjab. So, a building which houses the Parliament or the Assembly chambers must have a special character because it is the symbol of an independent country or an institution, a law-making institution. It is a part of our Constitution. I do not wish that such institutions should be housed in huts or tents, because that would induce a casual attitude towards them, which is not proper. Similarly, a high court is not a casual institution; it is regarded as the house of justice. So, it should be a strong thing, a symbol of justice and law, even if you change your laws. Therefore, such buildings become symbols, the pillars on which the country stands and must have a special character. So, I am in favour of buildings which can last for a long time.

At the same time I am not in favour of spending too much money on bricks and mortar. Let me tell you what I mean. I want that education should spread fast and every village must have a school. According to the estimate of the CPWD, I think it will cost hundreds of crores of rupees to build one school in each village, merely primary schools. I do not remember exactly but it will require six or seven thousand crores of rupees which we do not have. But that does not mean that we should stop educating the children. So, the only way is to forget the CPWD designs and plan new types of school buildings, because education is more important than the PWD designs. I mean that a school is made not by a building but by teachers. Teachers can teach without a building but a building cannot make up for the lack of teachers. Therefore, I am fully convinced—I am not talking of cities but of villages—that the old PWD designs for school buildings are absolutely useless and should be shelved. The effort should be to hold classes in the open under the trees and a small structure can be provided to keep the equipment, books, maps, etc. It would be good for the children's health too, to sit in the open, in fresh air, and the money that is saved by not building a huge building can be utilised to pay better salaries to the teachers so that they are accorded a higher status in society. This will eventually lead to a better quality of education. I do not mean that there should be no buildings at all. We will build them gradually, but at the moment it is more important to spread education fast. If we go by the PWD designs, our whole life will be spent and perhaps the task may not be completed even by the succeeding generations. We cannot accept such a proposition. We want that every child must get good education and that the teachers should be good and well paid. All these things can be done once you give up the idea that there must be proper buildings for schools. Let us start schools in open fields and gradually construct buildings for them. The villagers can take up that task.

Similarly, I would say that hospitals are extremely expensive institutions and require enormous amounts of money, especially the big city hospitals. I want that there should be hospitals in all the villages. Again, if you stick to conventional designs for hospitals, you can never build them in all the villages. Recently, I saw a hospital in a village in Meerut district. It was built by the

villagers and handed over to a committee of the village for running it properly. It is an ordinary 24-bed hospital with ordinary equipment but has all the essential things. I do not remember exactly but I think in all they spent about 30 to 35 thousand rupees. Here, whenever a hospital is mentioned, immediately it becomes a question of lakhs of rupees to procure all kinds of expensive equipment. That is all very well, but treatment can be done even without them. Let these things be there in the cities.

So, as I was saying, our thinking has become unrealistic, we want to compete with the Soviet Union and the United States. We import costly things for the cities while the villages have nothing, which is not proper. Healthcare facilities and education must be within the reach of everyone and if possible they should be free. This may not be possible immediately as we are short of funds. After all, we can spend only that much as the people of India produce in the country by their own labour. Where does the Government get the money from? It does not fall from the skies; it comes to the Government from your pockets in the form of taxes, from your earnings. So, the more you produce from the land and factories, the more you can spend on such things. At the moment our hands are tied.

I feel that there should be three fundamental things in every village. One is a village panchayat, the second is a village cooperative and the third is a village school. The panchayat is meant for political work, the cooperative is the economic pillar of rural life, and the school is for imparting education. I have not mentioned other essential things like hospitals. But these three things are most important and we must establish them in each village without much pomp and show, and with simplicity. Classes can be held under the trees and the teachers should be good and well paid, and respected in the villages. After all, it is the teachers who mould the children and are the most important individuals in society. They are bound to have an influence on the children and if you want that the children should grow well, the teachers must certainly be good.

Then, as I said, there should be cooperatives in villages which I consider extremely important. But I do not want the cooperative banks merely to give loans and credits. That is a very minor function. The cooperatives must undertake a number of tasks, almost all the tasks. Now, there is no time to go into the details. I am convinced about the necessity for cooperatives. But in spite of my repeatedly telling them there seems to be no impact on the people. I am fully convinced that there should be small cooperatives each consisting of one or two villages. They should be like a large family in which everyone knows everyone else. The moment the cooperatives become too large, they do not remain informal and there is less mutual trust among their members. Moreover, then the government's role becomes more prominent. I do not want this because it is against the present trend in India. In my opinion a real cooperative is one in which the government has no role. The government can certainly help it but the

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cooperative should not be run by government officials. That is not a real cooperative, as a real cooperative is an institution in which the people work in cooperation with each other and become self-reliant and self-confident. The moment a government official takes up the work, there remains no question of self-reliance. The government should only help occasionally.

In short, we want to build a structure from below which is strong and stable. There is no real stability if something is imposed from above. When the villages become strong and self-reliant, when all the five lakh villages start progressing, nothing will be able to shake that structure. The basis for this, as I said, is the village panchayat, the village cooperative and a good village school with good teachers who are respected.

Well, I have digressed from the main subject. Actually I came here to do a specific task which is now done. I congratulate the people of Chandigarh for the way in which the town is growing, for it has become the symbol of a developing Punjab. Many things have happened in Punjab in the recent past which has troubled us greatly. I do not wish to go into them. But I would like to say only one thing that Punjab is a wonderful State whose people are to be found all over the world. It is not becoming of you to be constantly indulging in petty feuds, especially when Punjab and India are constantly undergoing a test, when the whole world is watching us— what we are doing and how we are progressing. If there is a little setback, it pleases our enemies. The moment there is some infighting amongst us, long telegrams are immediately sent to various parts of the globe reporting that Indians are fighting among themselves and that they are a useless people. It pleases our enemies no end. We must not do any such thing.

There is one thing more. Chandigarh is being built for the last ten years and it will take another 10 or 20 years to be completed and then it will be a strong city, full of character. We want our country to become strong and stable and we must not allow one party to suppress other parties and indulge in petty feuds to frustrate our efforts. Such things are not becoming of a nation composed of big individuals engaged in big tasks. We are engaged in the task of nation-building by peaceful methods in a world full of violence and turmoil. We cannot succeed if we follow a policy of fighting for, and grabbing, high posts. We must do everything in a proper manner, with complete honesty and integrity, always bearing in mind that we are small cogs in the big machinery that is India. We are participating in the mighty task of building a new India whose honour is ours. So we must follow the right path and do nothing that may give India a bad name. *Jai Hind!*

2. Cooperative Movement Vital for Overall Development¹

Mr President² and delegates,

The sight of this gathering here on the occasion of this conference of the All India Cooperative Union³ gives one the idea that the cooperative movement is healthy and strong in India. Whether that idea is justified by facts or not, you know better than I. It is, I believe, healthy but considering the problems before us and the size of our country, it is by no means big. It is still in its infancy, even though it might have been born half a century ago. Many of you here are persons who have devoted a considerable part of your lives to work for the cooperative movement. Therefore, you are experts and I am afraid I have had no such experience or privilege, and I can only talk to you in rather vague and general terms, not from the point of view of a practical cooperator. But before I go on to say anything else, may I express my surprise at the fact that the All India Cooperative Union or its Executive does not seem to be aware that there is such a thing as the Constitution of India and it has presumed against the terms of that Constitution to offer me some kind of a title.⁴ I have no doubt that the title denotes the affection and kindness for me, but if it is a title, as it was deemed to be, then it is unconstitutional. So, whatever I may speak to you is not from the experience of a practical cooperator as most of you are, and you will, therefore, forgive me if I say something which seems to you, well, not very practical.

The whole idea behind this cooperative movement has appealed to me for a large number of years, even though I was not personally involved in it—the philosophy underlying it, the social purpose, the way in which it seemed to steer between various extreme courses of action which I did not wholly approve of. We in India were involved for a considerable period in our struggle for

1. Speech while inaugurating the third All India Cooperative Congress, New Delhi, 12 April 1958. JN Supplementary Papers, NMML.

More than 1,300 delegates from all over the country attended the two-day Congress, which was organised by the All India Cooperative Union. Representatives from the USA, the USSR, Hungary, Poland, Thailand and Sweden also addressed the Congress.

2. K.D. Malaviya, President, All India Cooperative Union, and Union Minister of State for Mines and Oil.
 3. The All India Provincial Cooperative Institutes Association, formed in 1929 as the apex body of the Indian cooperative movement, was reorganised as the All India Cooperative Union in 1954. It was renamed as the National Cooperative Union of India in 1961.
 4. The title of *Lok Mitra* (Friend of the People) was conferred on Nehru by Malaviya. Article 18 of the Indian Constitution abolished all titles and hence Nehru's contention that conferring a title on him was unconstitutional.

freedom, which naturally took the shape primarily of political freedom. But even as that struggle for political freedom developed, it became obvious that political freedom by itself was not enough. It had to have a social content in it, it had to go towards economic freedom. In the ideological sphere there have been great controversies, great movements, and I am not going into that question. But one thing seems to be progressively accepted and admitted by large numbers of people, and that is that a purely acquisitive society is not good enough, that is, a society based chiefly on acquisitive principles is not good enough under modern conditions. The State begins to interfere, therefore, to curb the tendencies of a purely acquisitive society. In every modern State, whatever its broad economic policies, the State has played a tremendously increasing part not only in dealing with matters positively but also in curbing the tendencies of the acquisitive society. The State has tended to bring about equality of opportunity, not absolute, but broadly speaking, and to diminish the tremendous differences which exist between various groups. Well, in doing so the State has naturally had the tendency to interfere. It had to. Sometimes, that interference may have gone a little too far according to the opinion of some people and even invaded the freedom of the individual a bit too much. No individual has, of course, absolute freedom. There is no absolute freedom in these matters. They are all relative. But if we value individual freedom, as many of us do, how are we to find a balance between keeping that individual freedom and at the same time getting out of the clutches of an acquisitive society where indeed individual freedom only rests in theory, not in practice?

Now, the cooperative movement seems to offer a philosophy, a method of approach, which would aim at this kind of social purpose without infringing too much on individual freedom. Therefore, naturally many of us were attracted to that idea. Many years ago—I should think about a quarter of a century ago or more—our great national organisation, the Indian National Congress, accepted for its objectives the creed of a cooperative commonwealth for India.⁵ Other things, too, were there. But at that time it was a cooperative commonwealth. We were often asked as to what that meant, and it was not particularly easy to define what it meant. I found great difficulty in defining it in precise terms. Of course, I could speak at length about the general purpose and the general idea lying behind it but to define it precisely was rather difficult. That, of course, did not mean that the idea was a weak one. In fact, it simply meant that the idea was not a rigidly patent one so as to put it within the four corners of its definition. It was, nevertheless, a good idea. I have mentioned this to you just to indicate

5. Nehru propounded this idea in his Presidential Address at the Lahore Congress in 1929. However, the amendment to Article I of the Congress Constitution regarding the creed of the cooperative commonwealth in India was made in April 1948 at the AICC meeting in Bombay.

how our minds have turned to this cooperative principle even in the entire organisation of the State itself, and this, too, not in the last few years, but in the last 20 or 30 years or even more. We came to that through our search for a social ideal which would satisfy the various other urges that we had. The initial urge, of course, was the political urge, the urge of political freedom. The second urge was of social advance and social equality—how far we could bring it about progressively—of equal opportunity for people, and of removing class and caste distinctions which came in the way of that equality and so on and so forth. And you will remember that that is always basic to our movement, to our thinking and to our activity—and doing all this by peaceful action. In fact, the words used were stronger: “by non-violent means”.

Many of the countries have developed various philosophies of action, and in many ways there is a similarity in regard to ideals, but no other country ever laid stress in this particular way on peaceful action even to achieve revolutionary ends. As you know, under Mahatma Gandhi's inspiration we endeavoured to do so, and with a large measure of success, in so far as political action and political results were concerned, and also to some extent at least in so far as social results were concerned. All those urges gradually led us, not perhaps after very clear thinking, but still groping our way to the light, towards the cooperative way of functioning through the cooperative movement as thought of in ever larger numbers till it embraced the entire country and the entire commonwealth and that is why we made that part of Article I of our Constitution more than a quarter of a century ago. Then came independence to us and our Constituent Assembly framed a Constitution for our country under which we live now. They have not used those words “cooperative commonwealth” because I suppose it was all vague for an enactment of that kind, but in their Directive Principles of State Policy, and in the Preamble to the Constitution they have laid down what we aim at in the realm of social policy and that, I think, is sought to be realised by advancing this cooperative method in our various activities. Indeed, I do not quite see how else we can function, that is, satisfactorily.

On the other hand we have inevitably to develop our industry, heavy industry, big industry, because without that there can be no industrialisation of this country, unless we have that heavy base. We are determined to bring about an industrial revolution in this country. We are determined in the course of this present generation to go the way the other countries have gone during a much longer period of time, and we are determined to have this industrial revolution and to enter into a bigger revolution, the atomic revolution, the revolution of the atomic age. We are further determined, at any rate we hope, to bring this about in our own way, in our own peaceful, democratic way, keeping alive some of the ideals that have moved the Indian race for ages past. I am not referring to the out-of-date customs, I am not referring to the many evil things that have grown round us through these hundreds and thousands of years, but to some

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basic ideas, basic way of thinking, basic toleration, which have, I believe, been evident for long periods in our history.

Now, as I said, we have to have industries. If we industrialise, the primary condition for industrialisation in India is success in agriculture, success on land. Unless we have a sound and progressive agrarian economy, ever increasing its production capacity, there can be and will be no industrialisation in the country. It is important, whatever our feelings may be. That is the logic of the situation. In addition to all this, on the one hand we talk about heavy industries which are essential. If we have to industrialise, not all the light industries of the world will make this country industrialised, unless we have heavy industries, the basic industries, the mother industries, which provide the wherewithal for the growth of industry. While we talk of that on the one hand, many of our friends from abroad are surprised that we also talk of cottage industries, household industries, at the other end of the scale. What exactly does this mean? Is it not rather thinking on primitive lines? I am not entering into any argument now, except to say that considering the conditions in India as they are—and we have to consider the conditions here and not blindly try to follow any dictates or any example of another country; that way lies folly, this blindly following somebody else regardless of the conditions here—I have not a shadow of doubt that there is no escape for us but to try to follow the policy that we are pursuing, which is the right policy.

So far as the big industry, the basic industry, is concerned, we are aiming at the State controlling it. But what about the growth of the small industries, the household industries, the cottage industries, what about land itself? We do not want the State to control it. We are in the modern world. If you have too small units to work, whether they are cottage, household or small industries, or small patches of land, you cannot get the full benefits of modern science. You remain backward necessarily. What is the choice for us? Is the State to swallow everything? Talking of land, you cannot have large farms under private owners. Obviously not. We are not prepared to give it to private owners. What is the choice? There is no escape, I say, except the way of the cooperative movement, where you avoid this big-scale ownership by individuals or groups but where you want to have the advantages of bigness, so that you may profit by modern science, technology and the rest. That is where the cooperative movement, to my thinking, comes in and fills the gap or is a bridge between the two, and it has become important as it was in the past, it has become ever so much more important in the present day in India, where we are advancing consciously, deliberately in particular directions. As a live dynamic movement, it has got its problems, of course. Your president referred and is going to refer, as I see from his fuller address, to State interference or State association with this movement.

I see from your annual report or survey that there is a reference made in it to important decisions taken about three years ago, when the Rural Credit Survey

Committee was appointed and that Committee presented its report to the Government.⁶ In it the Committee referred to the cooperative movement and asked for greater association of the State with that movement financially and otherwise so as, it is said, to vitalise it. Subsequently, the proposals of the Rural Credit Survey Committee in this respect were broadly accepted by our Government and they are being progressively given effect to. However, I want to make a confession to you, and that is, that I think that our Government was quite wrong in accepting some of the decisions of that Rural Credit Survey Committee, not all but some. I am sorry for it. I am responsible for it as much as anybody else. So, it is as much my fault as anybody else's. The more thought I have given to it, the more I have realised that the approach of the Rural Credit Survey Committee in some respects was not a right or sound approach and they tended to push the cooperative movement in this country in the wrong direction. What was this wrong direction? There was a tendency on the part of that Committee, well, to distrust our people, if I may say so, our common people, a tendency to think that they are not competent enough, they cannot do a job by themselves; therefore government officials must come in and help. Government money should push them up. If government money comes, that money is followed by government officials because the small cooperative has not enough resources or money or competent technical personnel. Therefore, you should have large cooperatives which can be started and helped by the government, and so on.

Now, I believe that that approach—which has certainly something to say for it, it may be argued that there is some reason behind it—was nevertheless a wrong approach, and it has given a wrong turn to our cooperative movement. Ever since I realised this, I have been trying to point this out and here on this occasion I should like to say to you, who are chiefly responsible, that that approach, even though it might bring some results locally and temporarily, pushes the cooperative movement in a direction which is not cooperative at all, which is something else, and which offends against the whole philosophy which, I believe, has grown up round this movement. Because, if it is to be a State-sponsored movement, with government officials running it, it may do some good, if the government officials are competent enough, it might do some good. But it does infinite harm in the sense that it does not allow the people to learn how to do things for themselves, how to develop a spirit of self-reliance, self-dependence, and even to make mistakes if they want to make mistakes. So, that way, I believe

6. The Committee, appointed by B. Rama Rau, the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, in 1951 under the chairmanship of A.D. Gorwala to conduct a credit survey in rural areas, had submitted its report in 1954. The recommendations covered a wide range of issues concerning not only credit but also the question of warehousing, training to run cooperative societies, reorganisation of credit institutions and State partnership in all these activities.

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this direction has done harm, although it may have done some good locally in some limited way.

Another question is about the size of the cooperatives. There has been a tendency also, I believe, derived from that reasoning of the Rural Credit Survey Committee's report, a tendency to put an end to the small cooperatives and establish bigger ones, the argument being that the bigger ones would have larger resources and can pay the employees who have been trained somewhat, and therefore can do much better work. Again, I agree that there is something in that argument and it may well achieve some temporary results, but in achieving these temporary results, possibly it will do permanent harm and will again come in the way of the very development of that spirit of self-dependence, self-reliance, of cooperating with each other, and will encourage something which, I believe, is completely wrong and which is so prevalent in this country, of just looking up to the Government for everything.

You know that I am a part of this Government but even so I feel that this looking up to the Government or adopting any policy which encourages people to look up to the Government to help them at every stage is wrong because the biggest thing that we want in India is the spirit of self-reliance. Of course, Government's business is to help. That is what the Government is for. I do not deny that. It must help but it is one thing to help and it is quite another thing to boss over. Inevitably, this tendency to boss over comes in, not so much perhaps at the top level but lower down where the petty official becomes not the petty boss but a big boss. Therefore, I would like to say quite definitely that this tendency, which was encouraged by the Rural Credit Survey report and which we, as a Government, unfortunately, adopted as it was, and had encouraged ourselves, is a bad tendency and we should try to get out of it as quickly as we can, and aim therefore at small cooperatives without official interference. Where help is necessary, naturally it should be given. Why a small cooperative? Well, for many reasons, because the bigger it becomes, the less people know each other in it. It is not an intimate organisation where people know each other and it becomes more difficult for them to cooperate with each other. Of course, at higher stages it does not matter if people do not know each other but at the village level and other places, when they know each other, it is far easier to trust each other and to work together in many ways. Therefore, I believe in the small cooperative, more or less the village cooperative of one or two villages where they are nearby. It depends not so much on one village and it may be even two or three villages that may be close where people know each other and they can have the advantages of bigger association by those cooperatives being linked up in larger areas. You can have that too but essentially they should be the small ones.

Now, I have said, and I would like to repeat here, that the three basic pillars of India right at the base should be the village panchayat, the village cooperative

and the village school. It is on these that the whole structure of India politically, economically and socially should be built up. We think naturally in terms of big things at the top: Parliament at the top, as a sovereign body, laying down the law and otherwise controlling the destinies of India. But Parliament is important only if the base from which Parliament comes is important. You cannot have Parliament floating in thin air without that strong foundation which, in the India of today, inevitably lies in the villages as well as in other places. Therefore, the importance of the village panchayat, the village cooperative and the village school.

There has been an argument, I believe, about cooperative farming. Well, first of all when we talk about the cooperative movement, obviously we do not talk just about credit societies. That is only a small part of a cooperative movement, a helpful part, but not essentially philosophically important if you want the spirit of cooperation. Certainly, you must have credit societies but we want cooperative work to grow in many ways, in as many ways as possible, and it becomes more and more essential to do that, as I said, because otherwise you cannot take advantage of modern developments in technology and the rest because of the small units distributed in India, in land, or in cottage industry, etc. They have not got the resources. They have to function together, otherwise they cannot make much progress. Therefore, cooperation should spread in every direction possible—between the small owners of land or cottage industries or various industries, producers' cooperatives, consumers' cooperatives, all kinds of other users' cooperatives and so forth. Finally comes the joint-farming cooperatives or the cooperatives doing joint farming. Somehow the argument is raised, "Oh, if you have joint farming, this is communism." When that argument is raised, one feels like replying, "Whatever that be, the gentleman who uses that argument lacks much capacity for thinking, lacks intelligence". Let us recognise it that if it is a good thing, we will have the good thing by whatever name you may call it. Discuss the thing on merits, whether it is good or bad. It is quite absurd and fantastic nonsense to say "Oh, this is anti-communism or this is communism, therefore we will not have it." This is cold war and we will not have, I hope, a cold war in discussing our matters, any matter in this country—economic or political, national or international. The question, therefore, is of the merits, whether it is desirable or not.

Also remember that in the way we function, it is obvious that whatever step we take in regard to cooperation or anything else, it has to be in the democratic context, that is, it has to get the goodwill of the people. We cannot force them. If we did it, our Government would go the next day. Unless the whole regime is changed, unless the whole system of government is changed, it cannot be done and we certainly have no idea and no desire to change the regime or system of government. Therefore, whatever is done has to be done with the goodwill of the people, with their willing consent. Let us consider this on that basis; considering it so, I have no doubt in my mind that cooperative farming is

desirable in a large number of cases. For the moment, I do not say in every case because conditions differ. It may be, for instance, that the raising of paddy requires one type of farming, raising of wheat another. Leave that out but, broadly speaking, where you have tiny patches of land, it seems to me of great advantage that those patches might be treated together. Even though they are owned separately, they should be treated together and a great deal of waste can be avoided and much progress made in a hundred ways. I need not go into these because it is easy to realise them. Therefore, let us consider this question from the point of view of merits, but before we do that, we have to increase the scope of cooperation in agriculture tremendously. It is limited today and the last step would no doubt be cooperative or joint farming with the consent of the people. We can have and we should have State farms, where this kind of thing is done, as examples or models to convince the people how good it is so that we may and they may learn. I am not a farmer. I can only speak theoretically, if I may say so. Thinking about it and discussing it with people, I am driven inevitably to the conclusion that, in conditions in India as they are, we have to go towards cooperative farming in the greater part of India—I cannot speak of every particular part—that is, individual ownership being retained but working together.

All these things we have to see in the larger context of what is happening in India and in the world. In India we are absorbed and engrossed in this tremendous work, which may be, in a limited way, said as fulfilling the Second Plan. Of course, the Second Five Year Plan is just a tiny step in a long ascent. We have to go up and up, step after step. It is a tremendous job because we want to telescope decades of endeavour and hard work within a much shorter period and we have to work hard for it and we have to work along democratic lines for it. Well, we shall and we are trying and we shall continue and we will continue to try our best. But meanwhile other things are happening. Technology is changing with amazing speed. Science is bringing new powers and other things to us with extraordinary speed. We have to keep to some extent, not much, but to some extent, abreast of those things. Take even agriculture. Take the use being made of some form of atomic energy in agriculture, isotopes and the rest. It is making tremendous difference to production. Therefore, we have to get out of our grooves. You cannot do so if you leave it to a poor individual farmer without much resource. What can he do? You have, therefore, to rely on some movement and we do not want the big zamindars and *taluqdars* and all that. We have already largely put an end to that system. The only way is, therefore, the cooperative movement which thinks in terms of the individual, the small individual, keeping his individuality intact, his freedom intact, and yet on the cooperative plane can function in a big way and take advantage of science and technology.

Now one more word. You know of the development of our community movement, the community blocks and the national extension service. It is quite easy and quite legitimately possible to criticise it as not having come up to the mark in many places. Nevertheless, it is one of the most remarkable movements, not only in India but anywhere; and in the course of the last five years or a little more, what it has done in India is, I believe, rather surprising. Again, I say it is full of weakness and all that, naturally. But the future of India, especially of rural India, is going to be very largely influenced, as it is being influenced, by this movement. Now, I want the cooperative movement to become bigger and bigger and, therefore, I want a close understanding between the cooperative movement and these community development schemes and blocks. In what form or way, I do not quite know myself, but this close understanding must be there, because these are the two vital movements in India building from below and they have to work hand in hand.

I have ventured to place some ideas before you for your consideration and I am grateful for this opportunity given to me to address you. I inaugurate this conference.

3. The Concept of Democratic Socialism¹

We have to mould our thinking in the light of the tremendous technological progress taking place today. The pace of its progress is so great that our thinking tends to become out of date.

The effect of the Russian Revolution and Gandhiji's teachings on Indian thought is tremendous. So far as our country is concerned, Gandhiji's teachings and personality have the most profound effect on our minds and movements. I myself do not understand the 'trusteeship theory' of Gandhiji, just as I am unable to comprehend many other ideas of his, but I have realised that Gandhiji's teachings should not be taken literally; it is the spirit underlying them that really matters.

Karl Marx has given a brilliant exposition of the social forces of his time, but many of his theories have not come true. He was a great man in many ways, but to make him a prophet of the future is wrong. The idea of socialism is the product of the Industrial Revolution. Science and technology have made great

1. Speech at a symposium on 'Our Conception of Democratic Socialism' organised by the Congress Socialist Forum, New Delhi, 19 April 1958. From *The Hindu*, *The Statesman* and *National Herald*, 20 April 1958. K.D. Malaviya, the Union Minister of State for Mines and Oil, presided over the symposium and S.N. Mishra, the Deputy Minister in the Union Ministry of Planning, initiated the discussion.

strides during the last half a century. The conditions today are materially different from those prevailing in Marx's time, on the basis of which he had formulated his theory of class conflict, which might lose its validity in the context of abundance promised by science and technology.

There is the need to clearly define the social and economic goals of society. It is easy for a professor to have this clarity, but the politician is conditioned by the diverse pulls exercised by the electorate whose level of consciousness is not so well developed.

Democracy has a tendency to throw up second-rate and third-rate people rather than the best element in society and thus encourage mediocrity. This is, however, not the fault of democracy as a system but of the people concerned whose level of thinking and social consciousness can be raised by education over a long period.

There are some other problems which have arisen in the most prosperous and advanced countries of the West. In Sweden, which is almost a perfect model of a welfare state with provision of social security for everyone, the problem of juvenile delinquency has assumed serious proportions. Leisure is another problem created by highly advanced productive techniques and automation. To utilise and enjoy the leisure calls for better-trained minds than those required for work.

The problem of the atomic age and many national problems can be solved only on an ethical basis. This can, however, be achieved only when the ethical standard of the entire humanity is raised, which is a very difficult task.

4. Relevance of Mahatma Gandhi¹

Mr Governor,² Mr Padmanabhan,³ Mr Chief Minister⁴ and friends, Some months ago, I went to the Gandhi Ground in Madras and had the good fortune of meeting Mr Padmanabhan there. He asked me then to visit this college⁵

1. Speech at the inauguration of Mahatma Gandhi College, Trivandrum, 24 April 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. B. Ramakrishna Rao, the Governor of Kerala.
3. Mannath Padmanabhan Pillai (1878-1970); lawyer, social reformer and politician; founder of the Nair Service Society, 1914, its Secretary, 1914-45 and its President for three years; participated in Vaikom Satyagraha of 1924-25 and Guruvayur Satyagraha of 1932; Member, Travancore Legislative Assembly, 1949; founded several schools and colleges under the Nair Service Society in Kerala; one of the leaders in the struggle against the Communist rule in Kerala, 1959.
4. E.M.S. Namboodiripad.
5. The foundation stone of Mahatma Gandhi College, run by the Nair Service Society, was laid in 1948 by C. Rajagopalachari when he was the Governor-General of India.

and to perform this inauguration ceremony. I gave him a half-promise that if and when I come to Trivandrum, I would certainly like to come here. I am glad that I have been able today to fulfil that promise.

I am glad also that on this occasion of my visit to Kerala the first ceremonial occasion, the first formal engagement, has been in connection with this college, in connection with an institution that bears Mahatma Gandhi's name. We name our roads and streets after Gandhiji, imagining that we have done our duty to him by giving his name to a road, or sometimes we shout *Mahatma Gandhi ki jai* and perhaps feel elated that we have done our duty, but surely that is a poor duty to perform, a poor way to honour the memory of a man like Gandhi.

What was he to us and to the world? What is he even today to us and to the world? It is not for me to say now except that great as he was during his life and tremendous as were his services to this country and to our people, his greatness grows as the times, as the ages, pass. Because there was something in his message to India which was certainly topical and which was certainly in keeping with the urges of the day, the demand for freedom, the demand for liberation, not only political but social and economic; he represented thereby the spirit of the time. And, therefore, he carried the millions of people with him and became the embodiment of the *Yugadharma*. But there was something more about it than that. What he said was not only in keeping with the moment, with the particular period, when he laboured in India, but there was something in it of timelessness, of a message and of a principle that is timeless. There was something in it, grown from the roots of our past, representing the ancient wisdom of our race. There was something in it of the vision of the future. And so he combined both and became a mighty link between the past, the present and the future. And he embodied this flowing stream of this great mass of humanity which has lived in this country from the Himalayas to Kanyakumari and which live today and which will no doubt live on. The mass of humanity, which has inherited some wisdom from the past, has inherited many follies also from the past. When an ancient race inherits both the wisdom and the folly, it depends which is the greater of the two, and sometimes the folly becomes very evident as it has been repeated in our history and even in our present day. But always there has been this saving grace of wisdom also which has brought us back to more or less the straight and narrow path again and saved us from all the consequences of our own follies. So, Gandhiji brought us back again and renewed that old message which found an echo in millions of hearts.

And so I am glad that on this occasion, my first engagement in Trivandrum and in Kerala is one connected with Gandhiji's name, because I feel more and more strongly, as the days pass by, that for our country certainly but even in a wider domain, in a wider range, even in regard to the world, Gandhiji's message is of vital importance. I am not referring to the hundred and one things that he said because he engaged himself in hundreds of activities but rather I am thinking

of his basic approach, which he placed before us, which in the course of a generation made our people different from what they were. Gandhiji created a revolution not only in the political sphere or any other sphere, external one, but rather in the minds and hearts of men and women in this country, and that is a true revolution. A revolution which made us shed the fear that was in us, and nothing is worse for an individual or for a nation than to be thrown into fear. We see this fear today in the wide world and curiously enough there is this fear even in nations which are most powerful. Indeed, it is a strange happening that the more powerful the nation, the more it suffers from fear. And because of this fear, we see today the world balancing itself on the sharp edge of a precipice, talking about peace, preparing for war, and no one knows which way the turn of events might take the world. And war, as we all know today, is something infinitely more different than ever before in history. War today is not victory for anyone, it is not even survival of anyone. It means uttermost defeat and uttermost disaster for all, and yet such is this world that we live on this edge and brink of a precipice, and because of our fear and our apprehension we dare not take the step which would rid us of this fear.

Now, when I think of this state of affairs I think of Gandhiji, that man who was more fearless than any man or woman that I have known. And I remember how, when I was a young man, I saw that wonderful change that came over our people and more especially over the poor and the lowly, the peasantry and the workers and others, who had been oppressed and suppressed and harried and kicked and cuffed. I remember, long ago when his voice was heard by us and by them—a simple voice, a gentle voice, not a loud voice, but with some magic in it—he merely told our people: “Do not be afraid to do the right thing. And if you do the right thing why need you be afraid? If you go to prison there is nothing to fear, if you are shot down what does it matter? You have to die one day, die bravely doing the right thing, serving your country.” But the wonderful thing was not in what he said but the consequence and the effect of that on the multitudes of this country, because suddenly their backs straightened, their eyes which had been downed and were without any shine began to shine. There was hope in their faces and gradually that oppression of fear went away.

I mention it today because I see this terrible oppression of fear spreading all over the world and people grappling with it. It is more difficult to grapple with ghosts than with live things like these and we have to fight today with ghosts, the ghosts of fear, the ghosts of hatred and violence, and they elude our grasp. So, because of this, my mind goes again and again to Gandhiji and to his basic message of fearlessness, of the friendly approach to others, of standing by your principles, not giving up anything that you hold dear and valuable, but always making a friendly approach even to the opponent, even to the so-called enemy. This world, this country, is full of conflicts—political conflicts, economic conflicts, social conflicts, class conflicts, language conflicts, caste conflicts, a

multitude of conflicts that we see in our country—and we have to resolve them because all these conflicts are the consequences of that ancient folly that we carry about with us. We have to resolve them not by ignoring them, not by forgetting them, but nevertheless by not adopting any policy which increases the conflict. You do not end conflict by conflict, you do not end war by war, you do not end violence by violence and you do not end hatred by hatred. How then to hold to your principle that you hold precious and valuable and yet not to approach the party who may be opposed to you in terms of hatred and conflict? It may be difficult but after all we have seen that done in this country and not only by Gandhi when he was there, but also by millions of others under his influence. So, I remember this and I think of it in these days when hydrogen bombs fly about all over, and some slight error or slight mistake, some nervousness, some accident may let them loose on an unsuspecting world. Then the floods will be upon us and destroy the world. Think of it, how we live; all our problems seem trivial and inconsequential before this mighty problem that faces the world today. The world is full of big men, wise men, clever statesmen. Let us hope that they will be able to solve it and I must say that a solution of this problem will not yield to cleverness only, will not yield to manoeuvring of one country or one clever statesman before another, it will not yield to some ingenious formula. It will only yield when people change their minds and hearts somewhat, even though the change may be a little, when they get something of that spirit of fearlessness, which Gandhi taught and something of that adherence to principles; both at the same time because the two must go together.

Anyhow, what is the alternative to these two? There is no alternative. There is no choice before humanity. And so whether it is India or whether it is the wide world, we have to balance ourselves between the inheritance of folly that we have got and the inheritance of wisdom. In our country, we in our generation were blessed by this great man Gandhi who reminded us of these great principles which make races live for ages and without which, I have not a shadow of a doubt, a race dies however prosperous it might be, however advanced it may become in the material things of life. Do not imagine that I do not value the material things of life. They are important. Any nation that has not got them becomes weaker and even the other things, the non-material things, will slip away from it. It is a folly to imagine that you can just think of the non-material things and allow a nation to perish materially, that cannot be done. So, we value the material things and we work for them as we do with our five-year plans and all that. But, at the same time, we have to remember that these material things must be rooted deep in something which is more than material, above or below. It is that which keeps a nation and a culture and a people going for a long time and when that perishes that nation also begins to perish.

You have built this college here; I have not seen the college. I saw it as I was coming and I thought what a noble site you have chosen for this college—

a hilltop looking all round—and coming here I saw this *pandal* which you have erected. How well you have done it, I thought, with what artistry! What artistry there is in your hands and fingers and your eyes here in the people of Kerala! I hope that you will not allow it to perish. I want you to grow in many ways, in modern arts and science and technology. But I do not want that you give up your artistry and your songs and dance.

I am happy to be here, because, undoubtedly, education is the basic thing. We may talk about our big schemes, river valley schemes and the electric power and the atomic energy and everything, but, after all, everything comes from education, that is from the quality of the human being that we evolve. We have quantity enough, whether it is in Kerala or in the whole of India. We want quality. It is the quality of the human being that takes a race or a nation forward. And that quality can ultimately come only through right education and it has become necessary for any reason whether you think in terms of our five-year plans, whether you think in terms of cultural advance or anything. It is the spread of education, both in quantity and in quality, that is of vital importance. We have made good, considerable progress in the last ten years and I confess to you that I am not satisfied with this, neither in quantity nor in quality. But, then, that is no reason why we should feel frustrated, that is only a reason by which we should make a greater effort.

What should our education aim at? Surely, it must have some ideal apart from getting a career, training a person for a career, though there is nothing wrong in it. We must have some picture of our nation going forward somewhere, of our building our country and the world if you like and our share in that. Because it is only when you become partners in some great big enterprise that you also become big with that big enterprise. If your ambition in life is to be some petty officer in government or something like that you may become a petty officer in government and there you remain. But if you hitch yourself to some great cause, then the shadow of that greatness falls upon you also. Well, the world is big, even India is big, and we should like to serve the world. The best way we can serve the world is to serve our country and through it the world, and the best way we can serve our country is to remember those basic truths that Gandhiji may have repeated to us. We have to remember that the limited energy that we possess in India should not be wasted in conflicts, should not be wasted in unnecessary activities as far as possible, chiefly not in conflicts.

Our first and our most essential duty in India today is to build up this united India, to integrate India. You see how easily we fall a prey to conflicts, to provincial jealousy, to this wretched caste system that has done such a tremendous injury to India, injury by dividing us up into walls and compartments and keeping us apart from our fellowmen and sometimes oppressing and suppressing our fellowmen. That is not the way that India is looking forward to

either; whether you think of democracy, whether you think of socialism or equality, that is not the way. We have to put an end to it. Take again those other conflicts that we have. The religious conflicts, not so evident, but sometimes they occur. There is communalism, religion entering the domain of politics and doing mischief in both the areas.

There is a more recent controversy, the language controversy. The fact is that India is a country not only of a tremendous past but of a great variety in the present and I am glad of that variety. I do not want to make it regimented into one, into something uniform. We should keep up this variety but that variety will only be kept up if the fundamental unity becomes strong. Take this question of language. An argument has arisen in the North and in the South about Hindi and English. We all accept that the state languages, the great state languages must flourish and it is my proud privilege to be the President of the Sahitya Akademi whose objective is to nourish and encourage all our national languages in India and try to do so evenly for all. But look at this argument about Hindi and English. Some of the protagonists of Hindi place their case in such a way, in such an aggressive way, as not only to irritate others but to injure the cause of Hindi. Some of the protagonists of English place their case in such a way as to do grave injury to the cause of English. Remember this that the moment you place a language in opposition to another language, you do injury to it. Encourage the language, work for it, enrich it. In my own State of Uttar Pradesh there is also an argument about Urdu and Hindi, a stupid argument, a foolish argument, doing injury to both. Why should not both be encouraged by them? Adapt them in a friendly way with others and both will prosper. Now, the Hindi protagonists by their aggression and assertiveness needlessly put fear in the minds of some people. Some of the English protagonists are now so aggressive that I think they injure the cause of English. I am speaking to you in English. I am likely to speak to you again and again in English. English is one of the facts of life in India. We accept it. We have to. I do not think why we should not. I have no doubt that English will flourish in India probably in a bigger way than in the past or in the present. But if you put English as a kind of rival to nationalism, then you make English suffer, not nationalism. Therefore, if you want English to prosper, as I do, do not put it in the invidious position. A foreign language can never be placed on a national basis. It can be adapted, it can be encouraged, it may be widespread and I hope it will grow, but the moment you put it against a wide sentiment of the people, you hamper its growth. Unfortunately, some of the protagonists of English have put it in that particular position which is unfortunate for English. But I am quite sure these arguments will go and gradually disappear and we shall adjust ourselves and we shall settle one problem after another and no doubt as we settle one problem new problem will arise to be settled. That is the sign of the growth of a country.

Well, I have spoken to you about various matters, perhaps not wholly connected with this function, but as you are gathered here at a function representing education, the growth of education, a function associated with Gandhiji's name, function with which, I have no doubt, many of the people of Trivandrum are associated; intellectual and cultural activities are here. Therefore I have ventured to speak about what I consider some basic matters. I am happy to be here and I hope this college will carry its message not only far and wide in Kerala but even beyond and I hope that message will always be associated with the basic truths for which Gandhiji stood and for which he gave his life.

5. Maintain Individuality for Creativity and Progress¹

Mr Mayor,² Councillors, Mr Governor, Mr Chief Minister and comrades, Trivandrum Corporation has done me the honour of welcoming me formally on this occasion. I am grateful to it, but on previous occasions too I have been welcomed with affection here and therefore I come back to Trivandrum and Kerala with no feeling of expecting a formal welcome but rather to say this to you whom I wish to meet again in this lovely land. I have come here after a little more than a year I think. On the last occasion, as far as I remember, I came on the occasion of the general election.³ Election time is not a very good time to go to a place because people are so full of elections that it is a little difficult for them to look at the world and look at our own country and our problems apart from the elections.

So, now that I have come here, I am glad that it is a more normal time in that sense. And yet, in another sense, it is different and some people are intrigued about it and even then they have asked me questions; they have asked me, "You are a person for long associated with the National Congress, you are going to a State where the Government is dominated by the Communist Party." Presumably, they expect some kind of fireworks when I come here. Well, it is true, of course, that I have been associated with the National Congress for about half a century, I think, formally associated for 45 years as a delegate. And most of my public life has been spent in association with the Congress and in furthering Congress

1. Speech at a civic reception, Trivandrum, 24 April 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. R.R. Govindan Kutty Nair, Mayor of Trivandrum Municipal Corporation.
3. Nehru had visited Kerala in February 1957. For his election speeches at Kottayam, Ernakulam and Calicut, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 37, pp. 35-54.

policies. It is true also that in Kerala the Government today is a government which does not belong to the Congress party, which is not associated with it. But what exactly does that lead one to? Naturally, if a person belongs to a party, he has some basic principles to which he adheres, some basic theories. Presumably, a member of the Congress Party differs from a member of the Communist Party in their political philosophy or in their economic philosophy. That is obvious. Although in actually doing the nation's work, the points of agreement may possibly be far more than the points of disagreement. Nevertheless, the basic approach might be different, that is in fact often different. But, obviously, here at this public meeting I am not going to discuss these points of difference and agreement and all that. I want rather to place before you some ideas of mine about the present state of affairs in India and to some extent outside India. In the course of that, I may say something about our differences of opinion, our approaches.

I have come here, may I say right at the beginning, at the invitation of the Chief Minister of the Kerala Government. Long ago, many months ago, he asked me, he invited me to come here and I promised to do so but I could not fix the time. When I could fix the time, I gladly informed him and others and here I am. I need not tell you how I enjoyed, how I find delightful to come to this very beautiful part of our great country. Normally, if I want relief, I think of the Himalayas, I think of some place rather higher, not very far from the glaciers, and the snows and the mountains, and I love the mountains. But Kerala and this part of the country, which is so utterly different from the cold, snowy regions of the Himalayas, attracts me in another way equally. And so, I have taken advantage of this visit of mine and I think it is due to you and due to myself that I should tell you briefly how I feel about various matters.

I have just been to the Mahatma Gandhi College here where I performed the inauguration ceremony and I spoke about Gandhiji there and his message.⁴ I do not wish to repeat what I said there, although it is worth repetition because, I think, it is very important that we should realise exactly what Gandhiji and his message stood for in the context of India and in the context of the world today. I do not want you to always repeat phrases and words which are not good enough to understand the real thing inside those words and phrases. Now, here in Kerala, as you all know, there is a higher rate of literacy and education than in any other part of India. Kerala supplies some of our brightest intellects, whether in government service, whether in our Foreign Service, or other activities. It is a place where people exercise their intellect, sometimes perhaps over-exercise them and tumble over. And it is so also that the people of Kerala are so intellectual that they are all, intellectually speaking, in the habit of thinking. I should like to place some worthy considerations before you.

4. See the preceding item.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

When I look at the history of India, there are so many things that strike me. It is a long history of thousands of years, ups and downs, good things and bad, but the broad effect on me is this, that there is something that I would call the essential basis of Indian culture and of thinking which itself was an amalgam, a synthesis of various trends in India. Five thousand, six thousand years ago, whatever the period was, that was good, that is where you trace some of the roots of Indian thought. Now, from those early days, many rivers of thought flowed into India—from Greece, from Rome, from Central Asia, from Iran, from Arabia, from China, from South-East Asia, all over—in fact India is so situated geographically in the centre of South Asia. And it is a big country, it had intimate contacts throughout history with Western Asia, Europe, Africa and Eastern Africa, the Roman world, the Greek world, the Arab world, the Iranian world, the Turkish world, the Chinese world and the South-East Asia of course intimately. So, people came to India; tribes came, invaders came, currents of thought came and currents of thought went out of India. Very few people have any idea of the tremendous intercourse the cultural region of India had with other countries for thousands of years. The whole of Asia is influenced by India's thought and architecture and other cultural activities. You do not know India if you remain in India. If you want to understand the vision of India, the thought of India, the architecture of India, the dance of India and all that, you have to go outside India and see these impressions, whether it is Indonesia, or whether it is Indo-China, or whether it is Central Asia, or whether it is Tibet. All over the place you find the impressions of India, the impressions of India's language, song, architecture, culture, philosophy, religion and all kinds of things.

The other day our Vice-President went to Mongolia. And he was welcomed by the President of the Mongolian Republic who, to his surprise, was called Shambhu⁵—a pure Indian name—and he told him with great pride that the Mongolian people traced their descent from an Indian ancestor, who went from India, carrying the message of the Buddha long ago and married a Mongolian lady and more or less founded the present Mongolian race according to the legend, and they are very proud of that. The national flag of Mongolia is called Soyombo. Strange, how a Sanskrit word⁶ creeping into distant Mongolia and being honoured there! You go to Indo-China, you find the same traditions of Indian scholars inhabiting there. So, you see these rivers of thought and culture went out of India and came to India too from outside. But the basic fact remains that while we influenced other countries greatly with our thinking, we were also influenced to some extent by the thought that came to us from outside, and in

5. Vice-President S. Radhakrishnan visited Mongolia from 22 to 24 September 1957 at the invitation of Jamtsarangiin Sambuu, Chairman of the Presidium of the Great Khural of the Mongolian Republic, from 1954 to 1972.

6. Derived from the Sanskrit word *Swayambhu* meaning created out of oneself.

spite of these currents of thoughts, essentially there was continuity in the Indian cultural tradition. In other words, the people came here, the tribes came here, the foreigners came here, the invaders came here and they influenced us a little but they got lost in the sea of Indian humanity. They became Indians, they affected us somewhat, no doubt, but essentially the Indian pattern survived after some changes. There is something quite extraordinary about the tenacity and the resilience of this old Indian pattern. I am not talking about any particular thing but that connecting cultural link which goes back thousands of years and which changed, of course, in various ages. There is some strength in it which has kept this thing going in spite of disasters, in spite of political upheavals and in spite of everything. And we have had these successions of great men throughout the ages, taking us back, reminding us of that basic thought of the Indian race, even though it may be impressed in different terms.

Now, Gandhiji represented again in the modern age that link and that basic thought that would give its tremendous strength. Of course, it was something, on the one hand, adapted to the modern age and, on the other hand, having its deep roots in India's conscious and subconscious self, something that has survived all this time, something that has kept India going in spite of every disaster. Because the number of follies that the Indian people have committed throughout history is amazing. Yet, in spite of all their follies and weaknesses and factions and infighting and other matters, it survived not in the sense of merely living and propagating—anybody can survive like that—but survived in a deeper sense, and produced time and again men of the stature of the Buddha, and of Gandhiji. It has something in it. So, India has a capacity for synthesis, India has a capacity to receive from outside and learn from it but also to remain without a change. Now, that has always struck me as an important factor when I studied India's history and thought about it, because I was always trying to interpret India's history in terms of the present and the future.

Now, India during the last 200 years became backward. Other countries went ahead with science and technology and have gathered wealth while India remained poor and backward but producing more human beings. More and more population without the wherewithal to feed them properly or to house them, to clothe them, and that is a sign of an underdeveloped and poverty-stricken country. Other countries went ahead. There are various reasons for that. We are now catching up and the Industrial Revolution is coming to us. And I have no doubt that in spite of all troubles and pitfalls, we shall produce far greater wealth, under the new science and technology, and our standards will go up, although our problem is far more difficult than any western country had faced—difficult for a variety of reasons, among them being, of course, our low standards at present, which are lower, mind you, than when the Industrial Revolution came to Europe 150 years ago. They started at a higher standard, we start from a lower standard. Secondly, we have this prodigious population. Take England.

When the Industrial Revolution came, the population of England was ten million. Think of that. Just ten million population they had to deal with. Now, we have to deal with three hundred and eighty millions. Thirdly, we have got a democratic system which rightly demands the better things of life. Throughout the Industrial Revolution there was no democracy in England or elsewhere, no democracy. The economic revolution came before the political revolution. We have changed that. The political revolution has come and now we are struggling with the economic revolution. If you take other countries, say Russia, where a communist technique was adopted, in spite of their being very backward at the time, they are far more advanced than we are today. Their standards are somewhat higher. Of course, they had a tremendous defeat in war and all that and out of that came these changes. And now they have been working very hard for 40 years and have made great progress.

Now, I want to put before you another rather significant fact, that is, 12 years ago the Great War, the Second World War, ended after having caused enormous destruction. The two countries that suffered most from this destruction were Germany and Russia. It is terrible, the destruction and the loss of these two countries. Other countries also suffered but these two countries suffered the most. In Germany, practically every city was bombed out, millions of houses were destroyed, factories were destroyed, and of course institutions were destroyed. It was extraordinary that the amount of destruction was something terrific—apart from that, millions of human beings were killed. Same thing happened to Russia, tremendous destruction, 12-13 years ago. Now, 12 or 13 years is not a very long time. I have drawn a parallel with Germany as Germany was a defeated country whereas Russia was among the victors. Germany was a defeated country with no capital left, you might say, everything was in deficit, no houses to live in practically, very few factories, and those were also broken down. Germany today, after 12 years, is one of the most prosperous countries in the world. Is it not extraordinary? Russia, after this tremendous destruction and suffering of war, came out victorious and has built herself up too and has gone ahead in 12-13 years. Now, I have given you two examples—one of a capitalist country, like West Germany, the other of a communist country, like Russia, both making good in a tremendous way in 12 years. How is that? There are many reasons, of course, I may add that Germany was helped in this and that. But that is a very minor reason. The major factor is that in both countries, there were men of training and quality. What counts ultimately is not all your slogans and all your shouting about this policy and that. What counts is the quality and training of the men and women who can work hard and can change the world.

This war and the destruction caused by this war have shown that the real wealth of the country is not the fine buildings, the fine factories and all that. It is the men and women of training and their capacity to work hard. They can create a new world, if they have that training. I may go on repeating that training

is needed and obviously what I mean by training is modern scientific, technological training. Germany had it, Russia had created it during the last 20 or 30 years and therefore they could build anew and cover up all the losses and destruction of the war so rapidly. Germany became, as I said, in Europe, in a sense, the wealthiest country—it is astounding—bursting with wealth and with production, with all factories, and that is a capitalist country. Germany had absorbed, I forget now, eight, nine or 10 millions of refugees from other countries. They are all working. Take Russia. You see the tremendous progress the Soviet Union has made in science and technology, because for the last 20 or 30 years or more, whatever other things the Soviet leaders did, you may disagree with them or agree with them as you like, they trained their people in science and technology, and therefore, they had the wherewithal to build up their country. So, the result comes from this that, while policies are important no doubt, the real thing is the human being and the trained human being, the human being with training, character and capacity for work. We do not want anything else, money or knowledge. Knowledge comes. We can produce knowledge or the money or the wealth, which, of course takes time, is not done by magic. Anyhow, it is not by slogans that we do things or by shouting *Inqilab Zindabad*. Perhaps, this fact I would like you to remember.

Then, secondly, when we talk about revolutionary changes and the like, every person should know or ought to know what it is. Revolution means inner social changes in society. You cannot easily impose them, they have to grow and they have to be in the context of the world situation. Only a very foolish person would talk today of having something, let us say, like the French Revolution of one hundred and sixty, seventy years ago, when the French Revolution was a great thing. It is out of date today; nobody thinks of it or tries to think of the French Revolution today, or if somebody does it, it is a foolish and a mad mind. It is over. Take the Russian Revolution. It is a very big thing which followed a certain course of events, defeat in war and all that and all kinds of things happened, civil wars and what not, and out of that emerged the modern Soviet Union with all its good points and bad points. I am not going into that, I am objectively analysing it. Now some people think that the Russian Revolution is nonsense because that emerged out of a certain context of events—a defeat in the World War and so many other things and long previous history attached to it and subsequent history—a vast country where, by and large, there is more land than human beings. Here we have more human beings than land, conditions are different.

Now, how dangerous it is and how wrong it is for us to think merely in terms of imitation and copying. That is an easy way but it is not an intellectual way of thinking, just reacting to something that happened in America, in England, in Russia or somewhere else, because conditions differ geographically, historically, in so many other ways. Now take another thing. Everybody knows that the

method of waging war has changed completely because of the atomic bomb and nuclear weapons. Even the weapons of the last war, the Second World War, are completely out of date today, they are all very well for exercises and all that but in the real serious modern war all the old weapons are out of date. Nobody knows what the new weapons will do except uttermost destruction. Now, any policy that was based on the old weapons is out of date. Therefore, any revolutionary policy that was based in the context of things of yesterday is out of date today. Things differ. Any policy that was based fundamentally on violence is out of date today because violence has grown so big, so huge, so tremendous, terrific and demonic that you cannot think of it in smaller terms. I should like you to consider what I say because what I am driving at is this that if in the olden days what Gandhiji said, what Buddha said, was a great ideal, a right thing, that is non-violence and all that, an ideal to aim at and all that. Today it is something much more. It is the only practical opportunist way to avoid uttermost destruction. It is practical in the closest sense of the word and there is no other way, I say.

Take another thing. I am merely throwing out ideas that you may think over. We have today what is called cold war—a group of nations with the United States as a leader on the one side and a group of nations with the Soviet Union as a leader on the other side. Some other countries like India do not align themselves with any military alliance and are outside these groups. Now, we have this cold war. Everyone recognises that there should be no war because war will destroy the world and yet the cold war continues—the war of hatred, the war of incessant preparation. And this building up of nuclear arms you read in the newspapers is not only the tests made and the air vitiated by the radio activity but hydrogen bombs are flown about and the slightest accident may start a war. So, think of this, how foolish, how totally illogical, how mad this cold war is! What is the background of this cold war? Fear and hatred. Now the Buddha said and Gandhiji said, you would not end violence by violence and you would not put an end to hatred by hatred. This sounds perhaps pious and all that, as religious persons and religious leaders repeat. And yet nothing could be truer, in the utmost scientific way, than their statements today because this approach of hatred and fear today has absolutely no meaning unless we want to have a major war. If we do not want to have a major war, then it is totally illogical. And the very hatred and fear will bring about that war. So, while you talk in terms of peace, you act in terms of preparation for war. It is quite extraordinary how words have lost their meaning. People shout peace but, behind that shout, you almost hear the drumbeat of war or the roar of the cannon. It is not a question of words or resolutions but a question of the mind of the man thinking in terms of peace and the voice of man speaking in terms of peace. The time has come when all these old approaches and slogans are out of date. I do not say that any country or the responsible people of any country can simply

convert the country into a major *ashram* and say that we are non-violent, we will not do anything like that, obviously not. If I am responsible for the safety of India, I have to take precautions, and I have, I regret to say, to keep the army, navy, air force, and all other things. You may say it is illogical; it is to some extent, but I cannot take that great risk of not doing it. But then I don't ask anyone else to do it. But I do say at the same time that the general approach should cease to be this approach of aggressive hatred and all that. That will lead to nowhere.

Now, that is the international sphere. And I want to tell you that in the international sphere the conditions are pretty bad. Bad in the sense that while everyone talks in terms of peace, they are so full of fear that you never know what might happen. They curse each other, we curse each other and everybody, and somebody will curse communism as the devil. And others will curse imperialism, colonialism as the devil and all that cursing becomes beside the point. How will it help you, your resolutions and your curses, when the hydrogen bomb starts falling on you, whether it is from one devil or the other devil? Then the matter ends. You see, the approach is all wrong, the whole mutual approach has to be developed. In the Charter, I think, of UNESCO, it is said that war begins in the minds of men. Perfectly true. Now, apply all this to our national and domestic situation. Conditions are different, of course. It is not easily applicable. Nevertheless, the basic fact is applicable, as to whether our approaches are essentially to increase conflict or reduce conflict, whether they are essentially violent or peaceful. People differ, they should differ; there is no reason why people should not differ. They have to face complicated problems in this world and why shouldn't people differ? And out of differences, out of the conflicts of the different viewpoints, truth sometimes emerges, that is all right. But I say that we should recognise this fundamental fact that the days of violent approach to a problem have passed. Violence has grown so much today that you cannot use it: violence is too dangerous. And to imagine that you can live in it, it does not show any wisdom. The essential thing about our national problems is that violence, petty violence, even small violence must be ruled out completely. Sometimes you may think you may gain something by petty violence. But you find that you lose much more by that, certainly the nations also lose by that. This must be a common matter of understanding that violence is ruled out completely, whatever other methods we may employ.

We have a democratic system here and democracy requires a certain degree of training. There is no good saying that to give democracy to a people is all right. If the people are not trained in democracy it will not be all right. Democracy will fail and they will also fail. On the whole, I think our people have not failed in democracy, they have done fairly well but there are many pitfalls on the way and we have to always remember that. We have to outgrow complacency and no country dare go complacent, because the world today is much too dangerous.

Let us see our problems. We have a five-year plan and all that. Maybe some of you may say, we should go faster, some of you may think we should go a little slow, that is natural. But, broadly speaking, we have to go in that direction, there is no other way to go. Therefore, while we press for our viewpoints, while we argue that we will go faster or slower, we have to go in that way. And we must recognise that the problem which I just told you is very difficult for us for a variety of reasons. First, our large numbers. Secondly, we started from very low down and, thirdly, we have a democracy which usually thinks of demands only, not of obligations and duties. There is no demand without a duty. There is no right without an obligation. But if people are not trained in democracy, they forget their own duties and obligations. In a real democratic country, if we perform our duties and fulfil our obligations, rights come to us automatically. So, we have demands, demands all over. And many of the demands are justified; I don't say they are not justified, but the obligation, the duty, is forgotten. How can you avoid it? In Russia or in Germany, in 12 years' time, they have repaired all the tremendous ravages of war by hard work, by production, by not thinking too much of demands, but of obligations and duties. Here, we are struggling for the last 10 years, and I think we have done rather well, considering our problems. But still the progress we have made is not such that satisfies me or possibly you. Why not? Because of the lack of money—that is a minor thing really—because we have not got that background of discipline, because we do not have enough trained young men and young women, trained in the modern and scientific and technical sense and doing hard work. We waste our time in demanding this and in demanding that, or in lockouts or in processions, we go up and down. And the refugees in northern India—the amount of energy which is spent on this problem should be spent in creating wealth, so as to solve these problems. They can be solved only by wealth.

Now, I venture to address you, you will forgive me if I am doing that almost like a professor, trying to put certain ideas in your mind. I believe, in another sense, if India is to progress well, it will only progress as India. It will not progress as somebody else. No individual can progress as somebody else. No nation can progress as somebody else. The individual may learn from others. A nation must learn from others, but the moment it ceases to be itself and tries to be somebody else, well, it loses all creative powers, and all roots. If a country like India, with thousands of years of roots, is uprooted, it will dry up without any doubt at all. We have to learn a great deal, we have to learn all this science and technology, we have to learn so much from the western countries, from the Soviet Union, from China, from all others. Maybe, we have something to teach them too. But the moment we forget that our roots are in India, the moment we think we have merely to become some kind of intellectual camp-followers, at that moment we are lost. We will lose our creative energy and creativeness. That is why my communist friends will forgive me my saying so, the thing

which I dislike is the tendency of acceptance of anything that any country does. It may be very good. We lose our creative faculty, and we lose ourselves in fact by trying to become somebody else, whether we want to become a copy of the Soviet citizen or the American citizen or any other. We have to be Indians though we learn something from them, though we admire them. That is why, it is not only that we lose our creativeness but something deeper than that. We lose our essential individuality as a nation or as an individual. That is bad.

So, as I told you, in the past ideas have flown in and made India and have been absorbed by India, affected India, changed India but India has remained India. That, I think, is important and I have no doubt that India will remain India. But an attempt to make it something other than India is not only likely to end in failure but to destroy that creative effort which should go down towards building up a new different India. And I think India should remain as India, I don't mean India to remain in old customs and all the shackles that surrounded us, of course not. But whatever we do, we do out of our own thinking after learning from others, not copying others. And I am afraid the communist mind has become too imitative a mind, too copying a mind to retain any originality of thinking. I don't say all of us, but most of us are imitative of course. Take the old slogans of dictatorship of the proletariat and all that which are completely out of date, for a modern reasonable thinking person, yet they are recited again and again like some *mantra*. I really do not understand it. I am glad the Communist Party, recently at its session in Amritsar, somewhat veered round to what might be called a more reasonable approach in Indian terms.⁷ If it thinks more of India, its thinking will be more and more clear. In fact, in a year or so, it may cease to be a communist party in the international lingo, but that is what it seeks.

But I am concerned with solving the problems of India, I am not indulging in philosophy or discussing various *darshanas* and *shastras* and all that. I am engaged in the task and you are engaged in the task, the biggest in the wide world, the task of building up this country, the task of building up nearly four hundred million people of this country. It is a terrific task, a mighty adventure, and we are going to do it. You will finish it and, of course, I will finish it. I will do a bit, you will do more, because you have a longer life, others will do it too. It is a tremendous task and we have to apply all our creative energy, all our thinking powers, to that and all our cooperative effort. If that effort is wasted in conflict and argument and all that, then we can apply less effort, it is obvious.

7. At its Special Fifth Party Congress held at Amritsar from 6 to 13 April 1958, the Communist Party of India amended the preamble of its constitution and proclaimed "socialism through peaceful means" as its objective. The party also accepted the concept of freedom of speech and expression including the freedom of the Press and the right to form association as also the right of opposition parties to function freely under a communist regime "so long as they abide by the Constitution of the country".

And I believe the moment we have got that right temper and the rightly trained men, our advance will be pretty rapid. Of Kerala, the Mayor said something; I believe, of the resources of Kerala.⁸ Of course, you have got the resources, India has fine resources. But I would like to mention to you that some countries without resources also have made good progress. Japan has practically no natural resources. It is true that in the early years, it exploited the resources of Manchuria or of Korea as an imperial power. It is true that Japan has no resources and it is sheer hard work that has given it the strength that it has. It has amazing capacity of cooperative hard work. In Europe, England, of course, has iron and coal, that is why it became a great power. Take a small country like Denmark or Switzerland. Neither of them have much by way of resources, yet both are highly developed countries not because of resources but because of the quality of the human beings there and the hard work they can do. It is that which counts and not all the shouting we indulge in. So you see, if you look at the world, the capitalist countries are making remarkable recoveries. You see, communist countries are also making remarkable progress and you cannot say that progress is the monopoly of communists or of capitalists. Progress is the monopoly of the men and women of quality wherever they may be. Whether it is the capitalist country or the communist country, without that no theory will help you to go ahead. And I don't want men's attention to be diverted to thinking that by just shouting and conflicts and slogans they are building their country or they are creating the atmosphere to build.

I want you to think of that, because I have, if you forgive my saying so, paid you a compliment in the sense that I have tried to speak to you almost entirely on the intellectual level, not on the normal public meeting level, because many of you think intelligently and intellectually. Now, I want you to think of these problems. I want others too in India to think of them but, more especially ourselves and you, because we have to solve these problems ourselves. Our problems are not to be solved in Washington or Moscow or Peking or London. We may get help from them, we do accept that help financially, technically, we accept their advice with pleasure and we thank them for it but we have to solve our problems ourselves.

I will give an instance of this. Most of the books on economics till recently have been written in the western world and they dealt with industrialised communities. The books written in Russia, etc., are slightly different of course:

8. The address of welcome, read out by the Mayor of Trivandrum Corporation, R.R. Govindan Kutty Nair, referred to the cultural traditions of Kerala and the problems confronting the State in the matter of food, employment, pressure on land, etc., and said that the people were alive to the need for reconstruction and development of the State as well as of the country. It assured Nehru that they were prepared to put forth their best efforts to promote national welfare under the parental guidance of the Centre.

we do not get them, I mean to say because of the language difficulty, but even they dealt with the problems in a peculiar way. Neither the books published in America or England or France or Russia, dealt with the problems of a country like India, Pakistan or Burma or Indonesia, that is to say, the industrially underdeveloped countries. None of those books dealt with those problems. They are peculiar problems. Even our professors of economics and others are constantly talking in terms of America or in terms of England, when they discuss their economy, while the base of our economy is different. I mean the objective conditions, the facts are different. Now, it is only recently that people in the western world are beginning to think of the economy of underdeveloped regions, trying to become industrialised—the problem we have to face and the countries of Asia have to face. So, we have to do our thinking and it is now that we are doing that thinking in a pragmatic way, not in a partisan way, starting with the theory.

I think that our Planning Commission has done a lot of good work; it made mistakes, that is immaterial. It does not matter if you make mistakes, you should never be afraid of making mistakes. The thing is that our minds must be working creatively, openly, clashing with other minds, and out of discussion, something comes out. If there is a mistake, we change it. Do not be afraid of changing it. That is what has been happening in India. In the process of planning you will become planning-conscious, the country will become planning-conscious. We haven't got yet the data for planning, we are getting it more and more and, no doubt, in our Third Five Year Plan we will do much better and in the Fourth Plan even much much better. That requires training the minds of the people in the particular way, and training to some extent the Members of Parliament, our Services, and that applies to State Assemblies, and others tackling real problems in a creative way, not by slogans and resolutions. That is how a nation learns and goes ahead. We are going ahead no doubt and will go ahead and solve the problems even when a hundred new problems arise. That is the penalty of growth. It is only the dead that have no problems and the living have problems and the more life there is, the more problems they have.

So, we have to face this tremendous adventure of building up this new India and I want you to think about it in this big way and try to get out of your little shells and little conflicts. And if you get out of them, you will not only think more clearly but prepare a kind of atmosphere for right thinking for others and right action for others. Above all, remember what I have said that we have to work and we have to evolve our own ways; we cannot intellectually or otherwise copy others. The moment we do that, we may learn something, but we have lost the art of taking the next step ourselves. We can copy the French and copy the English or the Americans or the Russians or the Japanese. What then? Are we always to go on copying them? Or are we to become originators ourselves in technology? Obviously, we have to do the latter. And we can do

the latter only if our whole approach is not only learning from others but of creative thinking.

Well, I am afraid I have taken a lot of your time, unburdened myself of odd ideas floating in my mind. My mind is full of things that I want to tell you because I want to share my thoughts with you, I want to share my activities with you, because we are engaged in this tremendous enterprise of India in which all of us are partners, however much we may differ with each other. But I cannot go on talking for ever. So, an hour is enough for the time being. Thank you. *Jai Hind!*

You say *Jai Hind* with me three times. *Jai Hind!* Alright, a little louder, *Jai Hind!* *Jai Hind!* *Jai Hind!*

6. Unity of Purpose Necessary for Growth¹

As I was coming here I saw placards and notices about some Muslim League Conference, which is being held here now.² This is a privilege which you have and which we do not possess in the rest of India. I am not personally enamoured of political conferences of one religion or another. I think we have had too many divisions in India which have come in the way of our national unity and our working together. I think that the caste system has been, in the last few hundred years, a curse to the development of our people. Apart from coming in the way of development, it has perpetuated division, inequality such as superior caste, inferior caste, depressed class, untouchability and so on, which I think is opposed to the very concepts of democracy, equality and socialism. It is completely out of place in the world of today.

I referred to the Muslim League Conference about which I saw the notice as I was coming here. I do not quite know of the Muslim League in Kerala except that the name carries one back to all kinds of unfortunate conflicts in India before Independence and then Partition came. A Muslim League Conference is being held here. There is, as you know, the Government of Kerala, which is now controlled by the Communist Party. And I am sitting here before you. I come from the Central Government of India, which is controlled by the Indian National Congress. This has created a certain amount of confusion among the

1. Speech at a public meeting, Alleppey, Kerala, 25 April 1958. From *The Hindu*, *The Statesman* and *The Hindustan Times*, 26 April 1958.
2. The Muslim League Conference was held at Alleppey on 26 April 1958.

public. It is not for me to tell you that I believe in the basic principles which the Indian National Congress has formulated. I believe in the basic principles that Gandhiji taught us. I do not pretend to say that all of us in India have been able to follow the path that Gandhiji laid down. It was a difficult task even when he was alive. It becomes more difficult when he is not here to guide us. All kinds of problems confront us. We are trying to follow that path and I believe that every individual, every group and every nation has ultimately to find its own way, seeking guidance from the experience of the past and present, seeking guidance from its leaders and those who have shown the path.

But the moment a country begins to repeat old phrases and old slogans in a changing world, it loses its capacity to adapt itself to that changing world. The principle that truth is good, whatever changes might come, is good but the application of that principle or that truth depends upon the changing world. More especially in a democratic society, it naturally depends upon the nature and the urges of the people who constitute that society. So, with such wisdom as we possess we try to follow that path, broadly speaking, which Gandhiji showed us. What are the basic things about that? Among the things that he laid down specially was the unity of the people of India, whatever religion, province, area or caste they might belong to and whatever might be their language. One has to remember this because it is a great evil for us to function in separate groups and forget this unity. Without that unity you and I become helpless and weak.

Secondly, Gandhiji taught us equality. He taught us that we had no business to ask for independence or freedom if we exploit or suppress any of our own people. The depressed classes—the Harijans and others—were the symbol to him of that larger conception of equality in India. It is true that all people are not the same. People do differ. But every person should have equality of opportunity. I hope we are moving towards that ideal. Then the biggest thing that Gandhiji taught us was, I may repeat his phrase, that the means should be as important as the ends, that the methods must be good just as much as the objectives, that it is not enough only to have good objectives but the methods also should be good.

Our own struggle for freedom was conducted on peaceful lines. We want to remain peaceful hereafter also. We must apply that in a very much larger measure not only to world problems but to our own national and domestic problems. If we adopt bad methods, violent methods, evil methods, then those methods will pursue us and not only spoil the objective but take us in the wrong direction, disrupt us, weaken us and lower us in our own esteem and the world esteem. I talk to you in terms of strict practical experience that, in the India of today and in the world of today, violence is not going to pay, that evil methods are not going to pay, even though they may appear to bring some immediate result.

We have endeavoured to follow the methods taught by Gandhiji to some extent in the Congress movement before Independence and to the extent we can after Independence. We have failed often enough as individuals may fail. Speaking of the Congress, individual Congressmen too failed. But that does not mean that the principle fails or the Congress fails, provided you always keep up the ideal.

In the larger context of the world events, violence has reached the utmost limit, beyond which if it is used there is only utter and absolute destruction. We have also reached the nemesis of violence that applies to the national and domestic spheres. I am referring more to the methods of our thinking, to our minds and hearts and to the methods we employ in our political or economic activity. The time has gone by when we shall think in terms of coercive methods backed by violence. Violence of mind is sometimes worse than violence of force. It embitters and degrades.

Now, today we have the tremendous problem of peace and war. All the world wants peace. Every country wants peace. Leaders of all countries want peace. Yes. We see this amazing fact. But countries are preparing for war and even when they shout for peace the language is almost like that of war. We have arrived at a stage when some accident, some wrong action by an individual, might lead us to a world war. It is a terrible and most depressing position. The time has come when something definite and positive must be done to take away the sword hanging over us.

As you know, there is a good deal of talk now about high-level conferences, summit conferences and the like. I earnestly trust that the leaders of the great nations, on whom rests the peace of the world more than on other nations, will not only meet but will come to some conclusions which will lighten this tremendous burden which presses the world. They will only do so if they approach this question with a little faith, with fearlessness and are intent on arriving at a solution. It is not a matter of some formula being found—a formula which may subsequently be interpreted in different ways by different people.

This international situation overshadows everything in the world. So far as we are concerned we may think of the world and occasionally do something towards peace. But, essentially, our work lies in our own country. That work is the economic advance of our people, betterment of our people and achieving higher standards, more opportunities, more equality, and ultimately the establishment, as we hope, of a socialistic pattern of society.

Now, socialism is not merely a question of legislation. You cannot change the nature of human beings suddenly merely by law. You have to grow into it. The very first thing we want is the wherewithal to bring about higher standards. We do not want to have socialism on utter poverty. That is not socialism. We do not want to divide our poverty, we have to produce more wealth. So, we have our five-year plans and the like. It is an earnest and good attempt to meet this tremendously difficult problem.

For a railway link to Alleppey, as mentioned by the Municipal Chairman,³ I have no doubt that the need is there. I hope some time or other you will get that railway. Obviously, I cannot, sitting here tell you more definitely about it. I will tell you the difficulty about the railway at present. The real difficulty is the lack of steel. We just have not got the necessary steel.

Many of our present-day difficulties about foreign exchange have arisen from large imports of steel. Food and steel,⁴ the two major imports, have created our foreign exchange difficulty. We wanted huge quantities of steel, far more than we produce. That is why we are putting up four new plants. I doubt if at any time any country, even big countries, have been ambitious enough to put up four new steel plants⁵ at a time as we are doing. We have done it, and we have to go through it. When the four new plants get functioning, there will be much more steel no doubt and more railways. But at the present moment, if we want any railways, we will have to get steel from abroad. It is not particularly easy to get it without any blow on our foreign exchange situation. I fear, therefore, that in the remaining period of the Second Five Year Plan, it is very difficult to undertake any new railway construction. But I do hope that it will come before long.

I am told that the rate of the growth of population in Kerala is probably higher than in the rest of India. All over India too, the rate of growth of population is high, though it is much less than in Kerala. We are trying to control it as there is need to control it. It is a very simple arithmetical proposition that however much you may grow or production may grow or wealth may grow or industry may grow, if the population grows at this rate, it will draw off the results of the new industrial growth and the new employment and you will remain where you were. It is a simple proposition. Therefore, while we try to do our utmost to develop industry and our agriculture, fisheries and other things, we have to pay attention to this question of the growth of population also. We have to check it by positive measures and not wait for the will of the gods.

As you know, we have plans, such as family planning, birth control, etc. I think they are proceeding on right lines. But the pace of progress is slow. I will invite your particular attention to this because there can be no real growth nor advance of the Indian people if this ever-increasing population swallows up everything that is produced.

The import of food consumes a large part of our foreign exchange which might otherwise be available for importing industrial machinery. Food production

3. Peter Coreya.
4. Out of a total import worth Rs 927.19 crores, Rs 51.6 crores were spent on the import of iron and steel and Rs 152.6 crores on import of foodgrains in 1957-58.
5. The reference is to the steel plants at Bhilai, Durgapur and Rourkela and to the expansion of the Jamshedpur plant.

is not only important as an industry, but obviously is the basis for every kind of advance. We are concentrating today on the growth of heavy industry, cottage industry and other kinds of industry because without higher standards and without industrial development, no country can grow, and you cannot have any material industrialisation without heavy industry. But for this, we have to take care of the food front and ensure that agriculture flourishes and we produce enough food. Food production is the foundation for India's growth. It is of the highest importance that we step up food production and stop imports of food from abroad.

We should produce more agricultural products so that we can export our surplus for getting machinery from abroad. In this connection, there is also the need for revising the food habits of people and making it more balanced. It is a fact that the food of almost all people in every part of India, except perhaps Punjab, is not a balanced one. Therefore, it is much more desirable that the people of this part of the country should supplement their rice diet with fruits, vegetables and a little wheat. Those who consume wheat may add more fish to their diet as there is plenty of fish available here.

There are also plenty of fruits available in Kerala, with which they can supplement their normal diet. The Food Research Laboratory at Mysore has produced a combination of tapioca, groundnut and certain other articles, which is said to be very good. Though tapioca by itself is not quite so good, I propose to encourage people in other parts of India not only to take this particular food but to grow tapioca so that people may get mixed diet.

What we do to India in the next few years is going to have a powerful influence on India's future. We succeeded in reaching the targets of the First Five Year Plan. We grew confident and self-reliant. But we realised that the First Plan was only a small beginning. The Second Plan is a little more difficult. People say that we are too ambitious in the Plan. It is a matter of opinion. But, as a matter of fact, we had no choice and we had to do that and in fact in the Third Plan we will have to do a great deal more because we have to catch up. I do not think, therefore, that the Second Plan is too ambitious. I do not think that this will not be accomplished, minor things apart.

We are approaching this problem not from the point of view of dogma, economic or other, but from the pragmatic point of view, keeping our objective in view and learning by trial and error. But when we drew up the Plan, there was a certain amount of unpredictability about what people could do and will do. Sometimes, the people did amazing things. But the same people may become slack at another time. That is why I say it is a bad engagement for us to pursue activities which come in the way of that enthusiastic application to work which produces confidence and reduces division amongst us. I do not say everybody should be alike. I believe naturally the policy I pursue. I believe the party to which I belong. I would like also to convince you to accept that. But I want to convince you; I do not want your blind assent to it.

I want freedom of thinking, freedom of expression and freedom of opinion. I want each individual to grow and I want individual freedom. I attach much value to that. But at the same time there must be a great active united action. You cannot expect an army to fight an enemy by each individual soldier deciding how to carry on the fight and going in different directions. There will be no army then but a large number of individuals doing all sorts of things.

Here, you are at war with poverty and unemployment and with our own weaknesses and failings. We cannot allow this disruption and everybody going his own way. Yet, in a democratic system, we have to carry the people with us by convincing them and not by coercion. Therein lies a great challenge which India has to face; how to convince with strength, vigour and enthusiasm and to come together even though we may differ. I believe we can do it. We did it in another field when fighting for independence. I believe we can do it in this field also. In fact, we have done so partly. We may tumble and make mistakes. But we will go ahead, for when a country is determined and people of the country are determined to do something, they do it provided they are prepared to pay the price for it. The price involved here is work, tears, perspiration and whatever else there may be.

All kinds of subjects come before us, local, national and international. But the basic problem remains the same for every person in India. I am rather convinced of the principles which Gandhiji taught us. The moment we deviate from them, we become weak and the curse that has pursued the Indian people for hundreds and hundreds of years falls on them again. That curse is of disruption and division, lack of cohesion. We have never lacked in India great men, great intellects and great sages, besides brave men. But still we have had disruption and the spirit of faction. We have to learn and put an end to this spirit of faction and realise that today we are standing on an immensely vital point of history. Subsequent generations will judge how we behaved at this critical point of history. This is a matter I need not tell you. It is not a matter of men only. Women also have got to play their part as indeed they have done. It is women that ultimately give the true shape of this new moment of ours.

It is a curious thing that in Kerala you have many things that India as a whole lacks, for which we are trying hard. You have enough schools for everybody, you have fairly good health centres, you have roads and communications far better than any other part of India. These are the basic needs. You have got a foundation, on which you can build. Therefore, you should improve your agriculture and industry. There is scope here for many small industries. About big industries, I cannot say because big industries require certain conditions to be satisfied.

The new system of industrial estates that have arisen in some parts of India is an excellent system. They have cottage industries and small industries. However, I am a believer in the latest techniques, I do not believe in using

primitive tools. But I do believe in using even primitive tools when you have no tools at all. Change them to better tools when you can but do have some tools even though primitive, instead of having no tools at all or sitting idle. We shall have the radar and all the modern technology but we shall also have the bullock cart and primitive tools, where we need them or where we do not have any other tools.

I have no doubt that Kerala, with its tremendous advantages and with the high degree of intelligence that she has, can and will make good, provided the people are not constantly fighting with each other and quarrelling.

7. A New Pilgrimage to Prosperity¹

Friends and comrades,

I see many faces and more umbrellas before me. I am afraid that many of you are not very comfortably situated, although I am sure that this light rain will not harm anybody. Anyhow, I am sitting under cover and have an advantage over all of you.

As I was coming here today, some citizens of Trichur sent me a letter asking me to speak on certain subjects—the international situation, political and economic, and its effect on the Five Year Plan, and the summit conference, what I think should be the agenda of the summit conference,² and all that. Well, I am afraid I am not competent to lay down the agenda for the summit conference. Nor can I speak about the international situation as a whole, except to remind you that it is not a good situation. And so long as the cold war continues, it cannot be a good situation, because the cold war makes the world always live at the edge of a precipice and any accident may hurl it to the depths of that precipice. Therefore, the problem before the world is whether the cold war is going to stop or not. If it is not going to stop, if it is going to continue, then all other devices that may be adopted can only bring some temporary relief. What more

1. Speech at a public meeting, Trichur, 26 April 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. Though the efforts to hold a summit conference on disarmament were being made since 1957, a meeting between the US President Dwight D. Eisenhower and the Soviet Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev finally took place at Camp David where they declared in a joint communiqué on 27 September 1959 that "all outstanding international questions should be settled not by the application of force but by peaceful means through negotiation."

can I say about the international situation except to add that the cold war, as the word implies, is not a war of weapons, but a war of thoughts and utterances as well as other activities. It is a war essentially in the minds and hearts of men and women, and if men and women are always thinking in terms of war and violence, hatred and discord, then obviously, some time or other they will burst and there will be actual war. We had, of course, wars and violence and hatred and all that before, but there is one big difference today from past times and that difference is the difference of weapons, because the weapons today—atomic, nuclear, hydrogen bombs—are so terrible that war today will destroy humanity. Previously it did great damage but humanity survived. Today, therefore, the question is of the survival of humanity.

Why should I, and why should you be worried over this? We do not intend going into any war. Even if war occurs we shall keep away from it. But it will not profit us much if a nuclear war takes place and radioactive elements spread out all over the world's atmosphere. You will suffer and our people will suffer, and all the world will suffer. Therefore, this is a question not of remote but of immediate consequence to us, just as even the tests that go on—the atomic and nuclear tests that go on—affect the atmosphere for evil; they vitiate it and add to the world's troubles. Therefore, we want to stop them. Therefore, we welcome the Soviet Union saying that they will suspend them for some time.³ I wish it will not be for some time but for all times. And I wish all other countries will also stop them for all times. But that is not in your hands or mine. It is in the hands of the Great Powers, or, perhaps, if you like, it is in the hands, ultimately, of multitudes of human beings in other countries who, if they feel strongly enough, can perhaps stop them. So, we live today at the brink of a catastrophe. We live also at the beginning of the atomic age, the nuclear age, and no man knows whether this will bring good to the world or evil. It can be both. It can bring evil, as we know, and it can certainly bring an enormous good because it is a great power which can bring good.

You know that a great revolution took place in the world about 150 years ago or more, 200 if you like. That was called the Industrial Revolution. The countries in western Europe profited by it, profited by this great power of steam and later of electricity, and used them for purposes good for humanity. And it was because of this great Industrial Revolution, which came to Europe first of all and then spread, that enormous wealth was produced in the world. Remember this that this world has existed for thousands and thousands of years. But, essentially, the methods of production in the world were more or less the same for thousands of years. While people grew in numbers and the population grew,

3. On 31 March 1958, the Soviet Union announced a unilateral suspension of nuclear tests. See also *post*, pp. 726-733.

food did not grow equally. The methods of production remained the same primitive methods. And so, essentially, there were no very great revolutions, revolutions which would upset the life of humanity and make it better. You hear of the American Revolution, of the French Revolution, of the Russian Revolution and other great revolutions, no doubt. But far bigger than these revolutions was the Industrial Revolution, which suddenly, or rather gradually, changed the whole face of life, first in Europe, then in the rest of the world. All that you have today even in India, which is not an industrialised country, all that you see, this electric light, this loudspeaker, the aeroplane, the railway, the steamship, the radio and a hundred and one things that you have today are the results of the Industrial Revolution. Therefore the Industrial Revolution changed the course of life for humanity, more particularly where it took place, i.e., in Europe, in America and later in some other countries also.

While the Industrial Revolution has spread only to parts of the world, a much greater part of Asia has not got it yet. Africa, the large part of it, has not got it. Another revolution and a bigger one is coming. That is the atomic revolution. What was the Industrial Revolution? The power of steam, the power of electricity, and the technique, the technology, the machinery to employ those powers to change the life of humanity. Now we see another mighty power, atomic energy, coming in and gradually we see this atomic energy being applied for certain purposes. We have seen it applied for the purposes of death in Japan at Nagasaki and Hiroshima when atomic bombs were first used with a terrible effect. It is being used for huge weapons now. But it is also gradually being used for good purposes. We, in India, are trying to employ or produce atomic energy for peaceful works. But the point I wish you to remember is this that the world went through a great revolution nearly 200 years ago, the Industrial Revolution, which has continued all this time and it has changed the face of the earth. Today, we are on the edge of an even greater revolution, the bringing in of the atomic age.

How does all this affect us? We talk a great deal of revolutions. We say *Inqilab Zindabad, Kranti ki vijay ho*, and all that. But we forget that the biggest revolutions are these revolutions, the Industrial Revolution and the atomic revolution. It is not a revolution if you break people's heads. That is just violence. Now, in India today, we are experiencing the coming of the Industrial Revolution: the revolution which came to Europe long ago and which made Europe powerful and rich, is now coming to India, is now being brought to India; it does not come by itself. And all our five-year plans, etc., are essentially meant to bring the Industrial Revolution to India, so that we can profit by science and by the forces that science and technology have placed at our disposal, because there is no other way of getting rid of the poverty of India. Let that be quite clear. Europe and America became rich because of the Industrial Revolution, because of science and technology being used by them. India or any other country in

Asia or Africa can only prosper and get rich by using technology and science in the same way and by bringing in the Industrial Revolution here in its latest forms and stages. We are not going through 200 years of gradual change, we take it as a test today at the top and bring it in. Though, of course, even that bringing in takes time. Why does it take time? You cannot build even a small house overnight, it takes time. You cannot build a great country and all kinds of industries, all that takes time. You cannot build an industry without power. For industry, where do you get power from? Now you get power from coal, burning coal, thermal power, you get power from electricity which you can produce from the rushing of water and other ways. So, all this takes time, we cannot suddenly change the face of the country. It is in order to do all this that the five-year plans have been conceived, to bring, I repeat, the Industrial Revolution to India. While we are struggling with the beginnings of Industrial Revolution in this country, as I have told you, the atomic revolution is coming in. And it may be that other countries will go ahead with that, while we still struggle in the earlier phases. That is why we have paid great attention to the development of atomic energy in the country, so that we may not be left behind again. That is why, eleven years ago, when freedom came to our country, one of the first things we did was to build great national laboratories, great scientific laboratories because the Industrial Revolution and all that flowed from it are the children of science. If we are not advanced in science then we cannot go ahead, we cannot copy other countries in science, we have to originate. Therefore, we did that. Therefore, we have put up other laboratories for atomic energy. Therefore, we are training large numbers of engineers today because engineers are the technicians, the technologists, who can take advantage of science, which is the base of our progress.

I was happy today to go to lay the foundation stone of a new engineering college here in Trichur.⁴ Engineering colleges are coming up all over the country. And it is important that they should do so because of one thing. A country progresses not so much by the money you may have hoarded up in the past, the gold and silver and the bricks and mortar—a country progresses by the types of trained human beings that you have got. If you have not got competent engineers, competent scientists and competent other people, then it does not matter how much money you have got, you will not progress. You cannot buy genius or competence, you can only train your own people. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance that we train our people. Now all these processes take time. We cannot bring results quickly. To train a man, it takes five to ten years of training before he can do an important job. Therefore, all this five-year plan business is one of laying the foundations of future progress so that we can grow later quickly

4. See *post*, pp. 182-185.

and grow now too. Some people are dissatisfied with it and say that we are still poor, we have still unemployment. It is unfortunately true that many people in India suffer from poverty and unemployment. We are trying to do our best but the fact of the matter is that you cannot change this overnight, by some magic. You have to lay foundations and when those foundations come up, then our advance will be much more rapid, much swifter. Meanwhile, we should try to do as best as we can to increase the scope of employment. Now you see the base of our five-year plan—what is it? First, I say science and technology. Secondly, iron and steel, because out of iron and steel everything is done in industry. Thirdly, power, electric power, thermal power, and later atomic power. It is power that makes the machines work. So we are, therefore, trying to build up our power, hydroelectric works, and others. If we have power and trained people, then the country progresses.

Now, we have in our country and everywhere else great arguments about the policy we should pursue. And those arguments are important because we must pursue a correct policy, but whatever policy you may pursue, whatever you may like to call it, the fact remains that a country will go ahead only with trained people, with good scientists, good engineers in sufficient numbers and good teachers in sufficient numbers. And the policy that you pursue must thus be one in which these people are produced and are encouraged. So, that is more important because people imagine that by slogans or shouting or cursing, a country advances. You may curse if you like, if it helps you, but it does not help the country. It is clear thinking and hard work that helps. It is because of this that we formed our Planning Commission where people could think carefully about the problems of India and what to do first and what to do second and third because we cannot do everything at the same time. In the First Five Year Plan we paid attention to agriculture. We did well. In the Second Plan we thought we would pay attention to industry, and we are building four huge iron and steel plants. And we are building a machine-making industry. We are building many fertiliser plants, we are building machines, big plants for making machine tools, locomotives and many steamships, etc. We are doing that because that is the base of industry. And we are building power stations. But, again, we come back to agriculture because it is only on sound agriculture that we can build our industry. And we realise again that agriculture is the most important thing of all. If we do not have enough food, enough agricultural products, then industry cannot grow. From where can we get the money to have industry if we cannot get it out of our agricultural produce? Where can we, how can we, build up industry, if we do not have enough food in our country and when all our surplus goes to buy food abroad? Therefore, agricultural production has become the most important thing of all in India. Here is Kerala, this lovely place which is chronically deficit in food. It does not matter, if a part of India is a little deficit, we can get it from another part of India although it would be a good thing if

every part of India is more or less self-sufficient in food. So, remember that this food production, agricultural production, must be given first priority. Without that no progress is going to be effective and fast.

Now, all these difficult problems come in before us. We argue about policies, about socialism, communism, Gandhism, capitalism and we should argue about them, no doubt, because our minds should be clear. But behind all these arguments remains the solid fact which does not change and the solid fact, in regard to India, in regard to any country, is that we must have adequate food and industrial production and so on and so forth. I am saying these very simple things to you, because people forget them sometimes. It is true that the organisation of the society may be such as to help production or hinder it. Perfectly true; I think that in a society in which land is owned by big landlords, food and agricultural production is not likely to grow. There are too many restrictive features in it. Therefore, we prefer to put an end to the big landlord system and introduce some other system so that the peasant can own the land either by himself or in cooperatives and have full incentive. And so, the type of society you may develop helps or hinders. That is where socialism or other isms come in. I agree. But remember this also, that in trying to change over from one type of society to another, if there is a big break, if there is a hiatus, then for a period of time all production suffers till possibly you settle down again in a different way. Can we afford to do this? Can we afford a few years of going back instead of going forward? That would be folly. Therefore, it becomes necessary and desirable not to have a break and to proceed along that line even though you may think that the progress made is not as fast as you would like it to be. As a matter of fact, nothing is slower than a break. It stops production. Therefore, people, who imagine that by some magic formula or by some violence you can break the present-day society and bring in a better one and immediately go ahead, forget that this kind of thing takes a mighty long time to do, if it is done at all at the end. And this kind of way today, apart from being undesirable, is totally unnecessary because where you have, as you have in India, a democratic structure of society, of government, etc.—it may not be perfect, no democracy is perfect and no system of government is perfect because the system of government depends on the people. If the people are not perfect, if I am not perfect, you are not perfect, how will the system of government be perfect? It reflects the failings as well as the virtues of the people. Democracy is full of failings because people have failings. But so far as I know, democracy is, nevertheless, the best system of government that I can think of, because apart from permitting the release of peoples' energies which is highly important, it releases people's minds and their creative urges. If the people's minds and creative urges are suppressed, it means that by working hard they can achieve some results but sooner or later those people deteriorate. So, I think democracy is by far the best method. We have got a democracy. But we have the democracy functioning in a poor country, in

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a country which wants to change rapidly and therefore problems arise. You do not solve those problems by trying to short-circuit them. You won't do that.

I am merely placing some broad considerations for you to think over in regard to our planning and five-year plans, etc. In the final analysis it depends upon the ability and hard work of the Indian people. Call your policy what you like, but if that policy leads to disruption, then you are doomed because in an India, where there is disruption, where people pull in a hundred ways, where people quarrel and there are sections which believe that India cannot work, then what are you working for today and what are we doing in India? We have pledged ourselves to do something which is a tremendously big thing. I see no bigger task in the wide world, and no nation has undertaken the task of raising the country of nearly 400 million people out of the depths of poverty and leading them into prosperity, into relatively happy existence. It is a tremendous job, and also a difficult job at a time when the population of the country goes on increasing. That is the terrible part of it because every person who is born is a consumer. He wants food, he wants clothing, he wants a house, he wants schooling, he wants medical attention and he wants work, employment and all that. While we have millions of unemployed, we are having millions of newborn babies now who will later on want work, apart from food, clothing and house. So, imagine other problems. Well, we have to face them and in many ways. One, of course, is what I have often said, we have to be careful about this population business and we should try to learn family planning and birth control so that the children we may produce will be well looked after by the family, by the community, by the country. But the other thing really is growth, growing production in the country, food production of course, but every other type of production, and growing at a pace which is faster than your population. Otherwise you can never make good.

During British times, for 100 years or more, there was a progressive decline in our per capita income and in our living standards. It did not show in the big cities—Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi—but in our villages; the peasantry went down slowly and gradually. Big famines came and millions died. The last big famine came in 1942, 16 years ago or 15 years ago, and millions and millions died in Bengal. Now, we have had food problem, we have had tremendous difficulties about food. Sometimes, we have been told, oh! somebody has died of starvation. I do not know. There are plenty of people who are poor. But can you imagine how that type of thing can happen which happened in 1942 in Bengal? No. It cannot happen. No government in India can possibly afford it as a foreign government might have done, that too in wartime. You see the continuous pressure. If very special steps had not been taken during the last two or three years, there would have been famines in India, plenty of famines. Famine conditions were there, but special steps, special efforts in production, in buying food from abroad were taken. The fact is that in spite of everything, the food

production of India today is higher than it has ever been in history. And it will go on; no doubt, it will grow. I have not a shadow of doubt that we will solve our food problem in the next three or four years, as we shall solve other problems. But I want you to realise the nature of these problems. We should not unthinkingly shout about it.

So, this is the mighty problem before us. Nearly 400 million people to be raised. How can they be raised? Obviously by their own efforts. I can't raise them. The Government in Delhi cannot raise them. No government can raise them. Government can only help them to raise themselves. And all this five-year plan business is partly meant to create conditions in which people raise themselves—training people, putting up factories, plants, etc. Above all this, community project schemes, I think, are the most revolutionary things in India today. Not revolutionary in the fascist sense, not revolutionary in the shouting sense, but something that is now changing the face of rural India and that is destined to change it very much more because unless the face of rural India changes, India cannot change, because 80 per cent of India is rural India. It is the village that we have to change and these community development projects have now been in existence for five and a half years. Five and a half years is not a very long time and during this period we have spread to, I forget the exact number, about 170 million people in the rural areas of India. Is not that a tremendous figure? Now, I know that the quality of work done under the community development schemes is not the same everywhere. Sometimes it is not good, sometimes it is mediocre, sometimes it is very good. But nevertheless, in the balance, the work done all over India amazes me and fills me with hope and confidence. And I have no doubt that in these community development schemes we have sown the seeds which will gradually revolutionise the whole of rural India in the real sense of the word, that is, make the peasant, make the man in the village, self-reliant with his creative spirit unleashed and all that.

So, these things are happening in India today. And, gradually and painfully, these hundreds of millions of people in India are marching forward to the next stage of their journey. One stage they accomplished after much travelling when independence came; immediately they have to start on this new journey, this new pilgrimage to, call it what you like, welfare, prosperity. We cannot bring about these things by socialism or by welfare measures very rapidly. It is a long journey and a hard one. We shall get them, of course, but it means working hard for it. And how can we work in that manner? Are we to lay down some rigid code? I do not think so, because life is much more complicated, life is much more difficult, and if you lay down a fixed rule that would do you good for a while, and may again simply come in the way of progress. Therefore, our method of approach has not been a rigid one; we keep a goal in front, and we lay down naturally our broad path to it, but we look at this problem afresh every time and we learn by our own failures, by our own experience, as well as by the experience

of other countries. And so we march. We make mistakes, of course, we make a thousand mistakes and we go on making mistakes. It is only the country and the people who are marching ahead who make mistakes. It is only a living community that makes mistakes. The dead don't make mistakes. They are dead. The stagnant does not make mistakes. The problems we have today are the problems of a living dynamic community marching ahead, trying to break out of the shackles of the past, trying somehow to get out of the old ruts. It is a tremendous job, a tremendous adventure; it is that adventure in which you and I and all of us are engaged, even though you may not quite realise it because it is not an adventure of the people who draw up the five-year plan or the Government of Delhi or Government of Kerala or the Governments of our States. We are only agents, small petty agents, to help in this great adventure of the Indian people. Let us not think too much of ourselves but rather think of the Indian people, 400 million of them, marching forward through danger, through deserts, through difficulties, but marching forward because there is energy released, more and more energy will be released. That is the picture I want you to have before you.

And so to go back, we are going forward not only to bring the Industrial Revolution, but we are doing so on the eve of the atomic revolution and we have to bring both, more or less. We are not to compete with other countries, to rival other countries, but to bring prosperity to our own people. We are happy if other countries do better. If certain other countries are richer, let them be richer. We do not envy them, but we want to get rid of our poverty and our unemployment and our misery. But one thing more—and it is a very important thing—we want material advance, we want the good things of life for our people and the necessities of life for them today. But for me there is something other than material advance also. They are the things, moral, ethical and spiritual. Do they count at all in our lives? What has kept us going through these centuries, thousands of years? Our country has suffered much materially, suffered from outsiders, invaders, conquerors and others, suffered from our own follies and our own faults. Yet we have survived. The Indian people survived for thousands of years in spite of every difficulty and disaster. Surely, there is something in them, some inner strength that made them survive. And if, somehow, in order to get these necessities of life which are so important, in order to get the material advance which is so important, we pay the price of giving up that inner strength which we have, will that not be too great a price to pay? But why should we give it up? We want both. We want the material goods. We want inner strength. It is my conviction that no nation can prosper ultimately without, call it what you will, call it inner strength, call it character, call it some ethical standards of life or moral standards. Without it no community, no nation can prosper. Ultimately, it has to go down, and if you look at history you will see great nations going up and great nations going down. You will see the rise and fall of great peoples; you see them struggling for power and growing up in the scale of

things. And we find them becoming rich and powerful and then decay, their ethical standards fallen, their character going down and their morality having no base left. Therefore, it is important that in our fight, in our struggle for material things, we should never forget the ethical aims of life, moral aims of life and the spiritual aims of life. I am not using the word 'spiritual' in any narrow sense of the word but in the broadest sense. After all, everything that is really beautiful in life has something spiritual in it. How do you measure goodness in man, you don't measure it by some material standards. You can't measure it by some material standards. You can't purchase it in the market-place for gold or silver. Yet, you know that goodness is something valuable, tremendously valuable. Take beauty. Take artistic beauty, take art, take good music, take good painting, take good architecture, take anything that is uplifting. It has something of the spiritual in it. I am not talking about the cheap things of art, but the real things which make nations great, the real things which still exist in India. Go to Ajanta, Ellora. There is something mighty spiritual in them that our forebears did. So, we have always to keep this in view.

I do not presume to tell you what an ethical and moral standard is. Who am I to tell you? Search for yourself. But have it. If you ignore it, if you forget it, if you pass it by, life will not forget it. Life will punish you and life will punish me, your group and community and your nation, as life has done always in history. Therefore, it is necessary that we should take a broad view of our life, of our nation and of our progress. In our five-year plans, or longer or shorter plans, always keep it in view, this very important and vital factor which really has made life worth living. I do not like our people say as they sometimes do, "Oh, India is very spiritual, the nations of the West are materialistic. Oh, we may have become poor but we are highly spiritual." I do not like that. I do not like it because this kind of thing is said out of certain defeatism, "Oh, we have failed in life. Therefore, let us at least think of or keep all our spirituality." That is not spirituality that is only humbug. But when I talk of spirituality, it is something deeper. And it is something which must not lead you to failure in life. It must help you, strengthen you, and I do believe that in spite of all our follies and disasters India has had something which gave it that inner strength through these thousands of years. I do not want to lose it. But at the same time I do not want to carry on with all those faults and humbugs that go on in this country in the name of spirituality. I want real stuff which has produced from time to time men of amazing stature, from the time of the Buddha to the time of Gandhiji.

And so, I come to Gandhiji—that man who trod on this Indian earth, in our lives. Some of you may have seen him, some of you may have heard him, some of us had the privilege to work with him, under him and learn something from him. And now, some years have passed and he has gone, my thoughts often wonder in some surprise, we think how privileged we were that such a man

came and lived in this India of ours in our time, for India and we were blessed by his coming. We gained independence, of course, but we gained something infinitely more, faith in ourselves, in our country and self-confidence and all that. The young men today read about Gandhi and maybe they shout *Mahatma Gandhi ki jai* but they do not have that intimate experience which some of us have had the privilege to have, an experience which made us what we are, for we were petty folks who were made bigger in your eyes because the shadow of Gandhi fell upon us and because we learnt something from him. When he came to India as a great leader, came to this country, in ages past, reminding us of many things, reminding us, above all, of that inner strength and he happened to draw it out of us, and made us, weak and broken down people, a strong nation again and a self-reliant nation. We, by following the path he showed us, gained freedom in a unique way and conquered the admiration of the world. Why is India looked up to by other countries to some extent today? Not because of you or me but because of Gandhi who had lived here and taught us some methods which we followed and whereby we attained success in this tremendous task of freeing India by peaceful and honourable means, legitimate means, and after that we are strong enough and proud enough to make friends with those with whom we had fought the other day. That was the greatness in the country, real greatness. It is easy to hate your enemy, it is much more difficult and much more admirable to win over your enemy and to make friends with him, and yet, not give up the principles for which you stand and fight for. That is what Gandhi taught us which is most needed in the world today, in this cold war and all that, and in this age of atomic weapons.

How will you conquer the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb? Even the country that has the hydrogen bomb cannot conquer it. They can only destroy the earth. How can we, who have neither, do it? There is no way of conquering the hydrogen bomb by a hydrogen bomb. You can only conquer it by a method which is completely opposed to it and completely different, which is not based on violence or hatred; you can only conquer it by the Buddha's way or Gandhi's method. And it has been India's privilege repeatedly to experience that message. So, let us be true to ourselves. Let us not forget that something which has given strength to our nation for thousands of years, and which has saved us from destruction and degradation so many times. Let us at the same time remember that we have become backward in life, other nations have gone ahead and they have gone ahead because they are better than us. Do not imagine that we are superior to them. We have to learn from them, we have to learn science and technology and take advantage of them to build up our nation so that this question of building up our nation becomes a mighty question on every plane, on the material plane, on the scientific plane, on the technical and the technological plane and on the spiritual and moral and ethical plane. If all could go together,

it would be well for this country. I hope all will go together even though we make mistakes. In doing so, we have to remember certain simple facts. The simple fact of India's unity. It is simple, it is obvious; yet we forget it and begin to think so much of our petty area, our village, our state or language or caste or religion, forgetting what we are. We are citizens of India, citizens of the Republic of India—not citizens of Bombay, Madras or Kerala or some other State—you are what you are because you are citizens of the Republic of India, which is honoured in the world.

So, the question of the unity of India is of utmost importance. Never let yourself go astray in petty quarrels whether they are based on religion, caste, state, language or anything else. All the religions which exist in India are religions of India, not only Hinduism, not only Buddhism, which started in India, but also Islam and Christianity—certainly they have been here for thousands of years. They have influenced India, India has influenced them. They are as much religions of India as any other religion. You honour them. Do you remember what another mighty Indian said long ages ago, Asoka the Great in the third century before Christ, and he has inscribed his message on pillars of stones all over India? You can see that pillar which is inscribed in Asoka's time, and you can read the words which he dictated and which were put there. They are wonderful because they tell you of that old thought of India, that basic thinking or culture of India. One of them I shall repeat to you; he said, "Honour your faith but honour also the other person's faith and opinion. If you honour the other person's faith and opinion, he will honour your faith also." Now, can you put in brief language the essential doctrine of tolerance? Can you put it in more beautiful language? If you think in terms of religion, it applies to religion. Honour other people's faith or religion. If, in the modern world, you think in terms of ideologies and 'isms', does it not apply to them also? And is not much of our trouble today due to the intolerance of these 'isms' and policies which hate the other and are always cursing the other? You need not give up your principles; remember, principle is not a thing to be given up. But be tolerant, be understanding, try to convince the other, try to conquer the other by goodwill and affection and love. You will go much further without doing any damage.

So, from olden times there is this message of tolerance which India has given, although India has not always practised it, I admit it. But it has the mind and soul and spirit of India. It has come out again and again and it is the true voice of India. If you forget the true voice of India, then we have no roots left. We are vagrants, nomads, attaching ourselves to this idea or that without any roots in our country. It is not in this way that races or peoples grow. And we are an ancient race, with deep roots. Why should we pull them out? True, all the rotten branches we have to cut off and throw away, but there is enough good soil, fresh material to refresh us still.

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So, I have come to you again to Trichur after some time and I have been coming here close upon 30 years⁵ and it is likely that I may come again but obviously times of my coming are getting fewer and fewer. And in the years that are left to me, I hope, I should have the strength to carry on this work, this tremendous task of adventure, which is yours and mine because there is no greater joy on earth than to work for a great cause, to throw yourselves in it with all your might and spirit. And then, when your strength has exhausted, what does it matter? You can be thrown in the scrap heap because you have done your job. That is the most which can be expected of an individual. Thank you. *Jai Hind!*

You say *Jai Hind* with me three times please. *Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!*

5. Nehru, accompanied by his wife Kamala and daughter Indira, went on a tour of Ceylon and South India in the summer of 1931. He visited Trichur on 30 May 1931. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 4, pp. 539-540.

8. Importance of Town Planning¹

Madam Mayor² of the Corporation³ and Members,

When I was invited to come here, I very gladly agreed because I wanted an opportunity to meet all of you. As far as I can remember, I had even said that the proceedings should be kept informal because I did not wish to come here to give a lecture. Anyhow, I am here and have been asked to give some advice. I cannot and dare not give advice. But I will certainly place some of my thoughts before you.

I was the Chairman of the Allahabad Municipal Board 35 years ago and occupied that post for two years.⁴ In the course of those two years, I developed a special interest in municipal work. I liked the work, though there were problems and difficulties which caused anger and frustration. But I was interested in the

1. Speech at an informal meeting of the members of the Municipal Corporation of Delhi, 2 May 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Aruna Asaf Ali.
3. Municipal Corporation of Delhi came into existence on 7 April 1958 under an Act of Parliament.
4. Nehru was the Chairman of the Allahabad Municipal Board from April 1923 to April 1925. He was in prison from December 1921 to January 1923 and from October 1930 to September 1935.

work because it was directly concerned with the day-to-day lives of the people and there was nothing superficial about it. I was not the Prime Minister or a high official but was in direct contact with the people. Remember that those were the days when the freedom movement was at its peak. I was there for two years which coincided almost with the interval between two prison terms.⁵ Even from jail I tried to do some work. In spite of the fact that we were involved in historic tasks and I was caught up in them, I took an interest in municipal work because, in a sense, it is not directly connected with politics, except perhaps occasionally. Only when some matter of principle was involved there was a confrontation with the Government but generally there was no direct contact. Even within our own municipality there were often two or three parties but the fact is that it was seldom that views were divided on major issues or principles. So from that point of view I liked the way the municipality worked and the members cooperated with me. It is obvious that I cannot compare the municipality of a small poor city like Allahabad with the Delhi municipality. I am merely reminding you that I have always been interested in this work. Later, even when I was not directly connected with it, I continued to take an interest in its working, especially in the matter of town planning, etc.

Now more than ten years have passed since I came to Delhi. Immediately after Independence, we were caught up in the terrible storm of communal riots in the wake of partition. Innumerable refugees fled from both the countries and took refuge in the other. Terrible barbaric things happened which inflicted a deep wound on the body politic. I saw all those things with my own eyes and was often horrified to notice that decent, civilised human beings could suddenly be carried away to such an extent. All these things changed the face of Delhi completely. Refugees poured in. Secondly, being the capital of India, it began to expand to accommodate people from various corners of India, mainly government officials. The population of Delhi increased as more and more offices were opened and the city expanded. Besides the innumerable problems which had afflicted Delhi earlier, new problems arose. Making arrangements for the refugees, building houses for them and providing them work were the most important problems. New colonies were built all over the place in a tremendous hurry. We made mistakes in our hurry and later on efforts were made to rectify them.

Gradually, we were confronted with the urgent need for town planning. In the hour of need, we built the colonies haphazardly and houses and offices came up without any kind of planning, which was not right. It was essential to have a master plan for Delhi and to visualise what the city should look like 15 to 25

5. For Nehru's prison terms, see his jail diary in *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 6, pp. 360-362.

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years hence and to work within that framework.⁶ It is obvious that we could not do anything by magic. Enormous sums of money were needed and moreover the people had to be mentally prepared and their cooperation secured. This was the right attitude to the problem and it is surprising that it was not done so in the big cities of India earlier. In my opinion, there should be a master plan for every city in India to visualise what it will look like after 20, 25 or 30 years. Once that is decided, the work can proceed along those lines. This does not mean that we should make a rigid plan which cannot be altered. But it is essential to have a plan. Otherwise haphazard growth of a city leads to difficulties later on.

If you visit the old cities of Europe, you will find that the people are facing enormous difficulties as the cities are expanding. When they were built, 50 or 100 years ago, they were meant for small populations of two-three lakhs, while at present each one of them has a population of 15-20 lakhs or more. The streets are not wide enough to take the heavy motor traffic. There is no space for parking. The result is that in most of these cities, if you wish to go anywhere in a hurry, it is easier to go on foot because cars have to be parked miles away from your destination. It takes much longer to go by car. There are innumerable other problems because people's way of life has changed completely. These cities had been built at a time when the lifestyle was different. Now things have changed, traffic and population have increased and the needs have increased. When I went to Moscow,⁷ I found that the city had been planned with great foresight. The roads are so wide that they look like large fields. I was amazed to see their width. Just imagine, there roads are 300 feet wide and have been so built that there may be no problems even in the future if the traffic increases. I have seen this in Germany and France⁸ also. Even the ordinary roads have six lanes with grass verges in between. There are separate lanes for motor cars and cycles and pedestrians. The idea is to build wide roads which can take an increased traffic later on. Now let me give you an example of the mistakes that our government have made. Huge multi-storeyed buildings have come up in New Delhi and on the way to Rajghat—oh, yes, Asaf Ali Road—and there has been no attempt to build wide roads in front of them. The roads are narrow, and huge buildings have come up on both sides. If something is not done about it

6. The Delhi Development Authority had, with the assistance of a Ford Foundation team, prepared the First Master Plan for Delhi for the integrated development of the city. It came into effect from 1 September 1962.
7. Nehru visited Moscow in June 1955. For details, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 29, pp. 201-231.
8. Nehru visited Germany from 13 to 16 July 1956 and France from 17 to 18 July 1956. For details, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 34, pp. 269-296.

soon, these roads will not be able to take the heavy traffic. If these things are not planned in advance there are bound to be complications.

So we came to the conclusion that town planning was very essential. We called our young Indian architects and told them to draw up a plan according to the modern concepts which are extremely complex. Town planning no longer means merely building roads or parks but it takes into consideration every aspect of the people's lives. For instance, nursery schools should be within easy reach of little children who should not have to cross busy roads, which is dangerous. So roads are built in such a way that children can go to schools on their own without having to cross big roads with heavy traffic. Then there should be marketing complexes in every area for the convenience of the citizens so that they do not have to travel long distances to go to large shopping centres, wasting time and adding to the traffic problems.

We are facing another problem in New Delhi and I do not know what the solution is going to be. Our Central Government offices have proliferated to such an extent on both sides of the Secretariat in New Delhi that movement in that area has become a big problem. Around 10 o'clock in the morning there is such a huge number of bicycles near the Secretariat, the like of which would be difficult to see anywhere else in the world. It is impossible to pass through. Roads get clogged between 9.30 and 10.30 in the morning, with college students going on bicycles. It is not proper that people should have to travel long distances to reach their places of work. But, at the same time, if the offices are spread out, work gets affected. There are so many complications and each of them has to be sorted out.

Anyhow, we chose some architects, young promising Indians, who worked very hard and after 4-5 months produced a number of plans. You must realise that planning takes into consideration various things, like the alignment of roads, the location of parks and shopping centres, the provision of industrial complexes and residential areas, etc. They drew up plans according to the population densities of New Delhi and Old Delhi, their requirements, occupations and social services, transport, etc., so that the city could remain beautiful and spread-out and slums would not come up. It was an important thing that they were doing and we liked their suggestions so much that the Cabinet approved of them in general. Then details were asked for, and though so many plans had been drawn up in six months, this was the first approach with regard to details.

In the meantime, the Ford Foundation saw what we were doing and they said to someone in the Health Ministry that they would also like to help. We accepted their offer gladly. In fact, as far as I can remember, they had even mentioned five or six people who were regarded as experts in the United States in their own fields, not only architects but all sorts of people who were not directly connected with the work. There were psychologists, industrial planners,

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health experts and what not. We attached our architects to this team for two purposes. Apart from the work that they would be doing in Delhi, we wanted to form a highly expert team that could be sent to any part of India to work. The team that had come from the United States was very experienced and we wanted our people to learn from them. But, ultimately, whatever the experience of the foreigners, whether they are from England, America or Russia, their mindset is not attuned to Indian conditions. Sometimes there were suggestions which could just not be practicable here. Therefore, the ultimate decision has to be ours according to the needs of the country. Anyhow, we will gradually gain experience and be able to do all these things ourselves as we have done in the sphere of engineering. So, we attached the architects to the American team with the idea that a strong team may be trained that could take into consideration all aspects of town planning and give advice wherever necessary, in Calcutta, Kanpur or elsewhere.

Anyhow, it was a difficult task, and after a great deal of delay, after many months, the joint team submitted a draft plan, which is a good plan. It is a preliminary report but at least it shows what the general thinking is. Perhaps the final report will be ready in a few months' time. We did not want too many buildings to come up which might not blend with our landscape later. So the building of houses has been stopped. But that has created new problems in a city like Delhi. We are in a great dilemma. But I feel that, within a few years, it will become clear as to what should come up and where, like industries and offices and buildings. The team will continue to draw up their plans but in the meantime work can be started. It is obvious that all of you will be interested in this and will study the report that will be published. But it would be good if you could have an exhibition of the various plans and maps drawn up by them. Reports do not present the whole picture. Some of our architects will explain to you the whole plan. This will enable you to understand how they are working. You must understand this because it is your special duty to do so.

It is obvious that there are many factors to be taken into account. First, the people of this city must have proper living and working conditions. Adequate facilities have to be provided for recreation and amusement. Employment, business, education and a thousand other things are needed and, at the same time, the desire is to have a clean and beautiful city. That does not mean spending extravagantly on it.

Then there is another important thing to be kept in mind. Old and famous cities are not just places where people lived. Then cities have a soul of their own, a spirit, an atmosphere which one can feel almost with eyes closed. I can give you the example of famous cities like Paris, Vienna and London, which have a life, a culture, a civilisation and a history behind them which unfold themselves before you the moment you reach there.

It is obvious that a city like Delhi has a continuum of thousands of years which in itself is a tremendous thing and it cannot be suppressed. There are many cities like this in India. But I think it is most evident in Delhi and Banaras. In spite of all their shortcomings and defects, they tell an old story and have a peculiar ambience of their own which you can feel. It is a very precious thing and it would be wrong to suppress it. Whatever plans are drawn up they must always take into account the need to keep alive that spirit. It is true that the population of Delhi has grown tremendously and the people are welcome to come and live here, but not at the cost of destroying the spirit of this city. Delhi has been a special place, a special city for thousands of years, which is of great value.

I have talked to you about the city of Delhi. But it is obvious that the villages that come under your Corporation are equally important. There should be a relationship between the city and the rural areas whereby both may nurture and help each other. It should not be a matter merely of exploitation of the rural areas by the cities without giving them anything in return. The community development schemes have a role to play in establishing proper relationship between the city and the village. The problem of rural development is a very big problem and extremely vital too because ultimately, however advanced Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta may be, the progress of India depends on the rural areas. Eighty per cent of India's population lives in the rural areas, please remember this. So it is a vital issue. We began the community development schemes, etc., about five and a half years ago and, as far as I know, they have spread so far to 2,80,000 villages out of the 5,25,000 villages of India. I do not remember exactly but I think more than half the population of India has been covered. So, from that point of view, it has been a tremendous work to have brought more than half of India's population under these schemes. It is certainly amazing. But it is obvious that to say that the work of the community development blocks has been excellent is not correct. In some places, it has been good and in others, not so good. Yet the speed with which these schemes have spread is amazing. Taking everything into consideration, good work has been done by and large all over India. In this connection, I had stated some days ago that the work in the rural areas near Delhi has not been good. I do not know what progress has been made during the last one and a half years because I found that the work was more for show. So I felt worried that merely building a road or digging a canal was not really helping in the task of implementing the rural development programme. Ultimately, it is the people in the rural areas who should become strong and self-reliant and capable of shouldering the country's burdens.

Now, I would like you to understand what I mean. I feel that the whole of India can progress only when the masses in the country share the burden of progress, gain self-confidence and develop the spirit of cooperation with one another. It is only then that the work can get done fast. Even the best of

governments cannot undertake these tasks on their own. First of all, the government cannot hope to cover this large country. Even if it could, the work would not get done efficiently. How can government officials be posted at every street corner to supervise these things? It is impossible and improper. It is the people in the villages or the cities who should take on the responsibilities. It is obvious that the government should help them in every way. But the responsibility should rest with the masses. I am laying stress on this because I find that the tendency to look to the government for everything is growing. It is strange that people expect everything to be done by the Collector, who in turn passes on the responsibility to the State Government which passes it upwards to the Government of India. There is no one who takes on the responsibility himself. Moreover, in a democracy, people expect a great deal from the government. It is true that the government should help as much as it can. But nations cannot progress if the people do not work. I do not like the idea of everything being done by the official machinery, whether in villages or cities.

I told you that there should be three pillars in every village: a panchayat, a cooperative and a school. If these three things are there, I will not bother about the other things. If the foundations are not strong, then any superficial treatment will not take us very far.

So, as I said, in my opinion, there should be a school in every village. I want that a day should come when every child in the primary schools should get one good meal a day. If milk can also be given, it will be better. But that may be difficult. The Madras Corporation has a mid-day meal scheme and the State has decided to introduce it in all the primary schools in Madras. They are spending a great deal of money but it is money well spent.

As for Panchayats, we know that there is a lot of factionalism, inner conflicts and mutual recrimination in the panchayats. There are thousands of problems. But you have to face them. It is wrong to say that you will not have a panchayat or a cooperative because people fight among themselves or are not capable of running them. If we give up without even trying, we would have proved our uselessness. We must prove that we are capable of taking on responsibilities and, with experience, we will gain confidence.

There is a great deal of talk about cooperatives. Some good work has been done by them. But I am not fully satisfied with the way they are functioning. During the days of British rule, there was tremendous official interference and the laws were so stringent that most people were wary of taking advantage of the cooperatives. Anyhow, we have tried to develop the cooperatives. Then a few years ago a report of a committee of the Government of India—the Rural Project Report—was published and we accepted many of its recommendations.⁹

9. For the report, see *ante*, pp. 15-16.

But its recommendations about the cooperatives were not quite proper in my view. The committee had taken the view that we were not capable of running small cooperatives and so we should go in for bigger cooperatives which would get more aid from the Government and would be under the charge of government officials. This was accepted by the Government along with the other recommendations and was implemented, with the result that in Madras, Bombay and Uttar Pradesh the small village cooperatives, which had existed earlier, were closed down and big ones were formed. The government and the Reserve Bank gave them loans and it is obvious that, in some places, some good has come out of this.

But on the whole I am convinced that this is not the right way. A cooperative does not mean merely lending money or giving credits. It is a way of life and thinking, and mutual cooperation of the people. We want to encourage this thinking. It cannot be done by putting the villagers in a large crowd. In small village cooperatives, the people know each other and are aware of their shortcomings and capabilities and it becomes easier for them to work together, even if there are occasional squabbles. Therefore, it is my firm conviction that we should have small cooperatives constituted of one or two villages where everyone knows everyone else. There should be intimacy and a personal element in these matters. These smaller cooperatives could be loosely linked together to form a larger cooperative at the top. So I think the present policy is wrong. We are now trying to change it. I do not like the hand of government officials in everything. I am also a government servant. But I feel that ultimately no good can come out of it. I want that millions of people should participate in their small little ways. A few government officials cannot push them into it; they can at best guide them and give advice. Then villagers should be given the freedom to make mistakes and stumble too if necessary, for they will learn from their own experience. To say that they cannot do anything is to ensure that they will never do anything.

Well, I have talked to you about villages in general. The situation in the villages around Delhi is slightly different as is natural when they are close to a large city. There are advantages as well as drawbacks of it. You have to work for the maximum good of the villages as well as of the city. The urban facilities and amenities should reach the villages. It is up to you to draw up plans keeping all this in mind. It would be good if people from the villages as well as from the city were in the Corporation. I hope there will be no tension between them, both pulling each other in opposite directions. There are bound to be some problems. But there should be no groupism between them, one group trying to harm the other group and thus creating obstacles in the way of progress.

You are doing an extremely interesting job of looking after this very ancient city and beautifying it, not only by building beautiful buildings and

good roads, but by maintaining a good standard of living. So the stream of life flows on. The life of a city is however endless. I hope you will succeed in your task.

9. Planning for the Lowest Strata of Society¹

Mr President² and friends,

I have come here gladly on your invitation more to extend to you our goodwill and greetings than to make any startling announcement. I have been listening to your Chairman's address. There are a number of things in it, proposals and suggestions,³ which certainly, I feel, should be considered carefully by the Government. There are some other proposals, which appear to me to be somewhat opposed to the broad policy being pursued by the Government, not opposed in the sense of direct opposition but rather not being in tune with that policy. But, in any event, any suggestion made by you should certainly be considered with care. When I said just now that it may be that some of your proposals are not quite in tune with our policy, I do not quite know if I expressed myself clearly. In a sense, there can hardly be any conflict in various approaches but there can be a great deal of difference of opinion as to the emphasis to be laid on various factors.

We want to do so many things but what is to be done first, what next, becomes a matter of policy. We plan and our Planning Commission and the idea of planning have, you might say, become broadly and generally acceptable in the country. Yet, I rather doubt if many people would sit and talk in terms of planning. Really, if I may say so with all respect, very few people have any

1. Address to the eighteenth annual conference of the All India Manufacturers' Organisation, New Delhi, 3 May 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. S.N. Haji.
3. Haji had said that it was essential to encourage more and more corporate enterprises. He expressed satisfaction over the measures taken by the Government to lighten the tax burden on industry. For augmenting small savings, he suggested the introduction of a prize bond scheme on the lines of a similar scheme in England and acquiring the vast amount of hoarded gold and silver. He suggested that the Government should appeal to people to surrender the bullion against gold certificates, convertible after ten years and bearing an attractive rate of interest. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 37, p. 192. He added that the private sector and the general public should be allowed to invest in the shares of public sector companies.

clear idea as to what planning is because planning can be of many types. Everybody plans, of course, in a sense, his personal life or his business life or his national life, but surely when we talk about planning a nation's development, we mean something more than that vague approach. It means having some definite picture of society which you wish to develop in the course, maybe, of a generation, whatever the period may be. It is an ever-developing process and cannot be brought about quickly. It may take 20 years, 25 years to utilise your resources such as they are to the best advantage, and increase your resources, so on and so forth. It is a continuous process, and it is to be judged not by one particular standard but by so many standards. In the final analysis, I would say it is to be judged, shall I put it crudely, by how few slums you have got in the country. What is the condition of the poorest in the country, not of the richest, that may be the test. I say this very definitely and I am coming to this conclusion more and more that we must judge everything from its impact on the lowest strata of society, poorest strata of society, how are we benefiting that strata. I know that this kind of thing may lead to a person thinking in terms of, shall I say, trying to be good and not trying to be very wise in the long run. I am not thinking in those terms of being good, in terms of doles and all that. I want that strata of society to become productive and all that, but I do think that, generally speaking, our thinking ignores this fact. We talk about the Harijans, we talk about this or we talk about that, but we do not think really about them in an organised way. And therefore, this problem, which always worries us, worries everyone.

On the one side it is quite essential and obvious that we must increase our productive resources, our wealth-producing capacity and all that, even at the cost of everything that we would like to have. We have to reduce our consumption in order to save, to invest. All that is perfectly true and yet we cannot afford to allow that lower strata of society to remain where it is. Not only that, it seems to me morally and ethically wrong but for entirely practical reasons, opportunism, if you like. I think that we have constantly to keep in view that if we have to raise that strata, raise it by education, raise it in the real sense, we can do that by giving it more opportunity. We are a huge country and we do not quite realise, we are apt to forget rather, that this vast strata of society at the bottom of the social scheme in India is not only unhappy, is not only not doing what it should, but it is, in a sense, always a drag on the community, on the country. We forget that because the numbers are so great. People talk about our literacy being very low, which it is, and yet the number of literate persons runs into large numbers of millions in India. There are more literate persons here in India than in most small countries of the world, although the percentage may be 18 per cent or 20 per cent. But then 18 per cent or 20 per cent of the Indian population is a terrible number also. So, this consciousness of the fact that this large section of population, low down in the scale, is a constant drag on us,

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prevents our progress practically, and psychologically speaking, I think it is not quite fully present in our minds, and in my mind too, all the time.

There is another aspect too. It might be called, if you like, the ethical or moral aspect of this large proportion of our population living in these very low standards: it is all painful to look at them again and again in our slums and other places. I am pushed out of my composure repeatedly by these sights and I begin to feel that if we are to progress as a nation, it would ultimately depend on the quality of human beings at the base of our social structure, not merely at the top. The top counts, of course, it is most important that the quality should be high but the quality at the base should be relatively also high, much higher than it is. Then it should be higher in every way, higher in the political way, higher in the economic way, higher in the cultural way. And that is why I have said on many occasions that the base of our social structure in the village should be the village panchayat, the village cooperative and the village school. Each village should have them, not these fancy cooperatives covering large areas; they may be doing business on a big scale, but I am getting more and more opposed to that idea, because that idea does not seep down to the individual, does not build him up. I want to build the individual. I do not want some magnificent things to show off, and big officers sitting in big offices with red-coated liveried people standing outside.

One of the pains of my existence of being in Delhi is those very good individuals, individually, the *chaprasis* and the peons and the like. They have become a symbol to me of the wrong way of working. No decent man should have a *chaprasi* in the office; they might have a messenger boy or something. I just do not understand how we have grown up in the system, with thousands and tens of thousands of them, and everybody wanting *chaprasis* to trail after him. It is really, essentially, some kind of a feudal idea that we have got. You may talk of industry, you may talk of everything else, you will have to get rid of this utter feudalism in our lives, in our government offices, in all these places. It is quite extraordinary to me that, before we can start any work, the officer has to surround himself with hordes of different grades of people all round; otherwise he cannot work at all. The average man has a car and he drives it. In India, he wants a chauffeur, the chauffeur wants an assistant chauffeur and that fellow wants a cleaner. It is an astounding way how we work. You have to get out of these things, these are little things. But, in fact, these are not little things, they are drags which keep us down. It is a way of thinking, way of acting that we have inherited from the past; we cannot get out of it, we should try to get out of it, because all this lowers the quality and the price of the individual. Our people are poor in this country, they are cheap. That is why their quality is low or vice versa but we have to make them valuable, we have not to use them for cheap purposes, for the menial purposes and the like.

That is why, I feel, it is more and more important to go right to the bottom. Of course, we should have the economic policies and the rest to improve them but we have to give them certain amount of mental training and we have to make them self-reliant and conscious of their own dignity. That is why I want to encourage them to do things for themselves as far as possible, without constant official interference. I have been saying this everywhere, I do not want co-operatives run by official agencies. I want Government to help it. Of course, it requires help but I want independent, self-reliant cooperatives, and cooperatives which are small so that individuals know each other in the villages and there is a personal bond and not an impersonal factor which people do not know. India will progress, I am convinced, only when the villagers of India get moving and I believe they are moving. And, therefore, apart from all big activities that we are doing at the top which are very valuable, we have to think more and more about this foundation of Indian society, that is the village. And in the village we have to proceed on these lines. They might say that the administrative structure is the panchayat. I know very well that in the panchayat sometimes the people, the *panchs*, quarrel. They pull each other down; there is rivalry, there are all kinds of wrong things. It does not matter. We can train them only that way, not by putting an official on their head, and making them just rely on his whims, his decisions. You cannot train people without giving them these opportunities. The economic aspect is to be looked after by the cooperatives, the village cooperatives, not big cooperatives, people knowing each other, people knowing each other's faults and virtues, almost having a sensation of a large family. Then there is hope. You can make the smaller cooperatives, link them up with bigger ones. That is a different matter. That is a desire only and also the village school which is quite essential. And I would prefer a village school set up without a school building. I am getting tired of money spent on buildings in this country. I want human beings and I want them to teach even in the open rain and open sun and not to wait till we have money to put up the building which is normally an ugly and bad building from every point of view. So, the impact of the experience I have been having has made me think more and more of these basic and fundamental things.

I am, of course, engaged, as many of us are, in big major schemes; they attract me and they fascinate me. We have the great river valley schemes,⁴ we have the great industries growing up and producing iron and steel and fertilizers and this and that, all kinds of things. We have the Bhakra-Nangal, the locomotives

4. The total capacity of India's canals was over 220,000 cusecs, and their length was over 67,500 miles. Major river valley projects which continued from the First Plan were Bhakra-Nangal, Damodar Valley, Hirakud, Chambal, Tungabhadra, Mayurakshi, Bhadra, Kosi, Nagarjunasagar and Kakrapara. Besides, several smaller new projects were taken up in the Second Plan.

and we have atomic energy on one side. That is true and will go on, I believe. On the other side, we have our community development schemes and the community development blocks, which are directly attached to that foundation of the village to which I referred and which, I think therefore, is by far the biggest and the most revolutionary thing that is happening in India, the community development schemes, which have spread to about 290,000 villages in India. I do not mean to say the quality is same all over. It is varied but nevertheless, I think it is a tremendous and a remarkable achievement that in the last five and a half years this community development movement has spread in this way.

Now, I need not talk about our major industrial schemes. There they are and we are paying quite a good deal of attention to them. On the other hand, I just referred to the community development. In between, I do believe, there is a tremendous scope for the advancement of cottage industry, as well as small industry, and although the small industry is growing certainly, I do not think it is growing quite as fast as we would like it to grow. I was glad the other day to visit the industrial estate near Delhi, near Okhla, and I am happy to learn from the Chairman's address that they intend starting, under private auspices, another industrial estate round about Delhi.⁵ That will give facility to the small industry to grow. Nevertheless, the fact remains that, at the present moment, our whole future economy depends on more agricultural production, more food production. I think we are gradually coming to grips with this and that we should advance in regard to food production much more, much faster in the next few years, and this year, I hope, and in the years following. As you know, we have actually advanced but somehow we have not been able to keep pace with the demands for food, the demands of population as well as the demands which come from the slightly higher standards, rising standards, which is a very good thing, of course, the standards rising, but it does create major demands.

Now, coming back to planning, we are in the middle of our Second Plan. The First Five Year Plan was really an approach to planning, not planning itself. We took up what we were doing and tried to arrange it in a simple way. It was a modest approach, and it succeeded in that modest way. Then we started the Second Plan, and we are in the second year now. This is a much more organised attempt at planning. We talk about its being ambitious; that apart, I do not think it is very ambitious, certainly it went much further ahead. It dare not go any less. But it is the first really organised attempt but far from perfect; I do not think we should have a perfect plan for a number of years. We are gradually progressing, learning from others, learning from our own mistakes. I shall talk

5. K.G. Khosla, chairman of the Reception Committee of the conference, referred to the efforts being made to establish an industrial colony near Delhi, which, he hoped, would be a model and supplement the industrial estates being established by the Government.

about the First Five Year Plan and the Second Five Year Plan, but planning obviously is a continuous process, it has no end. You may have appraisals of the Plan from time to time. You may test it but it is a continuous process, you cannot break it up into periods. One has to realise that, and if planning is to be successful, you have to follow more or less definitely one policy or rather have one outlook. If you go about changing your outlook in between you can never go ahead in any way; you will be arguing about things all the time. So the Second Five Year Pan was the first organised attempt at planning in India.

As you very well know, the way the things are being done in India in regard to planning is different from the way planning is being done in other countries. We do it in the context not only of the democratic society but also in the context of the undeveloped country, the developing country, and that adds greatly to these difficulties. However, we face them as we must and will gradually improve our methods, but we must realise that if we are to plan, then we should plan. It seems rather a silly thing to say, but it is important. The people talk about planning and then make every kind of proposal which is opposed to planning; even, if I may say so, some of their proposals seem to ignore what planning is. Planning is not just spreading out bits of work here and there—you do this job and you do that job, and somebody else does this job also. It is a coordinated advance of various segments of the nation's activity all along so as to produce certain results in human materials and in goods; in goods of course, that is a test, the increase in the wealth producing capacity of the country, the per capita income, consumption, etc., but right down at the base, you have to see how far we have improved the quality of the individual, because on that base the whole nation will rest. Why is it that in most of the western countries free and compulsory education came in the nineteenth century? Not because of a passion for education seizing hold of the leaders of society but because it became essential for the industrial progress to have some education right at the bottom, at the base and only then they could build it, build the structure of an industrial society. They did that and other things followed, of course.

Now, I feel quite frankly that we have not paid adequate attention to this strong base, this educational base. You made many suggestions, rightly, from your point of view but you should consider that after all everything in India will depend on that broad base at the bottom, the school base, the college base, more especially the primary and the secondary school base, and how that progresses, because industry requires trained people, to some extent educated people, certainly literate people, and you cannot go about living in a world, the whole foundation of which is the *chaprasi* and the peons and illiterate individuals serving them. Really, the more I think of it the more I am amazed at this extraordinary foundation of our structures. You have to change them.

You made a number of proposals about gold and silver. I was much attracted to this some time ago and we discussed it then but at that time there were many

difficulties in our way. However, it will continue to be examined fully because it seems a very reasonable approach, I should certainly ask my colleagues to have this examined again fully, and if you have any specific ideas, I should be glad, if you put them down. Let us have them so that we can examine them apart from what you have said. As you know, I shall be going to a meeting of our National Development Council,⁶ which will consider various problems in regard to the Second Five Year Plan, specially having a reappraisal of it, and it may be that we cannot go as far as we wanted to go. The point is that we should at least be able to achieve most of our major objectives in the Second Plan, minor things do not perhaps matter so much, although I am rather sorry if such activities like health and education should suffer because of our present resource position. I have no doubt that, whatever difficulties might be in the way of foreign exchange or even in internal exchange, we shall get over them provided we are serious enough, and I think an element of seriousness is coming into the country about this matter. We should get over them and then equally other problems will face us, because the more problems we solve, the more difficult ones will come in their wake, and that is the fate of an advancing society. It is only a static society which does not have many difficulties, and the mere fact that we have these problems shows that we are progressing.

All this, of course, is in a peculiar context in the world today, in the context of international affairs, in the context of a possible conflict, of tension, of war and peace. Fortunately, efforts are being made to relieve this tension and we hope they will succeed but it is perfectly clear that if the world goes on living, balancing itself on the edge of a sword, you might say, it is a little difficult to develop that atmosphere in which human amity, fellowship and progress can get along.

So, we face all these problems in India and outside India, but we face them, I hope, with a certain confidence in ourselves and stout heart, because I think that what we have done in this country, though we criticise it often enough, is worthy of much credit. I am not merely talking of the Government's doing it, but of the people of this country, all of us; what we have done in the last ten years is really creditable and some people even think it is rather remarkable. So, there is no need for us to indulge in our normal habit of criticising others, although this constant running down ourselves or each other is equally bad. We should not be afraid of looking into our faults and errors and correct them. We should realise also the good things that we have done, so that we should not

6. The National Development Council, constituted on the recommendation of the Planning Commission in 1952, consists of the Prime Minister of India, Chief Ministers of all the States and Members of the Planning Commission. The Secretary of the Planning Commission acts as the Secretary of the Council. For the Council's meeting of 3 and 4 May 1958, see *post*, pp. 86-93.

create an atmosphere of pessimistic defeatism which sometimes people do. It surprises me how prone we are to look at the bad side of things rather than the good. I do not want you to be, well, just pessimists or idealistic optimists. I want you to be realists but optimistic realists because, after all, a great deal depends on the atmosphere we function in. The same human being, the same community can work wonders when they are brought up to a certain level of enthusiastic work.

We achieved independence, under Gandhiji, against tremendous odds because we believed in ourselves, in our people, and did not at all worry as to the might of the British Empire. In the wide world today, there are great countries, powerful countries, far more welfare countries, much more advanced countries than India, but I do not think that there is any country which is, well, less afraid than India. We are not afraid, whatever our other failings might be; we have learned not to put ourselves under the terrible shadow of fear. Mahatma Gandhi taught us this, and so whatever comes in our way, externally or internally, we shall face it with stout heart and not be all the time worried and afraid as to what might happen in the future. After all, the *Gita* teaches us that we have to do our work with stout heart and not worry too much about the consequences.

10. Indian Approach to Socialism¹

Our first item is offering condolences on Dr Khan Sahib's death.² Dr Khan Sahib's death would have been sad news for us at any time, with the manner of his death. As I said in Parliament, in the Lok Sabha, I knew him for nearly 50 years. I think I met him in 1909 for the first time and I did not merely meet him, we were close friends even in those days. And I have seldom met a person who is brave, a man of great courage and a man of honour. So I think we might stand up....

I have just been speaking at the AICC meeting.³ Some of you were there, I do not wish to repeat myself, but I want to tell you frankly, after listening to the

1. Extracts from the speech at the meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party, New Delhi, 10 May 1958. Tape No. M-34/c(i), NMML.
2. Khan Sahib, the leader of the Republican Party in Pakistan and former Chief Minister of West Pakistan, was assassinated on 9 May 1958 at his son's Lahore residence. See also *post*, pp. 859-860.
3. See *post*, pp. 515-519.

speeches at the AICC meeting today, that there were no good speeches. Except for one or two, they seemed to me to be out of tune with what is happening in the country. I mean to say they are not coming to grips with the problems; same old speeches, same old speakers, same old everything.

My programme for the present is that I am thinking of leaving Delhi on the 20th of this month, ten days from today, and I shall be away for about ten days; then I shall come back for five or six days, then I shall go again for another brief spell probably on trekking in the Himalayas. Altogether all this will take about ten days now and maybe about two weeks later.⁴

It was my original intention that I wanted to be relieved of the Prime Ministership to spend about a month on the mountains and about two or three months touring India, not touring in the sense of rushing about and delivering speeches but rather going to a place, staying for a few days and meeting people in a leisurely way in South India and other places also. I am afraid Mr Dasappa's present proposal does not fit in with my programme or indeed with my mood. You see, it is not a question of my going to Ooty or any other place. Going anywhere of that type would be pleasant no doubt, pleasant climate and all that, but it will not be restful to me. I want to go away as far as possible from human beings and from my normal routine things. That is why I was thinking of going across the Rohtang Pass, which is about 13,500 feet into Lahaul and Spiti, and just trekking there, where the scene is quite different. What I can do in July depends on so many things: work here, international situation and the rest. But I should like to visit some parts of India. I am very very sorry and ashamed to confess that I have not visited my own constituency ever since the elections, not for a day and that is my home too, Allahabad; I have not gone there for the last 15 months. Last time it was an election meeting there for which I went.⁵ I should like to go there for a little while.

Now, to continue what I was saying at Sapru House or rather say something about the same subject, that is, about socialism.⁶ The idea of socialism, as you know, the modern idea began as a concomitant and a result of industrialisation. Socialism is not merely just goodwill and equality, although it is that, of course; it resulted from the economic revolutions that took place because of industrialisation and the terrible suffering of the people who had to shift over to, and become, industrial labour. Then these ideas arose. People went through a great deal of suffering and it was a kind of what was called utopian socialism,

4. Nehru visited Manali from 20 to 31 May 1958 and again from 10 to 23 June 1958.

5. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Bangalore, 1957-62.

6. For Nehru's previous visit to Allahabad in March 1957, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 37, pp. 100-104.

7. Nehru spoke on socialism at the AICC meeting at Sapru House, New Delhi, on 10, 11 and 12 May 1958. See *post*, pp. 514-528.

not as opposed to scientific socialism. Later Marx gave it the scientific impress and evolved a philosophy and a theory not only of history and of the development of history but also the method to expedite the development of history in a particular way so as to achieve socialism and communism. Please remember that, in the time of Marx in Germany, which was his country, there was pure authoritarian rule practically all over Europe. In England there was a Parliament but a very limited Parliament, elected by a very small, very limited franchise only. Practically, it was controlled by the rich classes and the new bourgeoisie that had arisen in England after the Industrial Revolution. Marx described in his book, in very moving terms, the sufferings of the people in England during this changeover. It is a remarkable book of course, and if it had not been remarkable it would not have had such a powerful influence on world history. It is no disparagement of Marx to say that what Marx wrote a hundred years ago about conditions 150 years or 120 years earlier, surely cannot be an example of what is happening a hundred years after. Things have changed tremendously. It is true that Marx had such an amazingly keen mind that many things that he wrote about have not only come true but they followed in the line of development; at the same time many things have not, that is no blame to him. I mean to say he was not a prophet laying down things. He showed a development of history which by and large was amazingly correct.

Now, I would not go into history but I think that the one unfortunate fact about Marxism and communism is that it has got connected in people's minds and in the minds of the communists themselves with violence and with, if I may say so, a lack of ethical standards. In fact, a belief is that there are no firm standards and they change with the times. That has been unfortunate from the point of view, I think, of human history. Well, it is not for me to criticise others but so far as we are concerned we have grown up in the Gandhian era, have always been reminded of the ethical approach to political and economic problems, and I believe it is highly important that we should remember that. We should remember that for a variety of reasons. One, because it is essentially, I think, the right approach. Secondly, we have been conditioned to that and we tried to condition people, and even if people do not live up to it they expect you to live up to it and if you fail and if we fail, we shall suffer for that failure in the eyes of the public, even though the public may not follow it at all. Thirdly, because of recent developments, like nuclear energy, bombs, hydrogen bombs, etc., I am becoming progressively more convinced that the only approach and the only solution of these problems of violence on a colossal scale is some approach other than that of violence. The approach of violence has reached the ultimate stage when everybody can annihilate everybody. You cannot go further than annihilating everybody, and we have to think, therefore, in ethical, moral terms, if you like, in terms of a different dimension. Now I think, to some extent, not from that point of view but other points of view, that is being realised by even

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those who stand for these violent means, whether they belong to the communist countries or the big powerful capitalist countries, because violence has become much too all destroying to be thought of.

Therefore, our approach to socialism—and we are not bound down by any creed, by any dogma—must necessarily be based on an ethical approach, a moral approach, an approach of good means. Our objective also need not be very rigid and defined but it has to be nevertheless made, to some extent, clearer than at present it may be. Of course, whatever objective we may lay down, even before we reach that, we have to pass through the stage of the welfare state. That itself will take a mighty long time. However, it is a good thing if we discuss these matters amongst ourselves and get out of this habit of loose thinking about socialism. In the minds of most people socialism means rapid nationalisation of everything that we have in the country, every factory, and that, according to them, will bring a large income for the State to do other things. I do not agree with that at all, I want to make it perfectly clear. Nationalisation is necessary for socialism and we shall no doubt progressively nationalise industries, I have no doubt, specially the new industries, the big ones, I mean. But to imagine that nationalisation leads automatically to socialism is wrong, I think. First of all, you have to be prepared for nationalisation, that is, you must have the wherewithal, the equipment and the manpower and all that. And there is danger in doing this too speedily which results in too much burden on the State, the Government not being able to manage it efficiently or properly as we have seen. We have problems, we have got big enough things already. We shall proceed that way but there is another way too, there is another aspect too, that while we should inevitably control industry—because you cannot have planned economy without control—it does not follow necessarily that you should own everything. You must judge everything not by some academic standard but by conditions in that particular country at the time.

You know that in some of the communist countries of Eastern Europe—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and other countries—communist governments came into power after the War and they introduced all manner of measures like collective farming and other things, tried rapidly to approximate the conditions there to Soviet conditions. Well, after a few years they actually had to go back on them. They have remained communist countries but they have had to go back on them. They had to give up collective farming, many of them had to do many other things because it did not fit in, in the circumstances. Not that collective farming is bad, I myself am in favour of collective farming in India with the consent of the people gradually. We are not dogmatic. But in India conditions are very different from elsewhere. That is to say, in India our holdings are terribly small. Did I say I was in favour of collective farming? I did not mean that, I mean I am in favour of cooperative joint farming, not collective. So, our holdings are so small that you can never make progress with a holding

of an acre or two acres or three acres. Whatever you may do, you cannot have new scientific improvements. It is for that purpose that I think it is good, but in those places like Poland and other places the farms were bigger, I do not know exactly, 10, 20, 30 acres, there they can hold their own, of course. However, what I said was that even in the communist countries they could not follow the same line; they had to go back because conditions were different. In India we have also to follow our conditions and not be academic or theoretical or something like that.

So in regard to nationalisation, etc., you cannot go much further than your people are capable of going. It is not a thing of a few persons. You can build a big factory, of course, any day but if you are changing the whole system you have to take your people with you, especially in a democratic society. I think you can take them fairly fast once they get moving, and one factor which I was mentioning there I should like you to think too: how fairly, rapidly, the content of Indian society has changed, even in these last ten years! Take our schools and colleges. We are not satisfied with the progress made but the fact remains that vast numbers of our boys and girls are going through our schools and colleges, plenty of girls too, and those boys and girls, who go through even a second-rate college, are changed persons after that, they are no longer the same old type. And the people who are going are people whose fathers or mothers or grandparents never went to school or college. You see, it is a new class that is going there. It is not the old class, the middle class, the lower middle class; it is a new class, it is the peasant's son or daughter, it is the cobbler's daughter, it is the tailor's son, it is the butcher's son. That class which had never gone to school or college is now going to school or college. New classes are coming in apart from this, this process of education is becoming bigger and bigger, and in about 10 years time there will be large numbers of people in India who have gone through the process of school and college.

Then there are these vast establishments of plants and other things which require engineers. As I think I told you once, according to a census we had last year, we have got 72,000 engineers in India of all grades which is not enough at all and we have to double, treble, quadruple their numbers because of the new plants and other things coming, and then we have other people, overseers and this and that, so that our population is getting what might be called a technical bent. Frankly, most of you and I have not got that technical bent. We talk about these matters because we read about them, intellectually we understand them, but we are ourselves not technicians. Just like I may talk about farming but I am not a farmer, I cannot enter into a farmer's mind; some of you might because you know it. You and I cannot enter into a technician's mind because we have not functioned that way, we talk theoretically about it. But gradually the content of Indian society is becoming technical-minded and that content is a very important content—not from numbers, it may be only, let us say, 500,000 or a

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million but that will be the steel-frame of India's economy and it will count for much more than a million in importance in India.

Then take another thing, take our community development schemes, which, though slowly, are bringing about, I believe, a very far-reaching revolution in our rural areas gradually. That ultimately is of more significance than all the big factories put together when millions and millions of farmers change gradually with all the *gramsevaks* and others by the hundred thousands working there. So you see how vital sections of our population are changing. The next generation will be very different from this and if you think in terms of representation of them in Parliament, which you and I do, we are not apt to have this changing picture in our minds. We still represent what we knew in our younger days, while the picture is changing, and that is a very important point that we must be in tune with the changing picture and not think only of our old Congressmen who were very good in the old days but are out of tune today with this changing picture. We would not represent it; we will have less and less reality in our outlook.

All this has to be remembered in terms of our organisation. It has to be remembered in terms of these changing conditions in India and our representing them here and it has to be remembered in terms of socialism because socialism is something much more than some laws—it is a structure of society; it is even more than a structure of society; it is a state of mind of the people, socialistic attitude of mind. If they have not got that, if you don't feel democratic, your democratic Parliament will not function. You must have some appreciation of a democratic attitude in order to make it function; that is important. Now we talk about socialism but nothing in the wide world can be further away from socialism than the caste system. It is an absolute negation of it or any communalism or revivalism and let us remember that our society, as it is today, is frightfully conservative, frightfully caste-ridden and tends to be revivalistic with the slightest opportunity and so on and so forth. Therefore, we have to take this entire picture and then try to push it in a particular direction. Therefore, I am merely telling you this because people seem to imagine that it is some magic thing—nationalise this, nationalise that or put a heavier tax on this person or that person and that is socialism. That is not socialism. If the heavier tax is justified, impose it; if the heavier tax results in lessening your productive capacity, well, that is not justified because you are cutting off your nose just to please someone, whatever it is. It is not good enough. You must see all these things keeping a certain objective in view—it is a socialist approach, the socialist objective—and the methods must be ethical.

Another thing you may have been interested in seeing or reading is certain controversies that have arisen in the communist world. They have been developing but they have arisen more quite recently in the last few months. About ten years back, Yugoslavia broke with the Soviet Union. They broke because they had a

somewhat different policy, but basically they broke because they wanted to function independently as a communist state and not to be dictated to. Three years ago, this old conflict slightly ended and they came together again; earlier they did not even have ambassadors.⁸ Now, when I went to the Soviet Union—it was three years ago⁹—there was a great meeting in Moscow where Prime Minister Bulganin spoke. He welcomed me and at that meeting he used a phrase that there are different ways to socialism. That is, they agreed, they accepted the fact that there were different ways to socialism. It seems to you and me not any particularly remarkable phrase but it was a very remarkable phrase for him to use. It is for the first time that a leading Soviet leader used that phrase because previous to that the Communist Party's attitude was that there is only one way, just like the attitude of some religions that there is only one way to God, no other and ours is the way. So, for Premier Bulganin to say that was very significant and it was noted all over the world, this great change, this realisation of the dogmatic communist and Soviet view-point. Now after that Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev came here¹⁰ and in a sense they repeated that phrase on many occasions. Also in the five principles of the *Panchsheel*, you will remember, one of them is 'non-interference'—political and economic non-interference in internal affairs, even ideological non-interference. That too, well, broadly speaking, did not fit in with the crusading attitude of the Communist Party which was one of interference. Of course, they may distinguish, they say it is not a state interference but by the party.

I am merely giving you this background because certain recent events do not quite fit in with this. In Russia there were progressive changes, there was the 20th Congress of the Communist Party,¹¹ and there was that tremendous de-Stalinisation propaganda and all that. But after the Hungarian rising¹² and after

8. The conflict between Yugoslavia and Soviet Union began in 1948 with Yugoslavia accepting US aid and adopting an independent foreign policy. However, it was slightly mitigated in 1955 when Khrushchev and Bulganin visited Belgrade and a joint statement, signed by Khrushchev and Tito, was issued affirming the principle of coexistence.
9. For Nehru's visit to the USSR in June 1955, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 29, pp. 201-232.
10. N. Bulganin, the Soviet Prime Minister and N. Khruschev, the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, visited India from 18 to 30 November and again from 7 to 14 December 1955. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 31, pp. 299-365.
11. At a secret session of the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held between 14 and 25 February 1956, Khrushchev presented a lengthy report strongly attacking many aspects of the policy of Stalin. The Congress called for "different paths to socialism" for different peoples and for "revolution without violence." See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 32, pp. 334, 343 and 556.
12. For developments in Hungary in October 1956, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 35, pp. 450-485.

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what happened in Poland,¹³ things were pulled up in the Soviet Union, they felt perhaps that they had gone too far and that if they allowed matters to relax too much their strength of being together might weaken. The same process happened to some extent in China. There was a process of relaxation and then suddenly pulling up and the people, who had raised their heads during the period of relaxation, got a clout on their heads. Well, recently, at the last Soviet Congress, they issued various manifestos which were more rigid than previously. The process of relaxation was somewhat pulled back and now we find this ideological quarrel between Yugoslavia and the other communist countries in Europe, Soviet Russia as well as others. And one finds also, as in China, very strong condemnation of the Yugoslav attitude. I am merely telling you the picture as it is. In other words, according to the attitude of these states, they must all pull together, all communist states, and not interpret communism in different ways or socialism, which seems to me as a slight going back on what was said about different countries having their different ways.

I have mentioned all this to you just to keep you informed; you may have yourself looked at this. It is interesting, of course, but apart from being interesting, it has some importance too. Because we have looked forward to less and less rigidity and this relapse into slightly greater rigidity is not from our point of view to be welcomed greatly. It affects international politics, I suppose, and now there is so much talk about this summit meeting and all that.¹⁴ I do not know if there is going to be a meeting; probably there will be and if there will be, it will be a success. I suppose it will meet some time or other and will produce something or the other but all these signs of rigidity on the American side, and the other side, rather weaken one's faith in something emerging from such a possible summit meeting. All this is the background in the world, in which we have to consider India's problems.

Well, that is all.

13. For developments in Poland in June 1956, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 34, p. 11.

14. See *ante*, pp. 44-45.

2

NATIONAL PROGRESS

I. ECONOMY**(i) Planning and Community Development****1. India's March towards Prosperity¹**

I have come to this camp² to understand the nature of the work you are doing. What I have been able to see here in the camp gave me some idea of the role of the *gram pracharak*, though there is a good deal which I do not quite understand. Are you merely offering proper advice to others or are you doing something yourself? From my own experience I can say that those who are engaged in giving advice to others sometimes forget to do their own work. This is a dangerous thing and I hope you are aware of it. You are doing propaganda for the five-year plan. What is this plan? It is not merely a book on our schemes. It is a saga of India's march towards prosperity. It is an arduous march with a heavy baggage consisting of people who are brave as well as chicken-hearted, healthy as well as infirm. Look deep into it and you will find it that it is a story of 370 millions of our people who are on a new pilgrimage after winning their emancipation. It contains the story of the aspirations and efforts of those people, where they are going and where they are to go, the difficulties faced by them and their gains and benefits. This is a pilgrimage not by a handful of individuals but by millions who are going on a long journey. Some among us may be strong, some weak, some may even be invalids but all of us have to march together. Who else will go ahead if not the people themselves? Surely, nobody else. Indian people have started on a pilgrimage and they have to march further with their own effort. With the winning of independence a new era has started and we have to accomplish our own task of attaining a welfare state with single-minded devotion. More production and equitable distribution of wealth are the two main aspects of our efforts to rebuild the country.

1. Speech at the concluding function of the all-India *gram pracharak* training camp, Indraprastha Gurukul, near Delhi, 13 April 1958. From *The Tribune* and *The Hindu*, 14 April 1958.
2. Nehru distributed certificates of training to 150 *gram pracharaks* who had undergone one-month training at the camp.

India is an ancient country. The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* contain the stories of the Indian people dating back to thousands of years. People from abroad came and became part of this nation. It is a process like the rivers coming from far-off distances and falling into an ocean. It is a long story. Now we have to see what is our contribution to that story in our times. We won independence under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and with it ended a great epic. Now another epic has started, and that is how a newly independent people raise their nation. How can we raise the country? Can we raise it with aid from foreign countries? Funds from abroad cannot help us much in our task of raising the living standard of millions of our people. We have to do it by depending on our own efforts. We have to enrich the country by hard work and labour. The wealth of the country is produced in fields and factories and not by exchange of commodities like gold or silver. People from all parts of the country, particularly from rural areas, are asking for schools and hospitals to be built in their areas. The money for this cannot come from foreign countries. It has to come only from the people of this country who give it in taxes and other forms. Thus, ultimately the richness of the country depends upon the production in the country and the amount of labour put in by the people. In other countries they produce two to three times of what is produced here. Even in our own country the production per acre in some parts of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar is about one-third or one-half as compared to Madras. If they produce twice of what they produce today, the country will become rich to that extent.

Apart from need for more production the other problem that we face is that of equitable distribution of wealth. If the wealth produced is concentrated in the hands of a few individuals, the others will remain poor. In the past the nawabs and *taluqdars* owned the lands and reaped the lion's share of the produce. Now the conditions have changed. New ways are being found and will be found to distribute wealth to those who produce it. By and large, the land in the country now belongs to the tiller. If at some places this is not so, it will be done so shortly. The wealth of a nation is what the people produce by their own effort. We are taking steps to see that the wealth produced is distributed equitably. But we all must bear in mind that the equitable distribution of wealth is linked up with more production. Otherwise, as conditions exist in the country, such a distribution of wealth may only mean distribution of poverty. The five-year plan is devised with the aim of increasing production.

Our *kisan* is used to blaming fate for his loss. But now he cannot go on like that. He has to catch his kismet by its neck, bring it under his control and utilise it for his work. Work is wealth, do not depend on fate.

While we face the fundamental question of raising the living standards of the masses, there are heated discussions by some people on the basis of this or that ideology. The basis of any 'ism' cannot be words but hard work put in by

the people. Otherwise the 'ism' will become meaningless. We have to bring socialism in the country and change the face of the nation and this cannot be done by magic but by hard labour.

A change has been taking place in the country for the last ten years. The foundation of the prosperity of the country is being laid. Steel plants are being set up. Rivers are being harnessed to supply water to fields and produce electrical energy. Steel and electricity will give birth to thousands of new factories.

I believe that the community development projects are the most remarkable facts of history which are ushering in a silent revolution in the countryside. The fact that the community development movement, which started barely five and a half years ago, has brought within its orbit two and a half lakh villages is an indication of the rapidity with which the movement is spreading in rural India. Though there are defects here and there in the operation of the scheme, the fact remains that it is nothing short of a revolution. This is a real revolution in the sense of bringing about a change in the social and economic conditions. Revolution means change and not bloodshed or violence. It means progress.

To lay the foundation of a strong and prosperous India, it is necessary for every village to have a panchayat, a cooperative society and a school to cater to its political, economic and social needs respectively. These are the three pillars on which the national edifice is to rest, and once these become strong, minor defects at the top of the edifice will not matter much.

Whatever work we are doing is for the whole country. This land is inhabited by people professing different religions, like Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, etc. All these religions are part of Indian culture, wherever they may have originated. A secular State is functioning in this country and all these religions belong to the whole country. However, all the people must be Indians first.

I appeal to you to preach to the people a new religion which is above all religions—the religion of Indian nationhood. When the history of present-day India is written, it should thrill the hearts of future generations to read the story of the people's determined fight for freedom and emancipation of their country from poverty, caste and oppressive social customs. You should have before you this picture of India of tomorrow and you should work for it with enthusiasm. Unless you have enthusiasm yourself how can you enthuse the people.

Caste and other distinctions are an anachronism in society today and they are, therefore, better trapped without further delay. Superfluous marriage customs and other social evils should likewise be given the go by. Advance of women is vital to national progress. It is indeed a measure of any country's cultural status. The Social Welfare Board has done a good job in this regard. Its positive feature, in my opinion, is that it is conducted by women and is concerned with the development of women and children.

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Hindus have many castes and they weaken the country. We have now to forge strong unity among all Indians regardless of sex, religion, caste or language, and regard the whole country from the Himalayas to Kanyakumari as one family and thus march on the path of progress with unity and determination.

2. To Lal Bahadur Shastri¹

New Delhi
April 30, 1958

My dear Lal Bahadur,²

As you perhaps know, Pitamber Pant³ is doing very fine work in the Planning Commission in the Perspective Planning Division, and has produced a large number of manpower studies. In connection with his work, he would like to have the help of the Development Wing of your Ministry and receive some of the project reports. This would help him in preparing his own statistical material. I hope you will arrange to have this assistance given to him. Perhaps, you might send for him and find out exactly what he wants.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 38(51)/58-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Commerce and Industry.
3. (1919-1973); Lecturer of Physics, Allahabad University, 1939-42; detained for participating in Quit India Movement, 1942-45; Secretary to Nehru after release from prison; Technical Secretary, Indian Statistical Institute, 1946-48; associated with the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation, 1948-51; Secretary to Chairman, Planning Commission, 1952-58 and concurrently head of Manpower Division, 1956-58; head, Perspective Planning Division, Planning Commission, 1958-73; Member, Planning Commission, 1967-71; Chairman, National Committee on Environmental Planning and Coordination, 1971.

3. Democratic Decentralisation in Community Development¹

... The Minister for Home Affairs² enquired whether the proposed phasing of the programme³ and the administrative pattern had been agreed to by the State Governments particularly UP & Bombay. He felt that the phasing should take into account the availability of trained personnel and the programme be made somewhat flexible to enable States who had already taken up blocks, to continue them on the existing pattern. It was also necessary to ensure that *Panchayats* and Cooperatives took active interest in the programme and functioned effectively. The officials should not play a dominant role in the implementation of the programme reducing the people's institutions to play the subservient role of a routine and mechanical nature.

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On the question of 'democratic decentralisation' Minister for Community Development⁴ observed that as the success of the programme depended on the extent of effective participation of the village people, it was imperative to build up representative bodies at the village level and statutory bodies at the block or district level and to transfer the authority and responsibility for execution of the programme to these bodies as early as possible, at any rate before the end of the first stage. The Prime Minister agreed with this view and observed that people's representatives must be handed over complete administrative responsibility for the programme subject to subsequent check up of efficiency. The proposals in the note of the Ministry of Community Development were approved.

1. Extracts from the summary record of the combined meeting of the Central Committee of the Planning Commission and the Committee on Plan Projects, 1 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. Home Minister G.B. Pant was also Chairman of the Committee on Plan Projects.
3. The subject 'Revision in the Programme of Community Development' was on the agenda of the meeting.
4. S.K. Dey.

4. Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Plan—I¹

In his opening remarks the Chairman, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, observed that they had met to consider an appraisal and prospects of the Second Five Year Plan and whether there was any necessity for its revision. They had to remember that the First, Second and Third Five Year Plans were parts of a continuing process and therefore they had to bear in mind what was to be done for the Third Five Year Plan. Unless they began to think about the Third Plan immediately and prepared for it, they would be at a dead end and produce something very inadequate.

2. The Chairman said that the Planning Division had had for a short time a Perspective Planning Division which had done useful and important work in regard to the collection of manpower statistics. It had made studies about scientific and engineering personnel of various types and it was extraordinarily interesting how modern techniques had been employed in these studies. The Planning Commission had also set up an Agricultural Personnel Committee. All this was interesting because planning was based not only on certain objectives but on statistical data. Their food statistics should be uniform so that there was a common measuring rod for statistics in the different states. They had to go pretty far in applying the sample survey method which was a modern method of getting information. It was an expensive method but compared to vast amounts of money spent on food imports, every method that tried to solve that problem and reduce food imports was worthwhile and inexpensive.

3. Referring to the report of the Estimates Committee of Parliament on the Planning Commission,² the Chairman said that Government and the Planning Commission would consider the suggestions, proposals and criticisms of the Committee. He himself did not agree with some of the proposals but naturally they had to consider them. They were gradually crossing the threshold of planning. The First Plan was hardly a plan as it only arranged things, which had been done, in proper order. However, it was a successful beginning and it created a certain amount of confidence. The Second Plan was a definite attempt at planning in spite of the lack of statistical data and other difficulties. The main lesson to learn was progressively how to plan and what to plan. They had to be clear about the Third Plan and had to develop, much more than they had done,

1. Remarks at the tenth meeting of the National Development Council, New Delhi, 3 May 1958. Extracts from the summary record of the meeting. File No. PC/CDN/29/8/58, Coordination Branch, Planning Commission.
2. For report of the Estimates Committee, see *post*, pp. 93-94.

perspective planning because what they did today could only be correctly judged by knowing where they were going to.

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39. The Chairman said that he was very unhappy about the reduction in social services. Social services were the basis and he had almost come to the conclusion that he would give up industry in favour of social services. The matter had, however, to be approached in some other way. There should be no buildings for primary schools and the people should contribute the salary of the teacher.

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41. The Chairman remarked that he recognised the difficultly as regards provision of more schools, dispensaries, hospitals, etc. The way they had been dealing with these problems and the amount of money they were spending on schools, dispensaries, etc., had no relation to what it should be in India. That was not being done in any country in Asia. Lakhs and lakhs of rupees were spent and somebody sitting in a far-off place organised it.

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55. The Chairman observed that if the Plan was left at Rs 4,800 crores and divided into two parts, one for Rs 4,500 crores and the other for Rs 300 crores, schemes would not be excluded but would be put slightly below in the order of precedence. How that was to be done was a matter of discussion. However, if they started with Rs 4,800 crores, there was a chance of the Plan not being fulfilled.

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62. The Chairman observed that the consensus of opinion seemed to favour not the cutting down of the Plan outlay to Rs 4,500 crores but its being divided into two parts, part (A) of Rs 4,500 crores and part (B) of Rs 300 crores. Part (B) would be kept in view and, if possible, an endeavour would be made to carry it out. This division into two parts should be carried out after discussion with the States about their requirements, etc. Those States, which were considered economically backward, might have to be helped. A brief statement³ would be drafted and brought up for consideration at the meeting the next day.

3. See the succeeding item.

63. Referring to constructions which involved expenditure of large sums of money, the Chairman observed that it might be possible to effect savings on construction without trying to make savings on the activity carried on in the buildings. This could not be done always but in rural schools they might not have any constructions. The idea that a school must be a building after a set pattern did come in the way of education in view of their resources. It was better for a school teacher to have a higher salary with no building at all than to have a building with a low-paid school teacher. This might be examined by the state governments.

5. Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Plan—II¹

64. The Chairman said that he would read out a draft of what he thought represented the consensus of opinion about the Plan outlay of Rs 4,800 crores. After this, copies of the draft would be cyclostyled and distributed so that it could be considered more carefully. The following draft resolution was then read out by the Chairman:

At its meeting on the 3rd and 4th May, 1958, the National Development Council discussed the Memorandum of the Planning Commission on the Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan.²

The Council considered the question of the total outlay to be undertaken in the public sector during the period of the Plan in the light of progress made during the past two years and the steps taken to raise additional resources. It was decided that the total outlay should be maintained at Rs 4,800 crores [and that the proposed allocation between different sectors and between the states should be examined further by the Planning Commission in consultation with the Central Ministries and the State Governments].³ In view, however, of the assessment of resources made by the Planning Commission, the Council considered that the projects and programmes to

1. Remarks at the tenth meeting of the National Development Council, New Delhi, 4 May 1958. Extracts from the summary record of the meeting. File No. PC/CDN/29/8/58. Coordination Branch, Planning Commission.
2. The Memorandum was tabled in the Lok Sabha on 8 May 1958.
3. The words in brackets were omitted in the amended resolution read out by Nehru later in the meeting. See *post*, p. 91, paragraph 75.

be undertaken within the ceiling of Rs 4,800 crores should be divided into two parts. Part A of the Plan involving a total outlay of Rs 4,500 crores should include, besides projects and programmes directly related to increase in agricultural production, 'core projects' and projects which have reached an advanced stage and other inescapable schemes. The remaining schemes should be included in Part B of the Plan with a total outlay of Rs 300 crores. Part A of the Plan would represent the level of outlay up to which, on the present assessment of resources, commitments might be entered into for the rest of the Plan period. Projects in Part B of the Plan could be undertaken to the extent to which additional resources became available, high priority being given to social services. The list of projects to be included in the two parts of the Plan would be settled after discussion between the Planning Commission and [the authorities concerned].⁴ In working out the distribution, care should be taken to ensure that the needs of the less developed areas were given due consideration and that [reductions in outlay on social services were kept to the minimum].⁵

It was agreed that the Centre and the states should endeavour to raise resources to the maximum extent possible through additional taxation, mobilising small savings and achieving economies in Plan and non-Plan expenditures.

The Council stressed the fact that the level of outlay which could be undertaken would depend in a large degree on the success achieved in increasing agricultural production. Local participation and community effort must be enlisted on the largest scale possible in support of agricultural programmes such as the full utilisation of the available irrigation potentials and the adoption of improved practices especially in areas which have irrigation and assured rainfall and intensive efforts should be made to reach every family through the village panchayat and the village cooperative.

65. The Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh (Dr Kailas Nath Katju), suggested that where reference was made to social services, village and small-scale industries might also be added. He pointed out that a reduction of Rs 40 crores had been made in the allocation for village and small-scale industries. The Chairman said that these industries had been given the top-most priority in the Plan and in the

4. The three words within brackets were substituted, in the amended resolution, with the following words: "the Central and State Governments."
5. The words within brackets were substituted, in the amended resolution, with the following: "high priority was given to social services and the development of the community development movement. There should be no undue rigidity in the working of the Plan and the Central Ministries and States may make minor adjustments in the allocations within the overall ceiling."

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community development programme also they had been given priority next to food production.

66. The Chairman referred to the proposal made by the Finance Minister, Madras,⁶ about prize bonds and invited views on it. The Finance Minister, Madras, said that it was not intended that the prize bonds scheme should displace small savings scheme altogether; this would be in addition to the small savings.

67. During the discussion, the Defence Minister (Shri Krishna Menon) said that the prize money should not be big, interest thereon should be taxed. The Chairman referring to the element of gambling in the scheme said that life itself was a risky venture. There was nothing wrong in the scheme of prize bonds. The Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh, said that in the scheme the State would lose nothing but it would be the people who would gamble at their own cost and would lose. The Chairman pointed out that the worst type of gambling was practised on the stock exchange. The Home Minister (Shri Govind Ballabh Pant) said that people might refrain from putting any money in the prize bonds. The Finance Minister, Madras, said that a prize bonds scheme had already been adopted in the UK and it was nothing new that was being suggested. There was no question of any loss. The Finance Minister (Shri Morarji Desai) doubted whether much could be collected through these prize bonds. He would have no objection if the states wanted to issue their own prize bonds. They should not be Government of India bonds. The Home Minister (Shri Govind Ballabh Pant) said that he would not like to encourage in people the spirit that they could earn a lot without working for it. The Chairman remarked that in a sense the whole economic system was based on that.

68. The Finance Minister, Madras, said that either some sort of compulsory saving or an inducement like the prize bonds would have to be accepted. The Finance Minister (Shri Morarji Desai) said that compulsory saving was all right. The Chief Minister, Bihar (Dr Sri Krishna Sinha), was doubtful whether the prize bonds would fetch a good amount. The Chief Ministers of Mysore,⁷ Kerala⁸ and Assam⁹ supported the proposal but the Chief Minister, Rajasthan,¹⁰ and the Chief Minister, Punjab,¹¹ did not support it. The Chairman suggested that they might leave it to the states to examine the schemes of prize bonds as well as of compulsory savings and communicate the results of their examination.

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6. C. Subramaniam.
7. S. Nijalingappa.
8. E.M.S. Namboodiripad.
9. B.P. Chaliha.
10. Mohan Lal Sukhadia.
11. Partap Singh Kairon.

72. The Chairman observed that dairy farms had been reported in some quarters as not being a success. Very often these farms were run by people who themselves were not experts. The difficulty was that there was always an official approach. Administrator should not be imposed on the expert whose opinion should be respected. The proper man for a job was the person who was keen about agriculture, dreamt about it, thought about it and was all for it.

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75. The Chairman then invited views on the draft resolution on the size of Plan outlay. The Finance Minister, Madras, said that the resolution was intended for the public and he felt that it might not achieve the purpose for which it was intended. The people should get the idea that the best effort should be put forth for achieving a particular target. In the ensuing discussions suggestions were made for giving higher priority to social services and community development and necessary amendments in the resolution were made. The amended resolution reads as follows.¹²

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82. The Chairman said that there were many cases of competent technicians and engineers who were going from pillar to post. There were also persons who had been sent abroad for technical studies and were not finding work to do. For some time past, the Government had been trying to make some arrangements to create a kind of pool for really qualified persons. Even if there was no post to offer immediately such persons would be taken into the pool. It was proposed to give an assurance to persons studying whether in India or abroad that they would be taken into the pool and utilised in some way before a suitable post was found for them. They would be paid a minimum salary and might be sent for work on any of the Plan projects. Referring to Shri Nanda's¹³ remark that statistical equipment was deficient, the Chairman said that statistical information about engineers was extraordinarily good and that papers prepared in the Planning Commission about scientific and technical personnel would be circulated to the Chief Ministers of the States.

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12. The amended resolution is not printed here. For the amendments made in the draft resolution in paragraph 64, see footnotes 3, 4 and 5 in this item. The amended resolution was printed in the newspapers such as *The Times of India* and *The Hindu* dated 5 May 1958.
13. Gulzarilal Nanda, Union Minister for Labour, Employment and Planning.

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101. The Chairman observed that if the first year of the programme was the pre-extension stage there would be no effective functioning. The Finance Minister, Madras (Shri Subramaniam), said that there would have to be a small budget allotment for the pre-extension stage in addition to the staff. The Minister of Community Development (Shri S.K. Dey) said that there would be a minimum programme during this one-year period which could be drawn up in collaboration with the Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

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103. The Chairman said that the main point was that the burden and responsibility for carrying out these programmes should be shifted from officials to the people. This was very important because the tendency all over the country had been for the officials to undertake more and more responsibility. Officialisation and bureaucratisation of work had proceeded so far that everybody looked to the Government without moving his own fingers. The Finance Minister, Madras, said that in certain things technical guidance was essential. For instance, no non-official agency had been able to undertake whole time work in regard to the management of accounts unless assistance of trained personnel was provided. In the initial stages some guidance was absolutely necessary, otherwise funds would not be properly utilised.

104. The Chairman observed that unless men at the bottom were trained and trusted they could not succeed. The Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission,¹⁴ said that the local man should be a trained man. In thousands of Madras villages there were part-time secretaries. The Finance Minister, Madras, agreed that the technical man should not be the boss but the members should be the real boss and run the show.

105. The Chairman referred to the apprehension expressed by Shri S.K. Dey that the proposed revised allocation of funds would involve cutting down of what they had promised to do in regard to community development. It was a basic and highly important programme which must be given the highest place. The Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh (Dr Kailas Nath Katju), said that the non-fulfilment of the community development programme would cause the greatest disappointment. In his view this was not the opportune time for reducing the Plan target.

106. The Chairman observed that in all the Plan programmes, including the community blocks, a large allocation had been made for constructions. On his attention being drawn to the large buildings constructed in Delhi, the Chairman said that two or three buildings which were very expensive were the Ashoka Hotel, the Vigyan Bhavan and the Supreme Court buildings. As regards the

14. V.T. Krishnamachari.

Vigyan Bhavan, apart from the fact that they could have their major functions there, foreign exchange was also earned. He pointed out that at the Centre many schemes, including the one for national theatres, had been given up.

6. To V.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
May 7, 1958

My dear V.T.,²

Your letter of the 2nd May about the Estimates Committee report regarding the Planning Commission.

I read about the Estimates Committee's comments on the Planning Commission in the newspapers and was much surprised at the fact that the Estimates Committee had taken upon itself to pronounce on the composition of the Planning Commission.³ This raises a rather important issue as to what the Estimates Committee's functions are. It seems to me that the Committee is going far beyond what it is supposed to do.⁴ Our Cabinet will have to consider this matter quite independently of what they have said about the Planning Commission.

I see no reason why I should appoint a committee of the Cabinet to discuss this subject with members of the Planning Commission.⁵ The Planning Commission has already got four members of the Cabinet. What the full Planning

1. JN Collection.
2. Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.
3. The Estimates Committee of Parliament, in its report on the Planning Commission presented on 23 April 1958, noted that it was a matter for consideration whether to continue the formal association of the Prime Minister and other Central Ministers with the Commission. It argued that close consultation and coordination with the Ministries could be effected by inviting the Minister concerned to the meetings of the Commission when a subject pertaining to his or her Ministry was discussed. The Committee also pointed out the need to rectify an 'anomaly' with regard to the Planning Minister who was "not the Head of the Commission nor even the Deputy Chairman" and yet performed the function of the spokesman of the Commission in Parliament.
4. Nehru also wrote to the Speaker, M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, on 17 May 1958 on this issue. See *post*, pp. 493-495.
5. V.T. Krishnamachari wrote to Nehru that the members of the Planning Commission had informally discussed the Estimates Committee report especially on the composition of the Planning Commission and they felt that it would be useful to appoint a small committee of the Cabinet to discuss this subject with the members of the Commission at an informal meeting and make recommendations to Nehru.

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Commission should do, at a convenient time, is to consider the work and composition of the Planning Commission itself, quite apart from what the Estimates Committee has suggested. Of course, in that discussion the Estimates Committee's suggestions might also come up for consideration.

I agree that no formal paper is necessary for this.

I think it is desirable to have a separate Secretary for the Planning Commission.⁶ This was in fact, as you must know, recommended by Vellodi⁷ independently of the Planning Commission's suggestion. Such secretary, however, should be, I think, a person particularly interested in planning and, if possible, with some experience which might be useful in that work. I do not think that we should appoint this Secretary merely by some method of rotation as is normally done in the appointment of secretaries. Indeed, if we find a suitable man outside the Services, I would not hesitate to appoint him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. The Estimates Committee had observed that the existing arrangement of the Cabinet Secretary functioning also as the Secretary of the Planning Commission was "neither necessary for high-level contacts, nor conducive to efficiency" as the Cabinet Secretary was left with very little time to pay adequate attention to the work of the Planning Commission. As the Commission's activities had considerably increased, it needed a wholetime Secretary.
7. M.K. Vellodi was the Cabinet Secretary from 1 August 1957 to 4 June 1958.

7. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad¹

New Delhi
May 12, 1958

My dear Namboodiripad,

I have just received your letter of the 9th May.²

1. File No. 17(5)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Expressing his dismay over the way the discussion on "Appraisal and Prospects of the Second Five Year Plan" was held in the National Development Council (NDC) meeting on 3 and 4 May 1958 (see *ante*, pp. 86-93), Namboodiripad wrote that the discussion ought to have been on the "lessons to be drawn from the experience of the last two years" than on reducing the size of the Plan. He also criticised the Planning Commission for not providing "a real picture of the extent to which achievements are lagging the targets" but complimented its report for bringing out the issue of "mobilising domestic resources" and the foreign exchange crisis.

The Second Five Year Plan was drawn up so as to lead to the Third Plan and beyond. Therefore the question of perspective planning is always with us. Unfortunately, the data at our disposal then was not enough. We are now getting more at grips with this problem and the various manpower studies that we have distributed are going to be of great help to us in thinking of the future.

It is obvious that any cuts made in the present Plan should keep the future in mind so that our longer perspectives do not suffer. Indeed, when reference is made to the "core" of the Plan, it means that. However, it might have been better to lay greater stress on it in our discussion.

Our present difficulties are certainly due to certain inevitable stresses and strains which result from the attempt to plan and go ahead fairly rapidly. But they are also due to certain temporary causes. Or rather it would be more correct to say that the inevitable difficulties have been aggravated by some temporary causes. I agree that we must make not only a realistic appraisal of the situation but tell the people frankly about it.

I also agree that we should constantly keep in view the physical targets and our actual achievements. I would welcome further and fuller discussions not only about the progress of the Second Plan, but the Third Plan that will gradually be taking shape. It might be worthwhile to have a meeting of the NDC in another three months or so.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. To Gulzarilal Nanda¹

New Delhi
May 17, 1958

My dear Gulzarilal,

Your letter of the 13th May. The very first paragraph of it was rather depressing, that is, where it said that the Committee was formed in August 1952 and it has only had two meetings since then.² That is hardly a record of vigorous work.

1. File No. 40(12)/58-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Gulzarilal Nanda wrote to Nehru regarding the National Advisory Committee on Public Cooperation, set up in August 1952 under the chairmanship of Nehru, for (i) reviewing and assessing the progress of public cooperation in relation to national development, (ii) advising the Planning Commission from time to time regarding the progress of public cooperation in relation to the fulfilment of the Plan, and (iii) making suggestions and recommendations on matters of policy and programmes relating to public cooperation.

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I have no objection to your forming a new Committee, as suggested. It may be of help occasionally. But all this seems to me rather vague and uninspiring. There appear to be numerous committees and sub-committees and coordination committees. I am getting rather frightened of the organisations we build up, which grow and grow till we can hardly sustain their burden.

You suggest that Krishna Prasada³ might continue to be Secretary of this Committee. He is a good man and can run an office efficiently. But I should imagine that for the Secretaryship of such a Committee, it would be better to have a person who is used to public life and public activity, including public agitations. An official certainly will not be suitable. But, surely, you can find a young man with energy and enthusiasm.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Krishna Prasada was the Secretary of Bharat Sewak Samaj for many years.

9. Community Development Should be a People's Movement¹

My colleague, S.K. Dey,² has asked me again for my annual message for the National Conference on Community Development.³ I am beginning to doubt the value of such messages, but my interest in the work of community development is so great and my regard for S.K. Dey is such that I cannot very well say no to his request.

There is abundant criticism of the work being done in the community development areas. Much of this criticism may well be justified. But the major fact remains that the community development programme in India is far the most revolutionary thing that we have undertaken and the results so far achieved are truly astonishing. I say this knowing fully well that we have failed in many places and in many ways to do what we intended to do. It is only five and a half years ago that we started this programme and now it is the web and woof of rural India. This is not so much because of its vast spread over hundreds of thousands of villages, but rather the new life which it has been creating and

1. Message, New Delhi, 17 May 1958. File No. 17(28)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of State for Community Development.
3. The Conference was held at Mount Abu, Rajasthan, from 20 to 24 May 1958.

which we see bubbling up where there was stagnation and lifelessness before. In fact, we have roused new forces from the depths of India and the question is how far we can direct them into right channels.

It is the business of this National Conference on Community Development to consider the multitude of problems that face them and to give proper direction. In the ultimate analysis, it is men and women that we are training and making. Everything flows from the trained, self-reliant and cooperative individual. We have to train the individual and we have to develop the spirit of community life. It is only through self-reliant cooperation that our people will flourish and go ahead. I am a member of Government and I think that Government must play a great part in this business of building up a new India. But I am convinced that the real vital energy comes from the people and not from governments.

What do we aim at? To have in every village a school, a panchayat and an all-purpose cooperative. Thus we lay the basic foundations for our political, economic and cultural development and build up self-governing democratic units in the larger democracy of India.

What are our immediate objectives? Considerable increase in agricultural production and, more especially, production of foodgrains, and development of village and small industries. An increase in our food production is of vital importance today. Indeed it is far the most important problem that we have to solve in the near future. Everything else depends upon it. Industries will only flourish with the growth of agriculture and the amenities in village life that we want will also flow from our progress in agricultural production.

Community development in India has arrived at a crucial stage. Future success will be measured, not in vague impressions, but in actual production of foodgrains especially. Every community block, therefore, must keep this in mind and work unceasingly to bring this about. Every block must go down to each village and each peasant household to ensure that this effort is made on the widest individual scale.

The community movement must now pass progressively to the people. Government help and participation is necessary and will continue. But it has now to become more and more a people's movement and not something officially run from above.

In order to awaken the people, it is the woman who has to be awakened. Once she is on the move, the household moves, the village moves and the country moves and, through the women, the children are brought into this picture and given the opportunities of a healthier life and better training. Thus, through the children of today, we build the India of tomorrow.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

10. To Gunnar Myrdal¹

New Delhi
May 17, 1958

My dear Dr Myrdal,²

Thank you for your letter of May 17th and the three copies of your address to MPs.³ I am glad you have taken the trouble to dictate it. I shall send these copies to the Secretary⁴ of our Party in Parliament. I take it that you will not object to its publication in some periodical, should this be possible. It is, perhaps, too long for a periodical. It might be published in pamphlet form.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Famous Swedish economist and Nobel Laureate, Gunnar Myrdal, was director of a study of economic trends and policies in South Asian countries for the Twentieth Century Fund of New York.
3. Gunnar Myrdal gave an address in the Central Hall of Parliament on 22 April 1958 on Indian economic planning. The meeting was largely attended by Members of both the Houses. The Prime Minister presided over the function and took extensive notes from Myrdal's address.
4. On 24 May, Nehru asked Ram Subhag Singh, Secretary, Congress Parliamentary Party, to get this address published as a pamphlet, which should be "priced at no more than four annas."
5. Gunnar Myrdal's address was published in May 1958 under the title *Indian Economic Planning in its Broader Setting*.

11. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

Manali, Kulu Valley
30th May 1958

My dear Pantji,

Thank you for your letter. I have already sent a message of congratulations to the two men who climbed the mountain Cho Oyu in Nepal.²

1. JN Collection.
2. An Indian expedition led by Sherpa Pasang Dawa Lama conquered Cho Oyu on 15 May 1958.

Last month, probably about the 20th April, you will remember that Dr Gunnar Myrdal delivered an address to Members of Parliament.³ I do not know if you were there at the time. It was a good and thought-provoking address. Subsequently, he revised it for the Planning Commission and sent them the script. I got a copy of it too and I have asked the Congress Party in Parliament to publish it in pamphlet form. I hope they will do so soon because I should like people to read it.

In this connection, I should like to draw your attention to a book I have been reading rather carefully. This is by Gunnar Myrdal. It is called *Economic Theory and Under-developed Regions*.⁴ It is a relatively small book of 163 pages. I found it of great interest and there are many ideas in it which, I think, are helpful for us. I would suggest your reading it, although I know you have not too much time for such reading. I suppose you can easily get it from our various libraries in Delhi. If not, I shall send you my copy.

In the course of his address to MPs, Gunnar Myrdal invited their attention to an article of his which had appeared in the *Economic Bulletin* for Europe in November, 1957. This article deals with "Regional economic policy in the Soviet Union: the case of Central Asia." He sent me subsequently a copy of this article and I am sending this to you, as I think it is worth reading.⁵

The importance of the Central Asian Republics of the Soviet Union is great for us because they started on a very low level. Russia, even before the Revolution, had considerably higher living standards than India had today. The progress made there, therefore, is not easily comparable with India. But Central Asia in many ways was even behind India. It is, therefore, of great interest to see what has happened there and how this has taken place. The improvement lies in several respects. One is the general improvement in agriculture and industry. The second is the average rise in per capita national income and there are the spectacular advances in health and education. Another important feature is how backward regions have been pulled up to a large extent. Gunnar Myrdal, in his book to which I have referred above, lays great stress on what he calls "circular and cumulative causation". That is, how the rich grow richer and the poor poorer. This applies to rich nations getting richer and richer and poor nations being pulled down by this circle of causes, economic and non-economic.

3. In fact, Gunnar Myrdal addressed the Members of Parliament on 22 April 1958.
4. While at Manali, Nehru took extensive notes from the book, published by Duckworth, UK in 1957. See the subsequent item.
5. Nehru, in his letter to Morarji Desai on the same day (not printed), drew his attention also to Gunnar Myrdal's book *Economic Theory and Underdeveloped Regions* and an article by Myrdal on "Regional economic policy in the Soviet Union: the case of Central Asia." Nehru expressed the hope that both of these would be available in the Finance Ministry's library.

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In the same way, within a nation, a better placed region goes on improving while the more backward region can hardly pull itself up and even goes back. That is, if left to natural forces and the economy of the market, these cumulative forces increase the disparity between the richer countries or regions and the poorer ones. It is only when the State comes in to check normal functioning of economic and non-economic forces that some check is put on this tendency towards greater disparity. To lessen the gap requires a tremendous effort.

It is from this point of view that the case of the Central Asian regions is particularly interesting. They were very backward and have been pulled up to a very large extent. Now they are far ahead of all the neighbouring Asian countries, including India. Although in many ways they are still behind Russia proper the gap has been lessened and within each Republic the backward regions have also been pulled up.

The figures for health and education are really remarkable. It is said that at the time of the revolution, literacy in these Central Asian regions was between one and two per cent. Now illiteracy has been largely liquidated. Further, it is not merely a question of just literacy, but this has been carried further so that there may be no reversion to illiteracy.

The figures for medical services in Central Asia are far ahead of any other country in Asia and compare favourably with many European countries.

Gunnar Myrdal lays special stress on what he calls "investment in man". This is investment in health, education and connected social-cultural measures. He says that all subsequent progress depends upon this. In a sense, this is patent enough. But the fact remains that owing to lack of resources, this lags behind. The medical and educational services in Central Asia even in 1940 accounted for no less than 17 to 20 per cent of the active population outside agriculture. The comparable figure for India is stated to be 3 per cent. In the fifth Five Year Plan in Central Asia (1951-55) per capita spending on social-cultural measures was one and a half times that of the total State investment in physical assets within the region.

I suppose that all this must indicate that the Soviet Union helped these Central Asian Republics a great deal. Nevertheless, the results achieved are impressive. It is often said that the Soviet Union being an authoritarian country, this can be done there but that it would not be possible to do it in a democratic set-up. That is to some extent true but it is only a small part of the truth.

I have often thought that a measure of compulsion is necessary for us. This has nothing to do with an authoritarian government. All over Europe, except in the United Kingdom, there has been conscription for military purposes. Ever since the idea of national armies arose at the time of Napoleon, conscription has been a feature of the European continent. In England then conditions were different and they did not think it worth while although they introduced

conscription in war-time. The result has been in Europe, apart from the military aspect, a great improvement in the people, in discipline and capacity to work. In fact, this has raised general standards of the people.

After the first World War, some smaller countries in Europe who had been defeated were prevented from having conscription for military purposes. Nevertheless, they had conscription for social services and thus not only trained their people but got a large number of public works executed by them.

We have inherited the British conception and we imagine that any kind of conscription or compulsion is an infringement of the individual's liberty. I do not see why we should think that liberty is a prerogative of the British only and not of the other nations of Europe which had conscription.

Of course, we cannot think of conscription for military purposes. But there seems to be no reason whatever why we should not think of it in terms of social services. We are constantly complaining of our young doctors not going to the hill regions or other unattractive places or school masters not going there, or others.

The main objection, of course, is for us the question of expense involved. But there is no reason why we should start off in a big way. We can begin in a small way. Thus, suppose we have a law calling upon all men and women of, say, between 19 and 21 to be liable to compulsory service for one year. That would be the law. But we need not call upon all the men and women between 19 and 21. We can start with small selected numbers, say, one hundred thousand for the whole of India. The kind of service which they would have to perform would vary for man and woman. But all of them should have some physical training and drill and live during the period under some kind of military discipline. No one should be exempt except for health reasons and everyone will have to undergo the same type of living, whether he is rich or poor or whatever caste he may belong to. This kind of thing has been a great leveller in Europe. Also it has given a greater dignity to manual labour.

I am only briefly indicating what I have in mind. There are of course numerous aspects of it which could be worked out.

The benefits from this would be very great. There would be discipline. There would be physical improvement. There would be a lessening of caste divisions and the like. There would be an appreciation of manual labour and there would be training under army discipline in educational or other subjects. It would be desirable to have young retired officers from the army to be put in charge of the camps because it is only they who can make it function in a disciplined way. Our young unemployed educated could be used for educational purposes.

I should like you and other colleagues to think about this. We have at present a large number of odd camps for a fortnight or a month. The Education Ministry runs many of them through the Bharat Sewak Samaj. I suppose they

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do little good. But the good is hardly commensurate with the money spent on them. It would be far better to save all that money and put it in the way I have suggested. In any case, this type of "investment in man" would give a tone to all our people.

Another law I should like would be to make it compulsory for every medical graduate to serve for one year in any place he is sent to. Indeed, this might be done before he gets his graduation. These people could be sent to the hills and other places to their great benefit. This principle could be applied to other graduates also who could be asked to teach for a year.

What I have written above will indicate to you the way I have been thinking. We are constantly complaining of indiscipline in our schools, colleges and universities and of lowering of standards, physical and other. I think we should deal with this at the base.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. Notes on Myrdal's Book¹

Vast difference between the economic upper class of nations in world society and the lower class which comprises most countries in Asia and Africa. In comparable head the latter is even much smaller than it was in the richer countries when they started to develop rapidly a century or more ago.

In highly developed countries, all indices point steadily upward momentum of economic development. They are continuous in spite of strong setbacks or even more. Thus industrialised countries are industrialising further.

In under-developed countries capital formation and investment tend to be smaller even relatively to their lower incomes. Faster population increase is a result of relation between fertility and mortality rate which are both high. This tends to make age distribution of their populations less advantageous. As a consequence, economic development proceeds very slowly. Indeed, many of these countries have during recent decades been even more backward in average income. Tradition of stagnation has entrenched itself in their entire culture.

1. Notes on Gunnar Myrdal's book titled *Economic Theory and Underdeveloped Regions*, Manali, 20 May to 31 May 1958. JN Collection. Also available in JN Supplementary Papers, NMML.

Thus (1) there are a few countries which are quite well off and many countries which are extremely poor. (2) Countries in former group are firmly settled in pattern of a continuing economic development, while in latter group progress is slow and there is even danger of losing ground. (3) Therefore, on the whole in recent decades economic inequalities between developed and under-developed countries have been increasing.

This trend towards international economic inequality stands out in contrast to what is happening within the rich countries individually. It is thus doubtful whether it can be said that in recent decades there has been economic progress at all for mankind as a whole.

Circular and cumulative causation. Idea of stable equilibrium false. System by itself not moving towards any sort of balance between forces, but is constantly on the move away from such a situation. Normally, a change does not call forth countervailing changes but, instead, supporting changes which move the system in the same direction as the first change much further. Because of such circular causation a social process tends to become cumulative and often gathers speed at an accelerating rate, e.g., negro people in US who live life apart.

Drift towards regional economic inequalities in a country. Effects of poverty on fertility. Other non-economic factors. Regional inequalities are much wider in the poorer countries than in the richer ones and while regional inequalities have been diminishing in richer countries, the tendency has been the opposite in the poorer countries.

Spread effects, being themselves a function of the level of economic development actually attained, will be stronger in the richer and weaker in the poorer countries. Under *laissez faire*, this would tend to make inequalities in the poorer countries bigger and increasing. Because of weakness of State policies, egalitarian policies therefore met with greater difficulties in poorer country although it needs them more. "Poverty becomes its own cause".

In richer countries, economic progress and rising level of income mean more elbow room for everybody and helps ideals of rational generosity. When people are better off and have greater security they feel freer to give up privileges. Policies thus result in greater equality and democracy becomes more firmly based as it develops.

In poorer countries, opposite trend which is inimical to growth of democracy.

On a low level of economic development, competitive forces in the market will by circular causation, constantly be tending to regional inequalities, while the inequalities themselves will be holding back economic development and at the same time weakening the power basis for egalitarian policies.

Traditional role of the State was mainly to serve as a means for supporting cumulative process tending towards inequality. The wealthier regions and social groups use the State as a tool to advance their interests. Feudalism. Land holder. Richer classes in cities. "Oppressor State".

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Growth of national states, reliance upon popular appeal and, therefore, exerting countervailing power against tendency to regional inequality. Development towards social security reforms. Progressive taxation. All this tending towards greater equality of opportunity. But this related to rising level of economic development. As level of national productivity increases, reforms provide additional resources.

Main policy goal becomes full employment in an ever more egalitarian society. In highly developed States, general agreement in basic policy issues and conflicts only on minor issues, e.g. Scandinavia.

But the Welfare State is nationalistic and the approach to harmony of interests is narrowly restricted to the nation.

International inequalities. Capital flight from undeveloped countries. Economic impact of colonialism. Even after freedom from colonialism, economic dependency continues often called "close cultural and economic ties".

Colonial power inevitably aligning itself with privileged classes in dependent countries and even creating them. Thus interest in preserving social and economic status quo. Thus colonialism meant primarily only strengthening of all the forces in the markets which anyhow were working towards internal and international inequalities. Gave extra impetus to circular causation of the cumulative process. So-called "civilizing mission" of colonial power and rationalisation of economic interest.

Question of world state. Absence of psychological basis in mankind as a whole. Basis of mutual human solidarity lacking. Various inter-national bodies helpful but very little, very much less than the effects in terms of trade, etc.

National State policies in under-developed countries

An economic policy does not become rational simply because it appeals to national feelings. To build up barriers against the richer world civilisation and values in a policy of defeatism.

Solidarity between nations develops naturally only between class and near class. It is not nurtured by condescending patronage or compassion.

Main cause of weakness of international organisations at present is international inequality and more especially the very weak bargaining power of undeveloped countries. Therefore, it is necessary to develop solidarity between under-privileged countries. By joining hands and pooling their bargaining power, they can gain more consideration. There is developing solidarity on political plane. What is necessary is an approach on economic plane also.

No society has ever substantially reformed itself by a movement from above, or by simply voluntary decision of an upper class, bringing from itself social conscience, become equal with the lower classes and give them free entrance to

class monopolies. Ideals and social conscience do play a considerable role, but they are weak as self-propelled forces originating reform on a large-scale.

Road to international integration must be sought through national integration and by poorer countries cooperating as a group.

Many essential elements in the old colonial system were in the nature of tribes to individual and social groups.

In the "oppressor state", before there was effectually functioning political democracy, to make a nuisance of himself was always the ultimate defence of the poor man.

We are rapidly approaching an era where the richer countries are no longer in a position to use their superior military strength for controlling countries with relative less military power and which are under-privileged and dissatisfied. In atomic age, use of force becoming increasingly unpopular. Every time a threat is made and not followed up by action, something of the magic of power is permanently lost.

National economic planning in under-developed countries

General agreement about necessity of planning by State—an overall integrated national plan. Planning need not create rigidity and though it controls even private enterprise, in fact an upward cumulative process of economic development will provide more opportunity for private enterprise. Common urge for economic development in under-developed countries is something entirely new in history.

Land reforms have their significance in the national plan not only as a precondition for raising productivity in agriculture, but primarily as a means of shattering the foundations of the old class structure of stagnating society. Reforms in health and education have also this double purpose.

A poor under-developed country in early stages of its development cannot afford much social security. Even in highly developed countries, in their early stages of economic development, they had had very little social security. This only came when general level of average income per head had risen.

In Soviet Russia, Industrial Revolution delayed by a century. Although very different political and other conditions, in one respect, the pattern of earlier capitalist development followed, that is, levels of real income and consumption of working classes kept exceedingly low to allow for sustained rapid capital formation.

There is no other road to economic development than a compulsory gain in the share of the national income which is withheld from consumption and devoted to investment. This implies utmost austerity. Inherited social stratification shaped by long period of economic stagnation cannot be allowed to continue as this

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does not foster enterprise savings in investment. The analogy of what once happened in industrial revolution of now advanced countries is a false one.

Thus, while real democracy necessary in under-developed countries, this makes it more difficult for governments to hold down level of consumption in the degree necessary for rapid development. This basic dilemma leads to tendencies towards dictatorship of Fascist or Communist type, which are supposed to be more dynamic.

Population reproduction rate of crucial importance for national economic planning.

A national plan should be a blue-print of cumulative process of economic development in a country, built on study of the circular causation of all relevant factors both economic as well as non-economic. The plan will involve changes in social system and purposeful State interferences. Thus, the national plan is the determination of a strategy for State interference, aimed at maximising the general economic advance of a country.

At the same time, national plan is a strategy for action. Action has to be undertaken even when knowledge or data are lacking.

National plan cannot rationally be made in terms of the costs or profits of individual prices. Object is to give investment such protection from market forces as will permit it to be undertaken even though not remunerative according to private business calculations. Long-term interests of nation have to be seen. The aggregate of new investments and new enterprises should aim at touching off a cumulative process of economic growth. Such cumulative process will include health education, productiveness of labour, etc.

Estimates must concern the really important things, not the largely irrelevant market phenomena. The criteria for national planning are entirely outside the price system. The idea that so-called 'objective' criteria for determining how the social process should evolve and that the market itself provides these objective criteria while planning is 'arbitrary' contains in a nutshell all the inherited irrational predilections holding back economic theory. In fact, the price system would have to be modified so as to give a favourable expression to the goals of the national plan. Even in capitalist countries with fully organised economies, such as Switzerland or USA, prices do not depend on free competition only. Inter-relations will be calculated in real terms and not as they are distorted by prices, costs and profits.

Need for research in under-developed countries. To have any real chance to be successful in economic development, the under-developed countries must give the highest priority to the provision of schools and universities for training scientists and conducting scientific research in all fields.

Most of old economic theory is a rationalisation of the dominant interests in the industrial countries where it was first put forward and later developed. Economic theory in the main has hardly concerned itself with the problems of

under-developed countries. Indeed, problems of such countries are usually viewed from the point of view of the national political interest of an advanced country or a group of such countries. This has become worse because of the cold war.

Laissez faire attitude will have to be given up completely and all relevant factors, economic or non-economic will have to be kept in view.

Young economists in under-developed countries must shed the hold of old economic thinking and think afresh from a study of their own needs and problems. They will have to go beyond the realm of both out-moded western economics and Marxism. All the under-developed countries are now starting on a line of economic policy which has no close historical precedent in any advanced country.

The equality doctrine remains in an abstract compartment while rest of economic theory developed so as to avoid this doctrine coming in the way. Distinction between production sphere and distribution sphere, utilised in economic analysis for concentrating attention of problems of production, is logically untenable. Because of this, many of our old theories have been defective.

In economic theory from earliest beginnings development was in tradition of enlightened humanitarian rationalisation and never encouraged reactionary belief in aids and different qualities between different groups of people. Nevertheless, these difference and, in particular, difference in productive capacity supported continued existence of economic inequalities and there was fear that large-scale or rapid change towards greater equality would break institutional continuity.

Danger that too rapid and large-scale reform may lead to decrease in production which must be prevented. Thus, the apparent conflict between more equal distribution and higher productivity.

Wholesale equalisation by re-distribution between nations is both impossible and unimportant. Much more important for attaining more equality of opportunity in the world are reforms which concern the ways in which the richer countries with their stronger bargaining powers conduct business with the poorer countries. Aid can only be a very small part of an international programme as it is of a national one.

Our tools of analysis have been moulded within the tradition of old doctrines and predilections. A certain approach to problems, a peculiar manner of looking at things has determined what questions we ask and how we ask them. This inhibits our imagination and comes in the way of a fact-finding research. Economic theory, as it developed, was to some extent a rationalisation of the interests and the aspirations of the.....² Where it grew problems of under-developed countries were not even considered until in recent years when they

2. Sentence incomplete in the original.

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were forcefully pressed on the world by the political and spiritual revolts of people living there.

Metaphysics serves a purpose; it meets our needs for rationalisation.

The entire discussion between the more radical and the more conservative writers for two centuries turns round the question of what and how much prior institutional change would be necessary to bring society to the natural state of harmony of interest. Even Marx no exception to this.

It is significant that Marx never worked out a system of organised economic policies to be carried out after the Revolution. The notion of economic planning did not play any important role in his thinking.

Assumption of free competition. Such a situation has never existed and the actual trends are to move society ever further away from it.

Prof. Lionel Robbins:³ "It would be difficult to find a single case where English classical economists actually recommended that Britain should make a sacrifice for the welfare of the rest of the world". They did not think of mankind but rather the welfare of the British nation and, more particularly, of certain classes in it.

Role of international trade tends to result in increasing equalities.

The poorer theorist is, the more he seems to be under the influence of inherited predilections. We need include theories which are more realistic.

3. Lionel Charles Robbins (1896-1984); taught at New College, Oxford and London School of Economics, 1924-61; created Baron in 1959; Chairman, *Financial Times*, 1961-70; President, British Academy, 1962-67; author of several books including *The Economic Problem in Peace and War*, *The Theory of Economic Policy in English Classical Political Economy*, *The Theory of Economic Development in the History of Economic Thought* and *The Evolution of Modern Economic Theory*.

13. To V.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
June 8, 1958

My dear V.T.,

I have received a paper from the Planning Commission which deals with preparatory work for the Third Five Year Plan. I am glad that this work is being undertaken. I note that, even for this work, we have to look much farther ahead than the period of the Five Year Plan and the date 1976 is mentioned in regard to certain targets, such as population, agricultural production, iron and steel, coal, etc. This is as it should be.

1. File No. 17(302)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

This really involves our paying a good deal of attention to what we have called perspective planning. We can hardly fix individual targets without some broad skeleton of the future being worked out.

There is another aspect of this perspective planning which was brought out the other day by Dr Gunnar Myrdal.² He pointed out that it was inevitable for the first few years of planning to show little results in the shape of improving standards and amenities. This improvement comes in later years when we have built up our apparatus of production. If we merely put before the public the next few years, they are likely to produce a somewhat depressing effect because these years will consist of only laying the foundations of future development. If, however, we can show to the public what the results will be much later in perspective, say 15 years later or even 20, then at any rate the public has not only a broader picture, but can understand which way we are going. For this reason, among others, Gunnar Myrdal laid great stress on perspective planning.

In preparing for our Third Five Year Plan, it would, therefore, be desirable to have this picture in perspective all the time and in fact for the Third Five Year Plan to fit into it.

I take it that even the Third Plan will not be a rigid one and that we shall have to have more detailed annual plans. Thus we shall have the annual plan with great detail, the Five Year Plan with broad targets and the perspective plan giving an approximate picture of where we are going to and what we hope to achieve.

In the perspective plan, agriculture would, of course, play a vital part and its relation to industry can come out. I suppose it is really in discussing longer perspectives that our minds become clearer about our objectives.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. See *ante*, pp. 98.

14. Coordination by Planning Commission¹

I think that it is obviously desirable for the Planning Commission to keep in touch with this Advisory Committee. In the Planning Commission's letter of

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, the Cabinet Secretary, 9 June 1958. File No. 17(5)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

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June 5th, a request is made that the minutes of the meetings of the Advisory Committee should be sent to them. Also, a note of the work done or intended to be done, should be sent by the National Income Unit of the CSO to the Commission. I think, therefore, that the Advisory Committee should be requested to keep the Planning Commission fully informed of its activities, and send them from time to time a note on the work being done.

2. It does not appear to me necessary for a special representative of the Planning Commission to be appointed a member of this Advisory Committee. Apart from Professor Mahalanobis,² Shri J.J. Anjaria³ is intimately connected with the Planning Commission, and both of these persons are members. If the Planning Commission had any special expert or technical person in view who would be helpful to the Committee, that would be another matter.

3. I think that if information is supplied from time to time to the Planning Commission, that would go a long way to keep them in touch. Further, it might sometimes be arranged for the Advisory Committee to have a discussion with the Planning Commission. The point is that there should be close contact between the two. This does not necessitate the enlargement of the Advisory Committee, but it should be brought about in other ways.

2. Director, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, and Member, Planning Commission.
3. Chief Economic Adviser to the Planning Commission, and the Ministry of Finance.

15. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

Manali, Kulu Valley
22nd June 1958

My dear Ajit,²

I see from headlines in the newspapers that you have been advocating large-scale cooperatives at a Seminar of officials of State Cooperative Departments held in Naini Tal.³ Only brief extracts from your speech have been given and

1. File No. 17(263)57-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection and A.P. Jain Papers, NMML.
2. Union Minister of Food and Agriculture.
3. *The Times of India* dated 20 June reported, in a news item captioned 'Role of Co-op. Movement in Welfare State stressed: Mr Jain commends large-size societies', that A.P. Jain, in his inaugural speech on 19 June at the seminar, advocated the formation of large-size cooperative societies, each society consisting of four or five villages.

so I do not know what the full purport was. But, in any event, it is odd for you and me to say in public exactly opposite things in regard to a particular matter. You know the stress that I have been laying for the last year or two on small scale cooperatives. I have written about them in my fortnightly letters to the Chief Ministers also on several occasions. Just seeing the headlines of the newspapers, it must appear to most people that you are diametrically opposed to what I have said. This must create an unfortunate impression of internal conflict in the Government.⁴

I am writing this on the basis of the brief reports in the newspapers which may or may not be correct.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. A.P. Jain replied on 23 June 1958 that the impression conveyed by the newspaper reports was contrary to what he had said in the seminar about the desirable size of cooperatives. He pointed out that in his speech he had strongly objected to the setting up in Uttar Pradesh of some very big societies, some having more than 100 villages, and had said that in sufficiently big villages, there should be a single cooperative society and in no case should the number of villages exceed four or five.
5. Nehru wrote (not printed) to Jain on 23 June: "Since the newspapers have misreported you, would it not be desirable to correct this wrong report?"

16. To U.N. Dhebar¹

New Delhi
30th June, 1958

My dear Dhebarbhai,²

I have been talking to S.K. Dey, our Minister of Community Development, and discussing with him how we can put forward some positive programme for the Congress in regard to community development work. He said that probably the first step should be that a representative from each Pradesh would come to Delhi for a week's discussions with the Community Development Ministry and, of course, the AICC people. The next step would be some regional camps, or call them what you will, for people in that region to discuss the details of this work. As a matter of fact, we should concentrate on just two aspects—agricultural production and small industries.

1. File No. 17(28)/58-PMS.

2. President of the Indian National Congress.

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I have asked S.K. Dey to prepare a note on this subject and to send this to you. If you approve, this note can be considered by the Working Committee. S.K. Dey is going out of Delhi but will be returning, I think, on the 12th morning or perhaps the 13th. He will thus be here for the Working Committee meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ii) Foreign Exchange Difficulties

1. To M. Mujeeb¹

New Delhi
April 16, 1958

My dear Mujeeb,²

Your letter of the 16th. I think you are quite right in not going to Germany, to attend the meeting of the Federation of Student Associations for the purpose of delivering a lecture there. In view of our very difficult foreign exchange situation no Ministry is authorised to incur any expenditure without the special permission of the Ministry of Finance. This special permission is seldom given unless it is shown that the expenditure was inescapable.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Vice Chancellor, Jamia Millia Islamia University.

2. To M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar¹

New Delhi
May 4, 1958

My dear Mr Speaker,²

Thank you for your letter of May 2nd about the Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union to be held at Rio de Janeiro.³ Normally it is a good thing to attend these conferences, but I feel that on this occasion it may not be worthwhile to do so. Rio de Janeiro is a very great distance away and any delegation, therefore, will cost a good deal of money. I would suggest, therefore, that on this occasion we might not send a delegation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Speaker of the Lok Sabha.
3. The 47th Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union was held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, from 24 July to 1 August 1958.

3. To Mohanlal Sukhadia¹

New Delhi
May 15, 1958

My dear Sukhadia,²

Your letter of May 15th about the Gandhi Sagar Dam³ and the import of prefabricated transmission towers. You need not tell me about the necessity of treating Rajasthan as a special case because it is rather backward in such matters. I think it should be treated as a special case and every help given to it. But, when you talk about foreign exchange at this juncture, you raise terribly difficult problems. The foreign exchange situation has been very bad. Today it is worse. As a matter of fact, only this evening I have addressed all our Ministries here telling them of this and asking them to cut down their foreign exchange demands to the utmost.⁴ Unless we do this, we are faced with a total breakdown of our economy early next year.

1. File No. 17(105)/56-61-PMS.
2. Chief Minister of Rajasthan.
3. The Gandhi Sagar Dam and Power Station was built across the Chambal river at Bhavpura in Mandasaur district in Madhya Pradesh. The foundation stone of the dam was laid by Nehru on 7 March 1954 and power generation started in 1960.
4. See *post*, p. 115.

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However, I am sending your letter to the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, who will no doubt examine it with every care and consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi
May 15, 1958

My dear Ajit,

I enclose a note which I am sending to members of the Cabinet.² The position is a very serious one and even all our reserves in London are not ample to meet it. We shall, therefore, have again to take the strictest measures to save foreign exchange on imports and to earn it by exports.

As far as saving goes, one of the major items is food. I should like you to examine this matter afresh. You will remember that the Burmese have been unable to supply the full amount of rice for which exchange had been allotted. The Cabinet thereafter decided, however, that efforts might be made to purchase rice from elsewhere to the extent that exchange may be saved through the inability of the Burmese to keep to their contract. The question now is whether we can save this money by not importing rice to that extent. No doubt this will create difficulties and you might well say that there would be a tendency for price of rice to rise. But what are we to do if we cannot pay for it at all and if we risk a complete breakdown of our economy? Let us try to do with wheat. Every little saving counts in this difficult situation and the saving on foodgrains might well be more than little.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 37 (35)/56-66-PMS.

2. See the succeeding item.

5. Precarious Foreign Exchange Situation¹

The Finance Minister² has drawn my attention to the foreign exchange situation. This has again assumed a very serious aspect and the future is full of danger, unless we take some special steps to pull ourselves up in this respect.

The estimates of the balance of payments we made are not proving correct and the error is very much against us. I am not giving you any figures here. At a suitable opportunity, the Finance Minister will, no doubt, inform the Cabinet. The reasons for the major variations in our estimates appear to be as follows:

- i) It is said that as a result of the American recession and the slowing down of economic activity in western Europe, there is likely to be a substantial fall in our export earnings.
- ii) The figure for payments against outstanding commitments has been heavy in the recent past and is rising.
- iii) The American aid, recently negotiated, will not be available for utilisation as early as we had hoped.

We have already cut down our expenditure in foreign exchange to a very considerable extent. And yet the drain continues and is likely to continue. If nothing is done to lessen this drain or to increase our export earnings, we shall be in an exceedingly difficult position early next year.

We have thus to face a serious and very difficult situation which will require another effort to reduce expenditure involving foreign exchange and to increase our exports.

This matter will have to be considered by us in Cabinet. I am writing this brief note to you merely to inform you of the serious situation we have to face. I hope that even in a petty matter of expenditure abroad, that is, sending of delegations and the like, greatest economy will be observed.³

1. Note to Cabinet Ministers, 15 May 1958. JN Collection.

2. Morarji Desai.

3. Nehru wrote to Union Minister of Commerce and Industry Lal Bahadur Shastri (not printed) on the same day: "In this serious situation that faces us, the Commerce and Industry Ministry has to play a very important part, both in regard to imports and exports. It may be possible even now to save some money on imports. But the main drive must necessarily be on exports and this has to be taken up with even greater determination than before. If we do not come to grips with our problems soon, the problems may well break our economy." Nehru also wrote to Ajit Prasad Jain, the Union Minister of Food and Agriculture on this issue. See the preceding item.

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6. To Morarji Desai¹

Forest Rest House, Manali

24th May, 1958

My dear Morarji,

I have received a telegram from Prof. Mahalanobis² who is now in New York. The telegram is addressed to Pitambar Pant of the Planning Commission and to the Cabinet Secretariat. It runs as follows:

Please inform Prime Minister that friendly American group trying informally revive Univac electronic data processing project prepared by TCM³ Delhi last year and hopeful about ICA⁴ support at Washington this year provided Indian request come through TCM office Delhi. I suggest such informal action being taken as considered proper. Please keep me informed.

This Univac electronic machine is a very expensive one for dealing with statistical data. It is supposed to be very helpful and speedy and up-to-date statistical institutes use it. I do not know the exact price of it, but I believe it runs into Rs 30 lakhs or more. Probably with accessories it is much more. But I am speaking from memory. It is obvious that we cannot afford this machine, however useful it might be. I was told, however, last year by Mahalanobis that such a machine was available in the United States and was not being used. There was a possibility of this Univac electronic machine being given to us if we asked for it. The TCM people in Delhi, I think, encouraged him to think so.

Thereafter, I wrote to T.T. Krishnamachari⁵ about it and there must be some correspondence on this subject in the Finance Ministry. It appeared later that the possibility of our getting it as a gift had faded and so the matter dropped there. Now I receive this telegram. I do not see any objection to our letting the

1. File No. 17(286)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. P.C. Mahalanobis, Member, Planning Commission.
3. The United States' Technical Cooperation Mission (TCM) to India came into being after the Governments of India and the United States signed two sets of agreements on 20 April and 26 June 1958 under Indo-American Technical Assistance Programme. The agreements provided financial assistance to India in the fields of health, education, industrial research, agricultural and industrial productivity.
4. International Cooperation Administration of the USA. It administered the foreign-aid programmes of the US Government.
5. Nehru wrote on 28 January 1958 to T.T. Krishnamachari, the then Finance Minister. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 167-168.

TCM people in Delhi know that we would be glad if this machine is given to us for a statistical processing work. They might be reminded of last year's talks and correspondence on this subject. They will no doubt have those papers with them.

If you agree, probably the best course would be for the Cabinet Secretary⁶ to speak to the TCM people in Delhi.⁷

I have now been here nearly five days and they have been extraordinarily restful. I have not had such a restful period for the last dozens years or more. Bad news has come here, of course, about Jamshedpur⁸ and the railway disaster⁹ and other matters, and the international situation appears to be worse than ever. Nevertheless, I have found a measure of peace and quiet here. I shall be returning on the 31st May as previously arranged.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. M.K. Vellodi.

7. Desai replied on 11 June 1958 that this project had been examined a number of times and would cost about one million dollars. The required foreign exchange could not be provided by the Finance Ministry nor by the TCM or the Ford Foundation. The local TCM, when contacted in view of the ICA-Washington's support, was willing to substitute this for any of the projects covered by TCM Agreements. However, these were priority projects in the Plan. Desai wrote that TCM was ascertaining the possibilities of any additional allocation for the purchase of the Univac equipment. In the circumstances it was not advisable for the Cabinet Secretary to speak to the TCM officials on individual applications for aid, Desai added.

8. The workers of the Tata Iron and Steel Company Limited were on a stay-in strike, called by the AITUC-affiliated Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union, since 15 May as a protest against the suspension of about 40 workers alleged to be leaders of the token strike in the factory on 12 May. Troops were called out for patrolling after the police opened fire on 21 May to disperse violent crowds of striking workers. The sprawling Sakchi market and some offices including a post office were burnt during the disturbances.

9. The Kirti Express got derailed near Chamaraj station, 70 miles from Rajkot, when it was speeding along the Porbandar-Mehsana section of the Western Railway on 21 May. Thirty persons were killed in the mishap.

7. To Kailas Nath Katju¹

New Delhi

June 4, 1958

My dear Kailas Nath,²

You will remember that towards the end of December last year, Maharani Indirabai Holkar gave some jewellery which your Commissioner of the Indore Division, T.S. Pawar, took from her and deposited under seals and locks in the District Treasury, Indore. You wrote to me on the subject on the 2nd January.

The Finance Minister has now written to me on this subject, and he intends taking steps to sell this jewellery abroad. The rupee equivalent of the money earned can then be donated by the Maharani in the manner she desires. The Home Minister has agreed to this. The State Bank of India have undertaken this task. It is suggested that Shri J.S. Mongia, Secretary and Treasurer of the State Bank of India, New Delhi, should be contacted for the purpose of arranging the sale of this jewellery abroad.³

You might, therefore, ask the Commissioner to contact Shri J.S. Mongia in Delhi for this purpose. It would be better for him to write to him first and ask him what he has to do about it.

You had suggested that some publicity should be given to this gift. I agree. I think on the whole that you should do it. You can mention, of course on my behalf, that I have much appreciated this gift both from the point of view of getting foreign exchange and as the rupee equivalent is to be used for charitable purposes.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

3. Nehru informed Morarji Desai on the same day that the jewellery should be sent to the Treasurer of the State Bank in New Delhi.

8. Foreign Exchange Situation: Bridging the Gap¹

The Cabinet at its meetings on June 4 and 5 considered a paper prepared by the Ministry of Finance on the current and prospective foreign exchange position, and discussed the measures which could be taken to bridge the gap in the foreign exchange budget under the three broad heads: (1) increased exports, (2) further curtailment of imports, and (3) further large-scale foreign aid.

2. Summing up the discussions, the Prime Minister said that, while it was true that the latest setback in our foreign exchange position called for the maximum amount of effort on our part to maintain and develop the economy of the country, there was no need to get unduly panicky, as our economy was basically a sound one and our resources enormous. The real weakness was the lack of will to work hard. The Prime Minister felt that it would, perhaps, be a good thing if our young men were made to undergo some kind of compulsory training in social services for a year or so, so that they might get a proper sense of discipline and develop respect for manual labour.²

3. The Prime Minister emphasised that the present pattern of our trade, while it might have served us well in the past, could not continue for very long and had necessarily to change as a consequence of world developments and the industrial development of our country. Situated as we were, we would have to depend more and more on what might be called a 'Regional Economy', and develop markets for our manufactured goods in neighbouring countries.

4. To meet the present situation, the Prime Minister laid particular stress on the need for taking all possible measures to promote exports to the fullest extent. An examination should also be undertaken of the country's import programme with a view to eliminating unnecessary imports, but care should be taken to see that the tempo of development was not reduced.³

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1. Extracts from the minutes of the Cabinet meetings held on 4 and 5 June 1958. JN Collection.
2. In a letter to G.B. Pant, the Home Minister, on 30 May 1958, Nehru referred to conscription for military purposes in Europe except in the UK, which had raised the general standards of the people. Nehru wrote that in India conscription, not for military purposes but in terms of social services, should be considered. See *ante*, pp.
3. After the discussion, the Cabinet decided, among other things, that all Ministries concerned with production should encourage agricultural and industrial production, take effective steps to increase exports and restrict imports, keeping in view the needs of internal economy, and submit reports on these subjects to the Cabinet periodically. It was also decided that maximum savings in foreign exchange should be effected on imports without impeding the pace of development, as also on travel abroad.

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9. To S.K. Patil¹

New Delhi
June 7, 1958

My dear S.K.,²

As you know, we have been discussing at some length the question of foreign exchange. One aspect of foreign exchange is that of invisible exports. This means in the main (1) transport and (2) tourism.

We discussed the question of purchase of ships and we decided that every effort should be made to purchase them or even charter them on the time-scale.

The other aspect is that of tourism. There has been a progressive increase in tourism in India. But it is still relatively little compared to countries like Italy, Switzerland or France. Tourism in India is in its very early infancy. I think that a very special effort might well be made to encourage this. I am sure that if you apply your mind to it to give this a push, the results will be very satisfactory. I have no doubt you are doing this already. But I am writing to you merely to say that, so far as I am concerned, I should like to help you in this as much as I can.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 37(35)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Transport and Communications.

10. To Morarji Desai¹

Manali
Kulu Valley
14th June 1958

My dear Morarji,

I have just received your letter of the 11th June about the Univac equipment² required by Mahalanobis.

It is clear that we cannot agree to any proposal which (1) involves a further foreign exchange burden on us, and (2) which replaces another project to which we have given priority. It is only if the Univac is given independently without infringing either of the two conditions above that we can consider it.

1. File No.17(286)/58-59 PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. See also *ante*, pp. 116-117.

I agree with you that the TCM people should be dealt with by the Department of Economic Affairs and not by any of the administrative ministries. I had mentioned the Cabinet Secretary merely so that an enquiry might be made about the position.³

Perhaps you will have a letter sent to Professor Mahalanobis explaining to him the present position.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Morarji Desai had written that it was not advisable that the Cabinet Secretary should speak to officials of the TCM on individual applications for aid, and added: "We have tried to coordinate all aid programmes through the Department of Economic Affairs and have been in large measure successful in preventing the foreign aid-giving agencies from mixing themselves unnecessarily with the different administrative Ministries and organs of Government."

11. Measures to Improve the Foreign Exchange Situation¹

The Cabinet considered the note dated June 25, 1958, by the Minister of Commerce and Industry as well as the note on export promotion prepared by the Committee of Economic Secretaries, and generally approved the proposals contained therein. The Cabinet further desired that the Ministry of Commerce and Industry should, in consultation with the other Ministries concerned, draw up export plans for each important item of export for the next nine-month period. In preparing these plans, suitable targets for the export of each commodity should be laid down and the question of the steps to be taken to achieve those targets should be carefully examined.² The Cabinet also agreed that, in order to step up exports, such export duties as had the effect of discouraging exports should be

1. Minutes of the Cabinet meeting, 25 June 1958. JN Collection.

2. For instance, Nehru wrote (not printed) to Homi Bhabha on 26 June 1958: "As you know, we are passing through a very critical phase in regard to foreign exchange. Because of this we are trying our utmost to increase our exports. How far is it possible for us to help in this business by increasing export of our minerals? I should like you to consider this in so far as the Atomic Energy Department is concerned." Earlier Nehru also stated in the Lok Sabha on 11 April 1958 in reply to a question that the export of thorium nitrate totalling 378.45 tons had been made to Austria, Egypt, France, Hong Kong, Japan, Pakistan, the UK and the USA till then.

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removed. As a further incentive to exports, concessional railway freight rates for export commodities should also be allowed. Again, in order to exploit export possibilities, an effort should be made, where possible, to balance India's imports from, and exports to, particular countries. The Cabinet further desired that the Ministry of Commerce and Industry should send, for its information, periodical reports indicating the progress made in this regard.

2. With reference to the Finance Ministry's paper dated June 23, copies of which were circulated to the Members of the Cabinet at the meeting, the Prime Minister said that the paper was meant to re-emphasise the need for a realistic appraisal of the foreign exchange situation. The short-term position was one of some gravity, and called for remedial measures yielding relatively quick results. But the short-term remedies should not be such as would come in the way of the realisation of our long-term objectives.

3. The Prime Minister also suggested that the possibility of getting Indians who were settled abroad, e.g., in Malaya, Hong Kong and East Africa, to invest their money in India should be explored and that, for this purpose, further suitable incentives, such as income-tax and similar relief, should be provided. The Prime Minister felt that these and other measures, for example, the postponement for a few years, by agreement with the countries concerned, of payments due from us, the building up of a currency reserve, etc., would progressively lessen our difficulties in the future.

(iii) Industry and Labour

1. Demands of the Labour¹

I received a delegation on behalf of the AITUC² and the Hind Mazdoor Sabha³ today. They gave me a letter and a charter of demands which I enclose.

1. Note to Gulzarilal Nanda, the Union Minister of Labour, Employment and Planning, New Delhi, 1 April 1958. JN Collection.
2. The All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) was founded in 1920 at Bombay under the chairmanship of Lala Lajpat Rai. In 1929, at its Nagpur session, it was taken over by the communists. The same year, the moderates broke away from it and formed the Indian Trade Union Federation.
3. The Hind Mazdoor Sabha was founded in 1948 by Socialists, followers of the Forward Bloc and independent trade Unionists. R.S. Ruikar was its first President and Asoka Mehta the General Secretary.

After reading through their charter, I asked them if they were serious about the demands they had put in it, because I felt that a number of them were quite irresponsible demands in the present circumstances. We were all anxious to promote the well-being of labour and to raise their standards of living. But our desire to do so was limited by objective facts. An attempt to take irresponsible action might well result in a lessening of production, closing of plants, greater unemployment and misery. In spite of our wishes, we could not take steps wholly beyond our resources. I pointed to the textile industry which had suffered so much and which had led us to the removal of excise duties.

Further I said that it was not correct to say that prices had risen recently. In fact, there had been a tendency for prices to go down. Food articles, which governed the cost of living so much, had definitely come down in prices, except for rice in certain places. Compared to many other countries, we had been remarkably successful in preventing inflation.

The delegation people partly agreed with me that the general increase in current wages that they had demanded might not be applicable to all industries, but to some it would be applicable. They laid stress, however, chiefly on No. 5 of their demands, that is, in regard to the coverage of the Employees' Provident Fund Act and raising of the rate of contributions to 8.33 per cent.

I replied that I could not say anything as I was not in possession of enough facts about this question. No doubt the Labour Minister would examine it.

They talked about wage boards. I said that we had recognised this principle of appointing wage boards and they were gradually being extended.

There was some brief talk about paid holidays and one or two other matters.

I told them that it was for the Labour Minister to consider some of these matters about which I was not in a position to say anything as I had not all the facts. They said they were going to see the Labour Minister.

2. Promoting Small and Cottage Industries¹

Among the many problems that face India the growth of industry certainly occupies a prominent place. We lay stress, and rightly so, on agricultural production because that is the very basis of everything that we do. But to that is allied industrial production.

1. Message, New Delhi, 4 April 1958. JN Collection.

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So far as the big and, more especially, the basic industries are concerned, we are laying down adequate foundations for their development. As these begin to function, it is inevitable that smaller industries will grow.

At the same time, I feel that very special stress should be laid now on small industries and cottage industries. It is these small and household industries that should spread widely all over the country and not only absorb large numbers of our unemployed but also add to our production. They do not require foreign exchange to any marked extent. They require enterprise and assistance. The growth of these small and household industries also helps in balancing our economy by the development of the decentralised sector.

I would like, wherever possible, these small and household industries to be developed on the cooperative basis. Thus they have the advantage of decentralisation as well as the advantages which come from working on a larger scale.

The industrial estates, which have been started in various parts of India, have been a good beginning.² But much more has to be done and I hope it will be done. The idea behind these industrial estates is to provide good factory accommodation in well-planned areas, equipped with facilities, like water, electricity, sewerage, post office, bank, fire station and road and rail communications. Small industries which have grown up in crowded city localities are taken to these estates. This helps in clearing up the city of slum areas and providing better and healthier accommodation for the workers engaged. It should help them also in developing their cultural and social life in those centres. But, above all, it helps in the development of small industries.

2. The Government of India had set up 100 major industrial estates during the Second Plan period for the development of small industries.

3. Indigenous Design for a Car¹

Shri Rameshwar Rao, MP from Andhra (Telengana)² gave me the attached note and photographs today. These relate to designs for a car to be wholly made in

1. Note to Lal Bahadur Shastri, Union Minister of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi, 5 April 1958. File No. 44(35)/57-68-PMS.
2. J. Rameshwar Rao was Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Mahbubnagar, Andhra Pradesh.

India. They have been prepared by Shri P.M. Reddy, Deputy General Manager of the Hindustan Aircraft Factory in Bangalore.

2. I think that they should be fully examined in your Ministry. If necessary, a reference should be made to the Hindustan Aircraft Factory. Perhaps, Shri Rameshwar Rao might also be able to give further information.

4. Parliamentary Supervision over Statutory Corporations¹

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Congress Party in Parliament this morning, the question of parliamentary supervision over statutory corporations and other state-owned bodies was discussed. It was felt that before this matter is discussed in Parliament or any proposal is put forward formally, the matter should be considered fully by a Sub-Committee of the Party. The Leader was asked to constitute such a Sub-Committee. It was suggested that Shri V.K. Krishna Menon might be the Chairman of this Sub-Committee and that the number of members might be seven. On further consideration it was decided that the number of members of this Sub-Committee might be ten, including the Chairman.²

I am, therefore, appointing a Sub-Committee consisting of the following persons:-

- | | | |
|----------------------------|---|----------|
| 1. Shri V.K. Krishna Menon | - | Chairman |
| 2. Shri T.N. Singh | - | Convener |
| 3. Shri Feroze Gandhi | | |
| 4. Shri Mahavir Tyagi | | |
| 5. Dr P. Subborayan | | |
| 6. Professor N.G. Ranga | | |
| 7. Shri N.C. Kasliwal | | |
| 8. Shri H.C. Dasappa | | |
| 9. Shri Jaswantraj Mehta | | |
| 10. Shri R.R. Morarka | | |

1. Note, New Delhi, 10 April 1958. JN Collection.

2. In reply to a letter written by Algu Rai Shastri, Secretary, Congress Party in Parliament, on 12 April 1958 suggesting one more name to be added to the Sub-Committee on State Undertakings, Nehru expressed unwillingness and wrote: "However, if the Committee wants to invite someone to confer with them they can do so."

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The Committee will consider various types of state-owned corporations, companies, etc., and suggest how a broad supervision may be maintained over their activities by Parliament, without any interference in their day-to-day activities. The Committee will report to me and I shall place their report before the Executive Committee of the Party for consideration.

5. The Question of Parliamentary Control over Public Corporations¹

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I was saying th]at I asked Secretary² to convene this meeting because I had been feeling for a number of days that we have not had a meeting of the Party for a considerable time and I did not like that. I thought we might meet even though there was no particular subject to meet. Of course there are so many things which we can consider here, developments here in Parliament, outside in the Congress Party, etc. There was one matter which was referred to in our meeting of our Executive Committee, that was the possibility of some kind of supervision by Parliament over state, major state undertakings and after some talk in the Executive Committee, it was decided to appoint, before we took any step or made any recommendation, a committee of the Party to go into this matter more carefully and make a recommendation to the Executive Committee which then, later might be placed before the full meeting of the Party. Thereupon I was authorised to appoint this committee. Some names were mentioned too. At first the idea was that the Committee might be of five to seven persons, but later this was enlarged to a committee of 10 and these are the names of the people appointed:

Shri V.K. Krishna Menon, Chairman
Shri T.N. Singh, Convener
Shri Feroze Gandhi
Shri Mahavir Tyagi
Dr Subbaroyan

1. Extracts from a speech at the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting, New Delhi, 12 April 1958. Tape No. M. 32/c., NMML.
2. Algu Rai Shastri, Secretary, Congress Party in Parliament.

Professor N.G. Ranga
 Shri N.C. Kasliwal
 Shri H.C. Dasappa
 Shri Jaswantraj Mehta and
 Shri R.R. Morarka

Later I wrote a note to the Secretary that the three ministries which are chiefly concerned with these big state undertakings are the Ministry of Commerce & Industry, the Steel (I forget its name, what is the full name), Steel, Mines & Fuel and Defence. There are those two I mean to say the Communication Ministry has some, too and Railways have their own big concerns, but apart from railways, the main are these three.

Now I thought that in considering this matter, this committee should have naturally full cooperation of these three major Ministries concerned, as the Chairman of the Committee was Shri Krishna Menon, Minister of Defence, that is provided for, so far as that Ministry was concerned. But I suggested that the Minister of Commerce and Industry and Minister of Steel, etc, should also—they need not be members of the Committee I mean—be closely associated: they can be members of the Committee or not, but it is immaterial. The point is the Committee will be in a better position to get many facts, information from them, through them, than otherwise. So that is this.

Now, I have no doubt that this Committee will consider all these various aspects of these state undertakings. The first thing that strikes one is that the variety of them. That is, you cannot put all of them in one category. They differ greatly in various ways. There are, even in main, there are corporations; there are so called private companies. That word private is very unfortunate, it is confusing. In fact, it is not private, because it is a company it comes in. Incidentally therefore I think we should initiate some minor legislation to take over that private from state companies, it is just confusing. However this is immaterial. And they are corporations like the Damodar Valley Corporation, there is an insurance corporation which is completely different from any thing else, so that any one approach perhaps may not fit in with all these variety of undertakings. It is obvious that even now the State is running enormous undertakings, running them or building them like the steel plants like other things. I don't know how much money is invested in them but it is a very large sum if you total it up and more and more will come under the States' purview and it is important that we should be clear about these matters. Naturally no decision that we may take is going to be a final decision because we learn from experience, we shall improve it, upon it, later as we know, but the time has come that this should be considered and before we ask Parliament to consider it, it is, I think right and proper, that a committee of our party should go into this fully and thus help the party, help the government in formulating firmer proposals. Now you

will remember in the case of the discussion on the Chagla report³ there were a number of principles that Mr Justice Chagla⁴ had laid down at the end of the report and I think in the resolution that we passed something was said to the effect that we shall pay full attention to those principles. I was rather pressed by some members, not so far as I remember Congress members, to accept the report, *in toto* accept those principles. Well I, it did not seem, I mean, right to accept all those principles without giving much more thought to them, because they require a good deal of thought. Some of them, on the face of it, did not seem to me very practical or very desirable, wholly, partly they might have been so. Now so far as that matter is concerned, of course it applies chiefly to the LIC and partly to all state undertakings, and we have been considering that matter closely and it was my hope and it is still my hope to put forward some suggestions or proposals in regard to these matters before the House in this session. But now, apart from that, this larger consideration has come before us at the instance of some members of our party and that is a good thing because that is as well that we should see, try to see the whole picture and devise ways and means of dealing with it. So that is the position. Now I am in your hands as to how we should proceed at present at this meeting.

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There are one or two matters which were referred to which I should like to say something about before I go. One was Mr Alva's⁵ suggestion that Mr Morarka⁶ should be dropped out of the Committee because he was a businessman; rather remarkable suggestion, with far reaching consequences.⁷ We may go a step further and ask Mr Morarka to be dropped out of Parliament also, or to be dropped out of any committee that you might form. I don't think it was a proper suggestion to make, I can very well understand the argument that in a matter where in industrial matters, where private interests may perhaps clash with public interest, the matter cannot be left to the decision of private interests only, that is perfectly correct. In fact it cannot be left where private interests predominate. I am not referring to Mr Morarka, I am just laying down a principle. That is all right. But in considering a matter of this kind it seems to me very extraordinary indeed to adopt the outlook or the principle that Mr Alva put across. I would indeed have said that the presence of a person in

3. For discussion on the report of the Chagla Commission of Inquiry into the affairs of the LIC of India, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 343-420.
4. Chief Justice, Bombay High Court, 15 August 1947 to 29 September 1958 and Member, Law Commission, 1955-58.
5. Joachim Alva, Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Kanara, Mysore State.
6. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Jhunjhunu, Rajasthan.
7. See also Nehru's letter to Alva dated 12 April, 1958, *post*, pp. 534-535.

such a committee is desirable. Anyhow whatever it was, here is a committee of 10 of which Mr Morarka is one. Apart from the unseemliness of suggesting to me that I should strike out the name of a member of the party after I have put him on a committee it will almost be tantamount to striking off my name as a leader of this party. He does not seem to realise the consequence of what he is suggesting, because I shall have hardly any position left in this party if I treat all the members in this party in this manner, with this disrespectful manner.

Now we go to other matters. This is not the time for us or for me at any rate to say anything I feel about it, about this major question. But it is clear that these undertakings cannot be run in the normal manner of government routine. That is why they are called autonomous. I do not know why a member discusses what an autonomous corporation means. It may mean anything or nothing at all, it depends on the nature of the autonomy given, autonomous is not a fixed rigid word it just means how much autonomy you give it. But broadly it means that it should not be run as a government department with all the routines of the government. If it is a government, state concern, it also obviously means that the policy rests with the state and the state can call it to order, when it so chooses and such other things as you may lay down. So in between those two limits, non-interference in its normal working and supervision of policy and other matters whenever it so chooses, that you have to find out and that too will vary with different things. Now take a small matter; Ashoka Hotel was referred to. Questions are put about the cooks in the Ashoka Hotel. Now I do say it is a bit, that such questions are hardly suitable for Parliament as to how cooks are making good food or what salary they are getting or what not. Cooks, I might tell you, the sort of cooks that a great hotel makes, get salaries far in excess of your Cabinet Ministers'. A chef is supposed to be an artist, a great artist, he will get anything; I may say, unheard of salaries—you will be amazed, how much they get, but that is not the point. My point is you can't raise these petty matters: you must have staff there, manager, etc., and you must give him freedom to function; it is quite impossible if he is frightened of being constantly pulled up.

Then, Mr Thirumala Rao⁸ in the course of his remarks, mentioned our Secretary-General N.R. Pillai and said, although he is Chairman of the Shipping Corporation he has not been there for years. I don't think he is quite correctly informed, because from time to time he asked my permission to go there and goes there. I cannot exactly give the dates but he does go there, not very infrequently. I am not justifying his being there, not being there, that is a separate question..... Maybe But you said he had not been even there once a year. These were your words. I say he has been there much more than once a year, every year, because he comes to me for permission to go, I know

8. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Kakinada, Andhra Pradesh.

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it, as it happens. But whether he should be a Chairman or not, that is another matter. Then Mr Thirumala Rao wanted a high power commission, he says what is the good of this committee. The good of this committee is to help us to take further steps. The committee is not a final step, no, your words were 'what is the good of this Committee, we should have a high power commission, independent men with maybe a few members, MPs added on to it'. He has great respect for non-MPs, it is evident, and they must be independent. Now I don't mind if it is necessary, let us have a commission, a commission is not ruled out we may certainly have it, it is an important matter. But the whole point is we must formulate our ideas ourselves as a party, leave out Parliament even. Having done that and having helped government by our ideas then it is easier for government to consider it, for us to place some proposals before Parliament, whatever those proposals might be. One word more. That is about, we talked about manpower, Mr Thirumala Rao. Well, may I assure him that we have got, we have been engaged in this business of man-power computation for a very considerable time, in a sense for several years, in a more concentrated sense for a year and a half and we have got rather excellent information about manpower, statistical information in the greatest detail. It is amazing and if he wants to know what it is, he can go to Parliament Library; he will find it there. Statistical reports about engineers, about this, about that, in the greatest details that you can have, statistically complied. So we know the importance of this matter and we are proceeding with it.

Now I seek your permission to go, so that is up to you to decide. Would you or would you like this meeting to be, well, postponed? Well, we put an end to this meeting, we meet some other time then. All right.

6. Need to Boost Small-Scale Industries¹

Sisters and brothers,

There are so many elders present here on this stage² that instead of naming everyone separately, I include all of you in my salutation. I have watched the

1. Speech at the inauguration of the Okhla Industrial Estate, New Delhi, 12 April 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Lal Bahadur Shastri, Union Minister of Commerce and Industry, Ashfaque Hussain, Chairman of the National Small Industries Corporation which was entrusted with the construction of industrial estates at Okhla and Naini, and A.S.E. Iyer, Managing Director of the Okhla Industrial Estate, were also present on the dais.

industrial estate come up in Allahabad since its inception a year and a half ago.³ Later I had a chance to see the huge industrial estate in Guindy near Madras.⁴ I was greatly impressed by all this and a picture began to emerge in my mind of the industrial estates which I have heard talked about. Now I have come here to Okhla and again I have the chance to see this grow.⁵ It is obvious that I like what I have seen and I am sure all of you will like it too. Why? There are many reasons. We have the task of promoting the growth of industries, big, medium, small, cottage industries, etc., and at the same time bear in mind many factors. First of all, industries will mean that we produce more goods, which means more wealth in the country, and India will grow in stature and the people will become more well off. But at the same time it must also be borne in mind that this growth should not lead to new ills, like slums because slums are bad. The slum-dwellers cannot have a good standard of living. Their health is affected. People often fail to understand this. Narrow-minded mill and factory owners fail to understand that their most valuable machinery is the human beings and that they should be well looked after. A machine has to be kept clean and well-lubricated for it to continue working efficiently and well. Similarly, the human beings who work in these factories should also be well looked after.

India is passing through a revolutionary period in her history, the age of the industrial revolution. This revolution is of far greater importance than the revolutions that we read about, the revolutions which have occurred in the United States, France and Russia during the course of the last 150 years or so. As a matter of fact, it is the biggest revolution in the history of mankind in thousands of years which has changed the entire lifestyle and the map of the world. It had some impact on us too. But its impact was felt most by the nations of Europe and America and later by Russia. Now, we are witnessing the industrial revolution in our country. It first began in England about 200 years ago and they had to face tremendous difficulties and the people underwent untold suffering and tribulations. When one reads about all that in books, one is amazed at the price that countries had to pay. All kinds of atrocities were committed on the people of not one but two or even three generations. Anyhow, they suffered silently

3. The programme of setting up industrial estates for the development of small-scale industries was started in 1955 with the first one in Rajkot. Construction of two other estates, one at Okhla near Delhi and the other at Naini near Allahabad was undertaken by the National Small Industries Corporation which was established as a private limited company by the Central Government.
4. Nehru inaugurated the industrial estate at Guindy, near Madras on 7 January 1958. For his inaugural address, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp.125-126.
5. The Okhla Industrial Estate had 35 factories of varying sizes with provision for 100 more factories. The arrangements for roads, water, electricity, drainage, and so on were also made.

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and gradually their situation began to improve because their countries were producing more wealth. They became extremely rich because production had increased in a variety of sectors.

How did this happen? It was the result of the Industrial Revolution—the new machines, the new methods of production. A machine can do the work of a hundred human beings, even a thousand, and therefore a revolution was ushered in the world and over a period of the last two centuries or more it has grown and spread. All kinds of new machinery have been invented. For instance, electricity took the place of steam. New inventions are being made every day.

You must have heard about automation where human beings are replaced by machines which perform the tasks of a hundred or even a thousand human beings at the mere touch of a button. Now you must understand the dangerous implications of all this progress. What are thousands of human beings to do if the machines replace their labour? This is a great dilemma. In India there is a terrible problem of unemployment, so the question of automation does not arise. But in the West there are complex problems.

However, we cannot be daunted by these problems and run away from machines. They are the symbol of a new age and the source of its power. The nation which runs away from machines will remain backward and poor. We do not want that to happen here. Therefore, we must take everything into account and go ahead and adopt new technologies, new modes of production. We must accept these new developments unless we wish to remain backward. For instance, we will continue to use the bullock cart wherever it is feasible. But nobody will think of travelling by bullock cart from Delhi to Allahabad when he can do so by rail or car or aeroplane. The old order comes to an end when the world is on the path of progress.

Therefore, we must adopt new techniques while keeping our cottage industries alive. We will spin yarn on the *charkha* too because in the India of today the old and the new can coexist and are even essential. But we must always bear in mind that we need to adopt the latest techniques, because if we do not we will remain where we were. For example, if we have to fight a war—though we do not want wars among nations—it would be absurd to think of doing so with a few hundred-year-old guns. If we have to fight, we need new weapons. If we want to increase productivity through industry, we need new machinery. We will continue to use the old ones also so long as we need them but that is a different matter.

Apart from the new technology, we need to let the fresh breeze of change blow in the country. New facilities must be provided, and the machines must be set up in large open spaces where they can work efficiently. We must ensure that people do not have to live in slums. Ultimately, no nation can hope to prosper in slum-like conditions. Slums are something to be ashamed of because they are against the dignity of the people who live in them. There is a

limit to what machines can do. Ultimately, it is the human beings who help a nation grow.

I am presenting various aspects before you so that you may understand that having industrial estates such as this one is a good thing; in fact, they are essential. Why do I say they are essential? We are going in for heavy industries in a big way and setting up huge plants to produce steel. Three or four large steel plants are coming up.⁶ Then there are all kinds of basic industries and we are paying attention to them. We are paying attention at the same time to village and cottage industries too. It is a strange mix. But India is an extraordinary country where you can see all kinds of strange mixes and contradictions. You can see all the ages coexisting here together.

Anyhow, the broad fact is that there is a great deal of unemployment and we want job opportunities to grow. Big industries will provide more employment, no doubt. But, in spite of the many large industries that we are putting up, the rate of growth is very slow. And the more machines we employ, the less human beings we need. That is why we like to continue using old techniques so that people may get employment and there is some productivity too. Otherwise we would be wasting a very valuable commodity, manpower. The power of an engine is measured in horsepower and electricity is measured in candlepower. But we must not forget that manpower is a great asset and we have 38 crores of people in India.

Though machines are very essential—and I have been extolling their virtues to you—and we cannot do without them, yet nothing can be more foolish than not to utilise the manpower that we have. Therefore, while on the one hand we have large industries, on the other hand, it is equally essential to use manpower in every possible way, whether it is for spinning or for producing some other form of wealth. It is no argument that mills can produce much more. While everyone is welcome to a mill, I have to provide jobs to a large number of people so that they may have some source of livelihood. It is not enough to increase the profits of millowners. Both these things should go hand in hand.

Now, there is a third factor too. On the one hand you have large industries and on the other the cottage industries. In between you have small-scale industries which are spread all over India. But it is very essential that these small-scale industries must adopt new techniques and new types of machines so that their productivity and efficiency may increase. Anyhow, the large industries will only be a few in number. There should be lakhs of the small-scale industries spread all over India and they will have an impact on the problem of unemployment and increase the nation's wealth as well.

6. See *ante*, p. 41.

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The best way to give a boost to small-scale industries is to set up industrial estates which will provide open spaces and all kinds of facilities which will not be available to individuals. Here you will have a congenial, pollution-free atmosphere to work in and have a better standard of living.

I do not know about the arrangements made here but I am told that all kinds of amenities have been provided. There should be schools and other things so that the needs of a small population may be taken care of. People will get employment and productivity will increase. We have only a few industrial estates so far but I have been told that we shall soon have a hundred such estates. However, we should have thousands of them and there will undoubtedly be more of them with the help of the government. I am drawn to the idea of having cooperatives because I feel that that is the best way to develop rural industries or increase work on land. I admit that there is no compulsion to do so but it would be good to adopt the method of cooperation.

The people who have come here and settled down to work must have realised even in this short period that their living standard has improved. Their health must have undoubtedly improved and their productivity and efficiency will also increase and everyone stands to benefit. The real benefit of any step that we take ought to be measured by the yardstick of whether it benefits everyone. If a certain step benefits some persons but harms others, then it is not a good step. Therefore, I am happy to be here today and I hope, or rather I am convinced, that this estate will grow and progress and serve the citizens of Delhi and also the whole country.

7. To Lal Bahadur Shastri¹

New Delhi
April 13, 1958

My dear Lal Bahadur,²

A meeting of the Party Committee which I have recently appointed to consider the question of State-owned corporations,³ etc., was held yesterday morning. I was not there, but I was told subsequently that some member produced a cutting from the *Bombay Chronicle* of the 11th April wherein various names were

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Commerce and Industry.

3. See *ante*, pp. 125-130.

mentioned as having been appointed heads of corporations.⁴ The Committee appears to have been rather upset by this announcement, more especially as it appeared soon after the appointment of that Committee itself. They sent a message to me on this subject drawing my attention to this *Bombay Chronicle* note. It is because of this that I am writing to you.

I do not know what the position is now and how far these various appointments have been finalised. It may be better not to finalise them just yet, if this has not already been done.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The *Bombay Chronicle* stated that the Government had decided to add two non-official Directors, Dr Loka Nath and D.P. Goenka, to the Board of State Trading Corporation (STC). Chandulal Parekh had already taken over the chairmanship of the STC. It also stated that Mr Bhakle was joining as Chairman of Heavy Electricals Limited, A.R. Bhat as Chairman of Hindustan Antibiotics, Pimpri, K.K. Birla as Chairman of Hindustan Cables, Meherchand Mahajan as Chairman of Nangal Fertilizers and Chemicals Limited, S. Ratnam as Chairman of Oil and Gas Commission, and Ghananand Pandey as Chairman of Hindustan Steel Limited. The *Bombay Chronicle* also mentioned that the Government had accepted the principle of having part-time chairmen for public corporations and Secretaries and Ministers had been or were being replaced by non-officials.

8. To S. Nijalingappa¹

New Delhi
April 16, 1958

My dear Nijalingappa,²

Your letter of the 14th April about Central assistance for industrial and other undertakings.

We have been definitely of opinion that major State undertakings should be run by corporations or companies. You refer to the recent appointment by me of a sub-committee of the Congress Parliamentary Party. This has nothing to do with this particular question. It is only going to consider how to bring about a closer liaison between Parliament and these corporations.

I am, however, forwarding your letter to the Finance Ministry. The matter can certainly be discussed at the next meeting of the National Development Council.

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Mysore from 1 November 1956 to 8 May 1958.

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I see that the letter from the Finance Ministry was sent early in December, that is, more than four months ago. It would thus be seen that adequate notice was given.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To Lal Bahadur Shastri¹

New Delhi
22nd April 1958

My dear Lal Bahadur,

General Sokhey² came to see me today and gave me the attached letter. Sokhey tends to press many of his points far too much and sometimes wrongly. However, there was one point I should like to be clear about and you might consult Manubhai Shah³ on the subject.⁴

Ever since we started the penicillin plant at Pimpri,⁵ we have laid stress on an open-door policy and we had said that we would welcome trainees from other countries. In fact, this was an assurance given by us to the Director-General of the WHO.⁶ How far is this policy going to be affected by the proposed arrangements with the American firm for the production of streptomycin? That arrangement is a good arrangement and we have, I believe, more or less finalised it, at least so far as Cabinet is concerned. I hope, however, that this does not involve our going back on the open-door policy about which we have given assurances to the WHO.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(48)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Major-General Sahib Singh Sokhey was on the panel of scientists in the Planning Commission and President of the Association of Scientific Workers of India.
3. Union Minister of State for Commerce and Industry.
4. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 73-74.
5. India's first penicillin plant was set up at Pimpri, near Poona in 1949.
6. Mariolino Games Candan, Director-General of WHO, 1953-73.

10. To K.D. Malaviya¹

New Delhi
29th April 1958

My dear Keshava,²

The Chief Minister of Kerala, Namboodiripad, gave me a letter, a copy of which I enclose.³ I wonder if the groups of financiers or capitalists who are giving their support to this scheme for a refinery in Kerala are the same as those who wanted a refinery in Saurashtra. Anyhow, this matter will have to be looked into and a reply sent.

I am sending copies of Namboodiripad's letter to Swaran Singh⁴ and the Finance Minister⁵. Also to the Planning Commission.⁶

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of State for Mines and Oil.
3. E.M.S. Namboodiripad had written about the setting up of an oil refinery for the production of lubricating oil and establishment of a wood pulp plant.
4. Union Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel.
5. Morarji Desai.
6. V.T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman of Planning Commission, wrote to Nehru that the scheme for wood pulp plant had already been licensed under the Industries Act and an import licence had also been granted. In regard to the oil refinery, he wrote that according to the Industrial Policy Resolution, 'mineral oil' was reserved for the public sector and permission to set up a refinery would involve a departure from this position. It was also not clear whether the party concerned would, in fact, be able to raise the large amount of finance required. He also reminded Nehru that a similar scheme for setting up of a refinery for lubricating oil at Madras was turned down in 1956.

11. To Lal Bahadur Shastri¹

New Delhi
April 29, 1958

My dear Lal Bahadur,

I enclose a letter I have received from the Godrej people. I do not know if you have gone into this matter. Naturally I am not in a position to know what all the facts are. But it does rather alarm me that a famous firm like Godrej should

1. JN Collection.

have to shut up its shop. Godrej steel safes, etc., are famous outside India, not to mention this country, and they have brought some credit to us. It is a firm which has done good work for several decades. I hope, therefore, that you will look into this again and consult Morarjibhai who, I am sure, knows this firm well.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. Problems of a Developing Economy¹

Mr Chairman² and friends,

From time to time I appear on these platforms when important organisations hold their annual gatherings and I try to profit by what is said by them and perhaps you might be interested in what I say, though sometimes our thoughts run along parallel lines without often meeting, though obviously they meet sometimes. In your speech, you referred to the beautiful souvenir that you have issued on the occasion of the silver jubilee. Looking through it, I thought—I could not read the whole of it, of course—that you had chosen some very appropriate quotations at the heads of various chapters. The first one is from the Upanishads which, of course, is most appropriate. The next one, a big jump from the Upanishads, is from John M. Keynes³ and the third is from Henry

1. Inaugural speech at the twenty-fifth annual session of the All India Organisation of Industrial Employers, New Delhi, 6 May 1958. AIR tapes and JN Supplementary Papers, NMML.
2. G.D. Somani (1908-1973); merchant and millowner; President, Bombay Prantiya Hindi Sahitya Sammelan; Chairman, Bombay Millowners' Association; President, Western India Chamber of Commerce, Bombay; President, Rajasthan Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Jaipur; Vice-President, All India Marwari Federation, Calcutta; Committee Member, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi; President, All India Organisation of Industrial Employers, New Delhi; Trustee, Shree Venkatesh Devasthan, Bombay; Trustee, Shree Rangji Temple, Vrindaban; Trustee, Bombay Hospital, Bombay; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57, and Member, Public Accounts Committee, 1953-54.
3. British economist and author of *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (1936).

George,⁴ which says: "Differences in civilisations are not due to differences in individuals but rather due to differences in social organisations."⁵ If I may say so with all respect, I entirely agree with this statement and, therefore, one thinks nowadays always in terms of the social organisation, whenever one has to consider these major problems. One may think, and one should think, of course, of the various aspects of industry and the rest but that has to be related to the social organisation which is likely to yield the best results.

You referred also in your address to the importance of giving an opportunity to make people creative, giving them creative energy. I could not agree with you more. The question is who gets the opportunity, how many people—only a small number or the great majority of the entire population. Obviously, the vaster the field which gets the opportunity, the greater the results. No one knows how many among the hundreds of millions of India, if given the opportunity, could have become great scientists, great mathematicians, great engineers, great physicians, even great captains of industry. But the opportunities are lacking, even the elementary opportunity of normal education is lacking, far more so the other opportunities. And therefore this huge reservoir cannot be tapped. Why? Presumably because of the social organisation, many aspects of it, but ultimately it is that organisation which either encourages or discourages this development of initiative, of opportunity and creativeness in the large number of people.

I wonder if you ever think what India and the world will be like, let us say, 20 years from now. Twenty years is a very long time and many of you here no doubt will be very much alive 20 years later and will yourselves see what the world is like and India is like. I indulge in this kind of daydream sometimes about the world, what the world will be like 20, 25 years later, more particularly what my country, your country, will be like. Obviously, it will be very different from what it is today. It is a truism which everyone knows that the pace of change in the world has grown faster in the last few generations, ever since the Industrial Revolution came and began to upset the world as it had existed for two or three thousand years previously. That upsetting process has continued, and now, in addition to the normal upsetting forces, we have new forces like atomic energy and the like which threaten to upset it even more. Upset it in what way? Upset it by placing these enormous powers and forces at the disposal of humanity. The Industrial Revolution meant that man got new forces to command, new forces from nature at his disposal. Well, as science digs out or

4. Henry George (1839-1897); American writer, politician and political economist; most influential proponent of the land value tax, also known as the "Single Tax" on land; works include *Our Land and Land Policy* and *Progress and Poverty*. His most famous work *Progress and Poverty* is a treatise on inequality, the cyclical nature of industrial economies and possible remedies.
5. See *Progress and Poverty*, 4th edition, New York, 1981, p. 11.

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unveils other aspects of physical reality, new forces come within the ken of man, and now we have the forces which have produced on the one hand the hydrogen bomb and on the other which might make an enormous difference to the world, as we know it, for the better.

Well, whichever way the world goes—and none of us can be certain which way it goes, towards good or evil—one thing is clear that it is going some way and is not remaining stale and static and therefore any thinking, which is based on its remaining rather static and moving slowly, is likely to mislead us. I think that has to be remembered because, normally speaking, most of us draw conclusions in a static way from what we are accustomed to, and do not give enough thought to the dynamic processes at work. These dynamic processes work in two fields. You are acquainted with industry. They work in every field and more especially they work in the minds of men. It is in the minds of men where revolutions grow—revolutionary ideas, revolutionary changes gradually come out of them and take shape. So I wonder what the world will be like 20 or 25 years later, when presumably atomic energy and the rest are in full use and when presumably either all of us have ceased to exist in the course of some nuclear war, or we are existing in a world where these great powers are being used for human advantage. Which way the world will go depends on so many factors, on those who are placed in great authority, those in particular who control to some extent these great forces today, and to some extent, no doubt, on the urges of human beings everywhere. The urges are there, of course everywhere, for peace. But we know that even those urges are bypassed by people who get frightened and who jump possibly through fright into war.

So, there are these major questions and if these major questions are there, we cannot ignore them even in considering our problems today. I do not mean to say we should lose ourselves in great dreams about the future but that even our problems in our own country have to be looked at through this context of a dynamic, changing, revolutionary world situation. You cannot isolate them and even if you look at them internally, you have to look at them in this dynamic context of the masses, the millions of India, also getting all kinds of ideas, urges in their minds, some good ones, some bad ones, but there they are. The fact cannot be ignored. Not having given these millions of India too much of an opportunity for the normal things which you and I take for granted, normal education, health, etc., etc., it is not surprising that they might become rather assertive and sometimes make demands which are almost impossible of fulfilment in our present day, because our political advance has gone much further than our economic advance. We try to catch up, no doubt we will catch up, but in between there are these tremendous tensions between the two. In India we have a large number of problems, some political, mostly economic, some social, all kinds of problems, which are inevitable in any society which is advancing and

changing. I am not at all—and I speak to you in all honesty—I am not at all alarmed by these problems. I am a little exhilarated. Of course, any person who is complacent is doomed when facing a changing situation. But there are two aspects of these problems: one, the difficulties that they create; the other, the significance that they have that India is advancing and struggling even with these new questions and problems.

Now, it is not a good thing to compare our country with other countries. Each country has its own batch of problems and difficulties. Yet, without meaning in the slightest any disrespect to any other country, I think it is worthwhile to see what is happening in other countries, where the problems they face are probably much more difficult than ours and I am referring more especially of course to countries rather like India, which have emerged into freedom and independence in the last decade or so.

There is our neighbour Pakistan with which unfortunately we have not been able to find yet a friendly way of cooperation. And yet whatever our tensions might be with Pakistan, whatever our problems and difficulties, it is patent that India and Pakistan are meant to cooperate and to live in peace with each other. It is patent. Geography, history, culture, mutual interest, everything points that way and we have, therefore, to try and endeavour to keep that before us and work to that end, even though there might be these difficulties, even though some of our friends or those who do not consider themselves our friends across the border, sometimes speak in a way which is surprising. Now, Pakistan and India came into existence—not quite that, because India has existed for a much longer period, hundreds of years more than Pakistan—what I mean to say, this independence condition came into existence round about the same time. I think we may well say, without any invidious comparison, that we have made considerable progress economically, socially and politically than unfortunately our neighbour country has done. I hope they will make progress, we want them to progress and I am not criticising them. They have their own difficulties.

Take another country on the other side, Indonesia, a friendly country with whom it has been our happiness to cooperate, a great country which is now entangled in internal conflict. We are unhappy about it and we would like them to settle down and solve their economic and other problems. Our sympathies go out to the people of Indonesia. One thing I would say that when there are such difficulties, there is one grave danger which I hope will always be remembered and avoided. That is the danger of intervention by other countries, whether formally or informally, because as soon as that type of intervention takes place, the problem becomes far more complicated, and not only complicated in that particular region, but waves of that complication spread to other parts of the world. I mention this because recent reports, which you may have seen in the press, have been disconcerting in this respect, and whether it is some adventurers of fortune who are indulging in this business I do not know, but the fact is that

outsiders are coming in and adding to the complexities of the problem. I earnestly trust that the people of Indonesia will be left to settle their own problems without any external interference.⁶

I gave you a slight reference to other countries. I referred to some others also, not in any spirit of vainglory that we have done much better—that would be wrong—nevertheless, to take some credit for the fact that during the last ten years we have directed our attention to these major economic problems of the country. It may be that sometimes the way we function was not to your liking, just as sometimes the way you function may not be to the liking of the Government. That is nothing surprising. It may happen. The first point is a determination to address these problems ourselves and not to be afraid even of making mistakes. If we are always afraid of mistakes, we do not go forward. Governments normally function slowly. The government apparatus is slow. Therefore, it is a good thing if sometimes we move a little faster even at the risk of making mistakes. A mistake can be rectified. Nothing can rectify inaction except action.

When we have to look at this problem of India in this context of a changing and revolutionary world situation, it is obvious that we cannot rely on what probably you have suggested in your address—certain normal forces working and bringing about the changes you require.⁷ That is not enough. Even if they were driving us in the right direction, these normal forces, I do not think the normal forces drive us in the right direction, but even if they were, they are too slow and the problem before us is to achieve something before all kinds of developments in the country, which tend to overwhelm us, become bigger and bigger, because we have to face, whether we like it or not, great social and economic problems. It is not that you are meeting in a vacuum or writing on a clean slate. We have these tremendous problems, tremendous urges, tremendous passions, tremendous poverty. We talk about opportunity. Right, but whenever I go to any Indian village, I see staring me in the face stark lack of opportunity, even in the primary things of life. Now, I am quite sure how I would personally feel if I have that lack of opportunity, and I am quite sure how you would feel if you have that lack of opportunity. You dislike it, you try to change it rapidly, you would not wait for long. It is true that it may not be in our power to change

6. Following the differences with the Netherlands over the issue of West Irian, Soekarno had the Justice Ministry order the expulsion of tens of thousands of Dutch nationals from Indonesia in December 1957. During February 1958, insurrection occurred in Sumatra and then in Sulawesi. Eventually the rebellions were suppressed by Soekarno's military. Discovery of covert US aid to the rebels alienated Soekarno from the West and drove him closer to communist bloc alliances. See also *post*, pp. 662-664.
7. Somani had said that in modern times it was felt that opportunities for the people in the economic field required to be progressively curtailed in favour of State action.

it rapidly, but some kind of a balance has to be struck between the so-called slow, automatic progress of industry spreading out and employment spreading out and thereby bringing higher standards such as have happened in some western countries which have developed industrially. It has happened in 100 or 200 years. We cannot do that, we have not got the time or the opportunity. We cannot do something which is entirely outside the scope of our power, and we have to strike a balance of doing the utmost we can which is within our capacity. That is the object of planning.

At times, not now so much but even a few years ago, there were many people who did not like the word 'planning', much less the act of planning. It always surprised me because I cannot conceive of any approach to this question without planning. You may differ as to the method of planning or the steps taken, that is a different matter, but planning becomes essential for a country like India, or indeed any country where you have to utilise your available resources to the best possible advantage and where you have to think always in terms of that ideal picture of 20 years later where you intend to go. You have an ideal picture or do you think merely in quantitative terms to have 1,000 factories or 5,000 or 10,000, something like that. But then up comes Henry George's quotation which you have given in your book—it all depends upon the social organisation. Therefore, the social organisation has to be tackled, has to change in order to fit in with this. I am not going into various theories now, but I think it is well recognised that if we follow the path that you suggest we should follow, it is no doubt possible that slowly, or a little more rapidly if you like, we shall develop our industry to some extent, but we shall also create a bigger hiatus between those who are well off and those who are not well off at all. That is a normal effect of this type of development in every country; it has been so if you leave it to normal forces. But in other countries, democratic countries specially, this kind of process has itself been checked by State action, by the action of organised labour. The normal effect of this type of action is to widen this gap tremendously. Therefore, in all these countries, even highly capitalised countries, the State comes in and the State checks that process to some extent. Now, we have to function in a country which is relatively underdeveloped. If we follow that unplanned progress, that type of development will be even more marked here. Inevitably, the State has to come in and indeed if you plan, the State comes in.

You referred in your address to growth being conditioned by the capacity of the private sector to invest. Well, I do not deny that wholly. Naturally, it is affected by it and the private sector should invest and the private sector, if it functions, should function under satisfactory conditions. Otherwise it cannot function, I admit that, but the fact remains that probably the approach underlying in what you have said really leads to a lack of planning. Planning should be far more to reach a certain objective that you are aiming at. If I plan today, it is not

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a question today of the private sector or the private industry putting up a new plant here and there. That big plant will produce dividends, it may give some employment no doubt, may lead to smaller plants, true, and insofar as it does that it is good but does it fit into the larger picture? Does it lead to other steps? How are you preparing for those other steps? How are you doing that? If I want industrialisation of India that depends on power, on iron and steel, which are major things. We start putting up iron and steel plants. Old Jamsetji Tata with great foresight and wisdom put up an iron and steel plant 50 years ago. He was a genius in his line, but such geniuses in any line are very few. Most people are interested in the immediate results, and you may remain 50 years or less without expanding our steel industry much more. It has expanded, of course, to some extent. Now suddenly, we realise that there can be no real industrialisation of India without iron and steel, without power. These are the two tests, and so we try our utmost, even at great cost and great pain to our economy, to build up our iron and steel plants, which do not produce results for years which simply absorb our capital.

Now, that is part of planning. If we do that, we have also to plan something, the men to be trained who will run these steel plants. They need not wait for 20 years. A steel plant may take five, six, or seven years to be put up and the man who runs it may take 15 years to get trained. That applies to everything we do. So we have to plan from the base, that is, the common people in the country, by giving them elementary education, later higher education. That is, the reservoir from which you draw. I think many of us are inclined somehow to ignore and forget that there are a few hundred million people in India. Many of us are apt to think in terms of a few hundred thousand or a few million, if you like, possibly one per cent, two per cent, if you like, even more, three, four or five per cent of the population, and rather ignore the rest looking at it only from the point of view of trained people helping in the development of India and so on. So all this requires the most careful planning. I do not mean to say that the planning is perfect. We make mistakes but, at any rate, having made mistakes, we can correct them, try to correct them. What exactly are we aiming at? What form of social organisation? That must be fairly clear in our minds because if we are aiming at a particular type of social organisation, then every step that we take today must lead to that.

Well, you know that for a number of years past, many years, the Congress, the great national organisation to which I have the honour to belong, has laid down in its objectives that we want a cooperative commonwealth. There may be a number of definitions of that. It is not an easy thing to describe but the main idea behind it is clear. Later the Congress and Parliament defined it or another aspect of it, by saying something that was inherent in it, that we want a socialist pattern of society in a cooperative commonwealth. I would beg of you, in considering policies, to keep that in view—are we going towards that end or

not—because that is important. If we are planning, we are advancing in which direction? Suppose we advance in the wrong direction, even though that might be profitable in the near future, it will come in our way tomorrow or the day after. So, these problems arise. And they are difficult problems at any time, and very difficult today, in the context of a rapidly changing world, and in the context of India where full-blooded political freedom has come and released all kinds of impulses, urges, desires in the minds of hundreds of millions of our people. That is an actuality and all the time we are trying to bridge this gap between what we can do and what is demanded of us, because we cannot do all that is demanded which is beyond our power, beyond anybody's power. In bridging that gap, we have naturally to go as far as we can in that direction without imperilling our tomorrow. Thus, apart from planning for industrial advance, economic advance, we have to think of how far we can supply the primary things of life which our people need—whether it is food, or clothing, or housing, or education, or health, or work. These are primary needs of every individual and it is important that we supply them in an ever-increasing measure.

It is even more important that we should give our people a feeling, a sensation, that they are partners in this big work of building a new India, that this new India is being built for them. It is highly important and even if we are doing that, unless they realise it, we cannot get their whole-hearted support. It is the sensation that they must have, and I am talking about the whole of India, now the whole Five Year Plan and all that, because ultimately it is through their work that India will be built. All the success of government legislation will not take us far. Even the success of industrial undertakings, good as they will be, will not take us far, unless we create that feeling, that sensation among our people at large, that all this is being done for them and by them. That is very important. The importance of that you can apply to these various proposals about workers' participation and all that. You have mentioned that in your address, and all these are in the private projects. I suppose one has to begin with private projects, but the point is unless that sense of partnership comes, there will be no real solution of this problem.

You talk about employers, this and that. You talk about various things. A code of discipline in industry is very good. I welcome this code of discipline but what I am concerned about is the psychological approach, apart from the practical approach, to these problems, to win over the people to the big work that they are doing. That applies to you employers in regard to industry. You have to create that sensation, try to create it and win over these people. Ultimately, I hope there will be no such thing as employers and employees. In the cooperative commonwealth, we are all employers and all employees, no doubt working in different grades according to their ability, according to their training, but there will be no caste system of employers and employees. Now, we cannot do that immediately or for some time to come. But anyhow we should create an

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atmosphere, a psychological background, for that. And I think the more you do that, the more you will find it easier to solve your problems. You may have some new problems. It does not matter. Face them. But the new problems will be of a different type because responsibility will then be spread out on to others. So I do hope that these schemes of workers' participation will spread and spread fairly rapidly. And if there are mistakes, if there are difficulties because of them, they should not be made much of, because difficulties are bound to occur in such things. There always has to be a gap period when responsibility comes to those who have not had that responsibility thus far.

Well, you talked about taxation. I cannot lay down any high principle about it. Obviously taxation which becomes regressive is bad. Obviously taxation which may lead to drying up of industry is bad. Anybody will acknowledge that. It becomes then a question of to what limit taxation can go. Taxation is necessary and heavy taxation is necessary because of the demands on any state today, given our Five Year Plan and all that. But to what extent it should go, and what manner of taxation it should be, is a question which has to be carefully considered. Maybe in the result we arrive at we do not carry your enthusiastic approbation, but we try to.

Then again you referred to wage boards. I think that is a good idea. If there is proper participation in industry, then the question of wage boards, etc., rather recedes into the background, but till then the idea of wage boards is good.

Well, there are a number of other things to which you have referred in your address, Mr President, which I need not go into.⁸ Partly I forgot what they were, because I have not made a note of them, but we need not go into any of these details. But I would say this, that whatever you say is always considered carefully by our Ministries concerned.

May I say that I am not exactly in agreement with you when you say, as a matter of fact, that the most democratised institution is modern business? This is a statement with which I beg to disagree.

I am glad you have referred to a programme to educate industrial workers in healthy trade union movement. May I suggest that some similar education of

8. In his presidential address, Somani had said that the multiplicity of government regulations and the tendency for over-centralisation slowed down the pace of progress and had a 'dehumanising effect'. If industry was put in a perilous state, the labour would be adversely affected. He added that the chief test of an economic system in a social democracy was not merely whether it made men prosperous and secured distributive justice, but whether it kept alive in the individual a vigorous spirit of creativeness and whether it inculcated this spirit in the people at large and not merely in a few government officers. He also appealed to employers to seek active cooperation of the workers to ensure higher output, improved quality and reduction in the cost of production.

the employers will also be a good thing? And I do not think anybody should be an employer who has not functioned as a worker in that establishment and has no personal experience of various degrees of work. And that is not a very revolutionary proposal. In even highly capitalist countries, that is often practised and that is a better training for a person who has to shoulder responsibility in future, than merely attending some school of management.

Also, I am glad you have referred to the scientific attitude. I am entirely at one with you that our approach to these problems and other problems should be scientific—human and scientific. No doubt, human too. And, unfortunately, we keep science in our laboratories, we purchase science to find out some technical thing, but it is not easy to produce a scientific attitude of mind. That has to develop gradually, and it is that which is essential not only in India but in the world today because a scientific mind is essentially the mind of a searcher which is a calm, objective mind. It is a mind of a sage almost, it is a mind which seeks truth and which does not hold to dogmas without inquiring. There are too many dogmas in the world today and too many dogmas in India today, whether in our economic or our social life. The sooner we get ourselves on a scientific plane, the better for all of us. Thank you.

13. To Gulzarilal Nanda¹

New Delhi
May 6, 1958

My dear Gulzarilal,

I enclose a letter to me from J.R.D. Tata.² You will see that he recommends the appointment of a wage board as soon as possible because the problem of revising wages, etc., is complex and cannot be done in a hurry. In view of what he says, it seems to me that it would be desirable to adopt this course. Presumably, this will put an end to the talk of strike, etc.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Chairman, Tata Sons.

14. To J. Mohammed Imam¹

New Delhi
May 17, 1958

Dear Mr Imam,²

You wrote to me a few days ago and sent me the report of your speech in the Lok Sabha. This dealt with the compensation paid to the Kolar Gold Mining Company.³

I cannot go into any details about this matter, nor indeed am I in possession of them. But I well remember that this was discussed by us on a number of occasions, both in Cabinet and outside. There was a big difference between the price demanded by the company and the other price which had been estimated on our behalf. It was possible for us, of course, to pay the lower price or almost any price that we chose. But we were anxious that this should be by settlement and not by compulsion and for this purpose there were repeated talks with the British company. The question of compensation is not merely one of the prices of the equipment and machinery, etc., but always has an element of goodwill. As we were anxious that the British company should continue for some time to run these mines, their consent and goodwill were necessary.

There was another aspect. This was, I think, almost the first occasion when we had nationalised a British company. It was rather important that our credit in the western world should remain high. We were going to draw upon that credit in many ways in future. This consideration also induced us to come to terms with them on a somewhat higher level. The main point was that it should be an agreed settlement and not an imposed one. By imposition we would no doubt have got the Kolar mines, but lost much in many other ways, and at the same time probably found it difficult to run it properly.

1. File No. 17(11)/56-70-PMS.
2. (1897-1983); politician from Mysore; Member, Mysore Legislative Council, 1933-48; Minister in Mysore Government, 1941-45; Member, Mysore State Constituent Assembly, which functioned as legislature for the State till 1952; leader of the opposition in Mysore Legislative Assembly, 1952-57; associated with Praja Socialist Party, 1953-59; Member, Lok Sabha, 1957-62 and 1967-72.
3. The Kolar Gold Mining Company was owned by John Taylor & Co. of the UK, from 1880 to November 1956, when it was taken over by the Mysore Government. Imam had said in the Lok Sabha on 30 April 1958 that due to the intervention by some Union Ministers the Mysore Government had to pay a higher compensation for taking over the Kolar Gold Mining Company, thereby incurring a loss of Rs 80 lakhs. He added that the then Union Finance Minister, C.D. Deshmukh, had fixed the amount of compensation of Rs 119 lakhs but his successor made a gift of an additional amount of about Rs 50 lakhs. He demanded that the whole deal be investigated and the additional amount paid by the Mysore Government be reimbursed to it.

I am writing from my memory. But, of one thing I am quite sure, that this matter was discussed on several occasions by us and it was not any individual's decision.⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 35, pp.100-101.

15. To S.K. Patil¹

New Delhi
17th May, 1958

My dear S.K.,²

I believe your Ministry is carrying on some talks with the KLM people about fifth freedom traffic as well as the number of flights a week. The present number is, I think, three. You are suggesting two, while they are asking for one more, that is four.

As you know, the KLM have had a very bad time in Indonesia, and all their services have stopped.³ I think that it would be desirable at present not to reduce their number of flights a week. We might maintain the status quo at three a week. Also, perhaps, we need not be too rigid about restrictions on fifth freedom traffic.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Transport and Communications.

3. In December 1949, when Indonesia became independent, the decision on the status of the western part of New Guinea or West Irian was deferred. In 1952, the Dutch incorporated West Irian within the Kingdom of the Netherlands under the title of Netherlands New Guinea, whereas the Indonesians claimed it to be an integral part of Indonesia. When a 19-nation resolution inviting the Netherlands and Indonesia to find a solution of the question of West Irian under UN auspices failed to be adopted in the UN General Assembly on 29 November 1957, the Indonesians decided to seek their own solution to the problem. Soon the pressure upon the Dutch economic interests within Indonesia intensified. One of the repercussions was the denial of landing rights to the Dutch airline KLM in Indonesia in December 1957. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, pp. 629 and 633.

16. To Lal Bahadur Shastri¹

New Delhi
June 1, 1958

My dear Lal Bahadur,

I wrote to you on the 19th May, just before going to Manali, about the Nangal Fertilizer Heavy Water Project.² I sent you also a copy of a telegram from Dr Homi Bhabha and a letter from him on this subject. I had asked then my PPS³ to consider this matter carefully in consultation with Thapar⁴ and B.C. Mukharji.⁵ He has now sent me a long note, which he has prepared after an informal meeting with the Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and Industry,⁶ Thapar, B.C. Mukharji and the Financial Adviser to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.⁷ I enclose a copy of this note.

From this note, it appears that the question at issue now is about a sum of rupees four and a half lakhs or probably less. The point now is whether the Board's decision on this subject should be accepted or the Commerce and Industry Ministry's proposal to have global tenders for some items.

The issue of tenders now will inevitably delay this project for many months and thus delay the production on completion of the project. It is estimated that this delay might cost as much as rupees two and a half crores. Whatever the exact sum might be, and B.C. Mukharji has promised to send details, it is clear that this delay would involve a large sum of money.

The second point is that when one firm is dealing with this project in the main, how far it will be desirable to introduce another firm for a small part of it. This may well bring about some conflict between the two, and lessen the responsibility of either for the entire project. Generally speaking, it is desirable to have one firm responsible for the whole project. It appears that our consultants were strongly of opinion that the same organisation should supply the electrolyzers also.

1. JN Collection.

2. See *post*, pp. 262-264.

3. Kesho Ram.

4. Prem Nath Thapar (1903-1982); joined ICS, 1926 and served mostly in Punjab till 1953; Adviser, Planning Commission, 1953-54; Secretary, Union Ministry of Food and Agriculture, 1954-58; Member for Finance and Administration, Atomic Energy Commission and Secretary, Ministry of Finance, 1958-62; Member, Punjab Administrative Reforms Commission, 1964-65; Vice-Chancellor, Punjab Agriculture University, 1967-69; Consultant, FAO review team; trustee, International Rice Research Institute, Manila.

5. Chairman, Nangal Fertilizers and Chemicals at this time.

6. S. Ranganathan.

7. V.K. Ramaswami.

Taking all these matters into consideration, it seems to me obviously desirable that the Board's recommendation should be accepted, and fresh tenders should not be invited. Dr Homi Bhabha saw me today on his return from Europe, and he was also strongly of this opinion. As far as I can make out, Finance have agreed to this, but it is only the Commerce and Industry Ministry that has not agreed.

In a highly technical matter like this and where a special autonomous Board has been created for the project, it seems to me that the Board's opinion should prevail unless there are very special and obvious reasons to the contrary. There is no particular point in having a specialised Board if we do not accept their advice in such matters. I understand that the Board are meeting again this afternoon.

B.N. Jha⁸ saw me today in connection of the trade delegation to the Soviet Russia and other East European countries. I mentioned this matter to him also. But he did not seem to know much about it. I am, therefore, writing to you so that you can immediately deal with it yourself.

I might mention that one of the members of the Board is a representative of your Ministry, Nagaraja Rao.⁹ It is surprising that as a member of the Board, he should agree to something and then, subsequently, make some other proposal in the Ministry.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs.
 9. Chief Industrial Adviser, Development Wing, Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

17. To Manubhai M. Shah¹

New Delhi
 June 2, 1958

My dear Manubhai,²

Your letter of June 2nd, with which you have sent a copy of your letter to the Planning Commission.³

1. File No. 17(139)/58-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
 2. Union Minister of State for Commerce and Industry.
 3. In his letter to the Planning Commission, Manubhai Shah had expressed the hope that, in view of the importance of labour-intensive small industries, the sum of Rs 200 crores allocated for them would not be reduced while revising the Second Five Year Plan. These industries, according to him, included the khadi and village industry and silk, coir, handloom and handicrafts industries.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

You know how anxious I am that our small industries should flourish. It would be most unfortunate if we had to stop our progress in that direction at this stage. In that sense, therefore, you have all my good wishes. But, in view of our grave difficulties at present, it is difficult for me to deal with a particular aspect of our economy separately from the others. I do hope, however, that the growth of our small industries will not suffer.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

18. To Manubhai M. Shah¹

New Delhi
June 7, 1958

My dear Manubhai,

Thank you for your letter of June 7th. I am very glad to know of the continued progress being made by the Hindustan Machine Tools of Bangalore. This concern has done remarkably well recently, and we should congratulate the director, K.M. Mathulla,² and all the persons working there on this achievement. I hope you will convey my congratulations to them.³

Can you come round and see me tomorrow, 8th June, at 12 o'clock in my office?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Mathew Kandathil Mathulla (b. 1907); Assistant Deputy and Controller of Accounts, Tata Iron and Steel Company, 1934-38; Chief Executive Officer, Air India, 1948-51; Controller of Accounts and Managing Director, Sindri Fertilizers and Chemical limited, 1951-54; Joint Secretary, Ministry of Production, Government of India, 1954-56; Managing Director, Hindustan Machine Tools Limited, 1956-64; Chairman HMT, 1964.

3. Nehru also wrote to B.N. Jha, the Home Secretary, on the same day: "I want you to note down a name for consideration for our next list of Padma awards. This name is of K.M. Mathulla, who I think is the Managing Director of the Hindustan Machine Tools of Bangalore. He has done remarkably well there. Ever since he went there, this concern in the public sector has not only pulled itself up, but made marked progress." He was awarded Padma Shri in 1959.

19. Telegram to Makhan Chatterjee¹

I have received your telegram and subsequently your letter of June 18. It has been a matter of deep distress to me that your Federation should have decided upon a strike² which, you must have known, would cause grave injury to the country, to the Five Year Plan and more particularly to all workers at a time of economic crises and difficulties in the food situation. There can be no question of prestige for my colleague Minister Patil or myself or the Government in a matter affecting the vital interests of the country and of our workers.³ Nor should it be a question of prestige for your Federation in such a matter. I cannot enter into the merits of this dispute here but it has seemed to me extraordinary that, whatever the merits, a month's delay was not agreed to by your Federation.⁴ In the circumstances, Government had to do its best to avoid some of the dangerous consequences of this strike and for this purpose to utilise Defence services to carry on essential services, more especially relating to food. No Government can stand by and see the people suffer and the economy to be ruined.

2. I regret greatly the firing in Madras.⁵ This is being enquired into by a competent authority.

1. Manali, 21 June 1958. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 26(36)/58-59-PMS. Makhan Chatterjee was the General Secretary of the All India Port and Dock Workers' Federation.
2. A strike called by the All India Port and Dock Workers' Federation began at midnight on 15-16 June 1958, which crippled the Indian export and import business and tied up 112 ships in the five principal ports. The Federation demanded immediate implementation of the Chaudhuri Committee's report on the working of ports which recommended rationalisation of pay scales and service conditions to bring uniformity in major ports, as also the abolition of the contract system of labour. More than one lakh workers joined the strike.
3. Makhan Chatterjee said in his telegram sent on 18 June that S.K. Patil, the Union Minister of Transport and Communications, had "placed his personal prestige over the interest of workers, country and the community" in dealing with the demands of the Federation. He also said that the use of the army and navy to break the strike was contrary to democratic principles. He requested Nehru to intervene to end the strike.
4. The Government's case was that the recommendations of the Chaudhuri Committee had to be brought in line with those of the Pay Commission as had been specifically stated in the report. The Government had promised a decision on the matter by 15 July. The Federation, however, went ahead with its proposed strike after last-minute talks between its representatives and Union Minister S.K. Patil failed.
5. Six persons were killed and several injured when the police opened fire on the striking dock workers in Madras on 16 June. The strikers were preventing passage of two buses carrying substitute labour recruits.

3. Our Government is determined to see that justice is done to the workers and their legitimate demands are agreed to because we attach great importance to the goodwill and cooperation of all workers in the great tasks ahead. But this cannot be achieved by the methods adopted by your Federation. I hope, therefore, that your Federation will withdraw the strike so that the issues before us can be considered in a peaceful and cooperative atmosphere and the nation's work is not made to suffer.

20. Dock Workers' Strike¹

The Prime Minister informed the Cabinet that he had had a two-hour discussion² with the representatives of the All India Port and Dock Workers' Federation with a view to finding a solution to the ten-day-old strike at the ports. The Prime Minister said that he had advised the Federation to call off the strike and thereby create a better atmosphere for a proper consideration of their demands. The representatives of the Federation, however, were insistent that Shri P.C. Chaudhuri's³ recommendations regarding provident fund and gratuity should be accepted by the Government immediately.⁴ The Prime Minister had told them that as it was a very complicated matter and was likely to have wide repercussions, it would need careful examination. He was, however, anxious that the dispute should be settled as early as possible and had assured the workers that their legitimate demands would be sympathetically considered by the Government. The Prime Minister added that the representatives of the Federation were meeting him again in the evening.⁵

1. Minutes of the Cabinet meeting, 25 June 1958. JN Collection.

2. On 24 June 1958.

3. P.C. Chaudhuri; joined ICS, 1927; served in the Bihar Government till 1945 and subsequently in the Central Government; Secretary, States Reorganisation Commission, 1953-1 October 1955; on leave till March 1956; Officer on Special Duty, 7 March to 15 June 1956; on leave for 3 months; OSD in the Ministry of Transport to enquire into the service conditions of port workers, 14 October 1956 to 31 August 1957; OSD, Ministry of Rehabilitation to enquire into alleged irregularities regarding settlement of land for Displaced Persons in Punjab, December 1957 to May 1958.

4. The Chaudhuri Committee had recommended, among other things, that the rules regarding provident fund and gratuity be made uniform in all the major ports.

5. Following a meeting between the Prime Minister and the representatives of the Federation later in the day, the President of the Federation, G.H. Kale, made an announcement calling off the strike. He said the decision to call off the strike had been taken on the assurance given by the Prime Minister that justice would be done to the dock workers.

(iv) Food and Agriculture**1. Soil Conservation and Soil Survey¹**

Nearly two months ago, you sent me a copy of the report of Dr Charles E. Kellogg² on soil conservation and soil survey in India. His visit to India was apparently arranged through the assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation. In this report, various proposals are made. In particular, it is strongly recommended that there should be one standard soil survey to be developed cooperatively by the Centre and the States to serve all users. It was pointed out that having separate soil surveys, as now, by the Centre and by the individual States, is bound to lead to unnecessary duplication, confusion in terminology and misunderstandings among both the field scientists and the users of the results.

2. It was further suggested that a memorandum be drawn up to cover the objectives and plans for cooperative soil surveys, and that this should provide for:

- (i) the development of a tentative long-term plan of five to ten years,
- (ii) a firm annual plan to be developed each year, preferably at a fixed date, for the soil survey work to be undertaken, and
- (iii) a specific work plan to be prepared for each soil survey project.

3. There are many other important suggestions in Dr Kellogg's report. In particular, he recommends strongly that every effort be taken to develop local leadership and responsibility for soil and water conservation within the villages and larger units of local government. The work to be done in any area should be developed with the local people, not simply done for them.

4. Some time ago, I wrote to you about certain proposals made by a Soviet statistical expert about the necessity for uniform statistical methods and data all over India. You were good enough to reply to that letter, and I referred your letter to Professor Mahalanobis³ who sent a long note on the subject as to what, in his opinion, should be done. This was forwarded to you.

1. Note to A.P. Jain, Union Minister of Food and Agriculture, New Delhi, 6 April 1958. File No. 31(69)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. American soil scientist and Chief of Soil Survey, Department of Agriculture, USA, who visited India in 1958 as a guest scientist.
3. Member, Planning Commission and Director, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta.

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5. It seems to me that it is of great importance that there should be this uniformity in our statistics, in our soil surveys and all other data that we collect throughout the country. The Central Government and states should, therefore, accept some uniform standards and methods. I shall be grateful to know what is being done about these matters.⁴

4. For Nehru's reactions to the proposals made by the Soviet statistical expert A.E. Ezhov, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 221-222.

2. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi
April 10, 1958

My dear Ajit,

It has always been a wonder to me how we fail to utilise the remarkable work and discoveries of Dr Boshi Sen² of Almora. I know from personal experience of the good work he has done. But I am a layman and perhaps do not understand these things well enough. However, my opinion has been fortified by the opinion of some very eminent scientists in India and abroad. And yet, we do nothing to take advantage of this fine work which is of enormous value for us.

There is his hybrid maize which he produced in Almora. The other day, I went to Chandigarh, and a farmer brought me his hybrid maize which he had grown from seeds obtained from Almora. He had produced 100 *maunds* of this hybrid maize in one acre. Boshi Sen tells me that he has produced up to 110 *maunds* per acre, the average yield being 80 to 90 *maunds* per acre.

Now, this is something big, something which would increase the income of a peasant immediately. It appears to me the ideal thing for our NES blocks. But nobody seems to pay much attention to poor Boshi Sen, and we send for so-called American experts who come here, spread themselves out and give us a lot of good advice, which may or may not be suitable to Indian conditions. The American experts may be good in their own way, but obviously their knowledge of Indian conditions is strictly limited.

Then, there is the irradiated wheat mutant which Boshi Sen has produced and which is quite remarkable. Not only does it give a much greater yield but has a stiff straw which is so useful. This irradiated wheat has been spoken of very highly by people who know. J.B.S. Haldane³ was amazed to see it.

1. File No. 31(70)/58-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Agricultural scientist; Director, Vivekananda Agriculture Institute, Almora.
3. British geneticist; worked with the Indian Statistical Institute at this time.

Dr Homi Bhabha⁴ has asked for a special note about it for the conference on peaceful uses of atomic energy, which is going to be held in Geneva this year.

These are just two instances of what Boshi Sen has done. There are many others which have come to my notice from time to time. Apparently, our official machinery, and especially the ICAR, do not believe in such innovations. They have not only firm faith in their own ways but also look up with admiration to experts coming from America or from some foreign country. A brilliant scientist at home does not attract their attention.

I have often told you of my feeling that we are in the ruts and we do not seem able to get out of them. It was for this reason that I have often said to you that we must have some fresh minds.

Anyhow, please shake up your ICAR and tell them that this is a changing and dynamic world. Tell them, above all, that Boshi Sen is considered a man of great ability and enthusiasm, and if they do not encourage him fully and utilise his discoveries, then they do not know their own job. I know that Boshi Sen is a member of some committees here of the ICAR and comes here from time to time, but all this produces no real effect.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy and Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.
5. Jain replied on 16 April 1958 that Boshi Sen's discoveries had been made full use of by the Agriculture Ministry and that a number of regional stations had been set up for the production and distribution of hybrid maize seeds. He added that a number of ICAR schemes had been sanctioned to help Boshi Sen's centre financially. He also referred to the research work undertaken by the Pusa Institute for producing mutants of cereals.

3. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi
April 11, 1958

My dear Ajit,

You will remember that I had suggested, in regard to Santokh Singh's case,² that the Secretary General³ might discuss it informally with the Chairman of the

1. JN Collection.
2. For Santokh Singh's appointment in the Agriculture Ministry, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 186-187.
3. N.R. Pillai.

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UPSC.⁴ This has now been done and I am sending you the papers in this connection.

In view of what Hejmadi has said after some acquaintance with Santokh Singh's work in the Planning Commission, I would not like to suggest that Government should over-rule the UPSC or bypass it.

Is it possible to consider him for the Delhi Milk Scheme or a State Farm, for which perhaps he might be more suited? You might inform Santokh Singh of our efforts with the Public Service Commission and of our lack of success. If you have any other proposition to make to him, you might ask him about it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. V.S. Hejmadi.

4. To Osman Sobhani¹

New Delhi
April 13, 1958

My dear Osman,²

Thank you for your letter of the 10th April.

We have experimented with what is called soilless gardening for a long time. There is no doubt that this can produce good vegetables. But actually the cost is heavy. It is far cheaper to grow them on the land. It is even cheaper to improve bad land. Where there is no land or very little of it, as in Israel, soilless gardening will be worthwhile.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. (1895-1959); Industrialist; Member, Anjuman-e-Islam, Bombay; Member, Muslim Ambulance Society, Bombay; Member, Banjara Hill Centre, Hyderabad; Member All-India Congress Committee, 1922-23; Honorary Secretary, Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, 1930; imprisoned for ten months for participating in the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930; President, Board of Trustees of the Anjuman-e-Islam, Bombay, 1936-38; President, Cutchi Memon Jamiat, Bombay, 1940-44; Joint Secretary to the Government of Hyderabad, 1944-50; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-54.

5. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi
April 14, 1958

My dear Ajit,

I have just received your letter of April 14 about agricultural statistics and the note that Mahalanobis sent.² I have read your letter and have glanced through the long note attached to it. I am afraid I am not at all impressed by that note. It is just the kind of thing which carries on an argument in the old style. It is this particular approach to this question that I find peculiarly objectionable.

I think that this matter must be considered by the Cabinet now, as there has been enough delay. Will you please, therefore, have a note prepared for the Cabinet and we shall consider it as early as possible.

It is quite clear to me that the only possible approach has to be a uniform one, that is, a uniform method of collecting statistics. Further, that this method should be laid down by the central authority. Secondly, that it is recognised that sample surveys are the modern methods to get anything near accuracy.

The question as to whether statistics should be kept of rice and wheat separately and other foodgrains lumped together surely can be easily decided. The other foodgrains can be separated also whenever it is necessary.

Further, in any particular part of the country, where fuller statistics are required, this can be organised. Our States no doubt have to be consulted and brought round to this. But their competence is highly limited and we cannot allow matters to drift in this way.

I do not see the point of appointing a committee consisting of Gadgil,³ V.K.R.V. Rao,⁴ etc. None of them is a statistician. What exactly will a committee do except to delay matters and present a big report at the end of it? Is it not possible for us ever to get over this approach to any urgent matter and start doing things?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(72)/58-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. A.P. Jain had written that Mahalanobis's note projected estimates of all-India production separately for rice, wheat, and other foodgrains. Jain did not like the idea of lumping foodgrains other than rice and wheat together and thought that jowar was as important a crop as wheat in India. He was also of the opinion that the crop survey scheme should extend to cash crops also.
3. D.R. Gadgil, Director, Gokhle Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona.
4. Economist and Vice Chancellor of Delhi University.

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6. To Kailas Nath Kaul¹

New Delhi
May 4, 1958

My dear Kailas,²

Your letter of the 2nd May and C. Maya Das's³ report.⁴ I am much interested in this report. I agree with him that you should prepare a small pamphlet explaining your method of work and the results achieved. I should like to send this to various State Governments in India as well as to others.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. (1905-1983); Botanist and agriculturist; worked in the Herbarium of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, United Kingdom, 1933-1944; established the National Botanical Gardens at Lucknow in 1948 and was its Director till 1965; was responsible for the reclamation of several thousand acres of alkaline lands in Uttar Pradesh; his work has been named The Banhra Formula after the place it was initiated.
3. Cedric Maya Das; joined Indian Agricultural Service, 1917; appointed to the Department of Agriculture, United Provinces, 1921; Principal and Professor of Agriculture, Agricultural College, Cawnpore, 1921-34; Deputy Director of Agriculture, Sarda Circle, Lucknow, 1934; Director of Agriculture, Lucknow, 1947-48; Agricultural Adviser to the Government of India; author of *Between Us and Hunger*.
4. C. Maya Das, in his report dated 27 April 1958 about his visit to Banhra Research Station, wrote that never before "have I seen a more inspiring scheme in operation." In his opinion, this work would have a profound effect on the entire rural economy of the country. He referred to K.N. Kaul's success in reclaiming alkaline land with a pH of nearly 11, of which about a million acres were in UP alone. He also mentioned the training of an inspired army of workers, selected in consultation with the neighbouring village panchayats, in addition to the literacy programme for these workers at the Research Station. Maya Das wrote that the tube wells and cottages, made on the spot by the workmen, presented a truly remarkable picture of self-help, extreme economy and the creation, among the workers, of a fine pride in the place and the purpose for which it existed. He further added that a handsome contribution of funds from the UP Government to this excellent project would bring the State many benefits. He also suggested that a small pamphlet briefly describing the project, its history and achievement could be prepared for distribution to the visitors to the Research Station.
5. On the same day, Nehru sent Maya Das's report on Kaul's Banhra Research Station to S.K. Dey, Union Minister of State for Community Development, and Sampurnanand, Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

7. To Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim¹

New Delhi
May 7, 1958

My dear Hafizji,²

Dr B.C. Roy has sent me a copy of your letter to him dated 6th May.³ He has written to me also at some length about the Kansabati scheme. From his letter and yours it appears that the Planning Commission are coming in the way of this scheme, although your Ministry agrees with it.⁴ I have written to the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, to enquire what the facts are.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Irrigation and Power.
3. Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim in his letter of 6 May 1958 to B.C. Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, stated that the Ministry of Irrigation and Power was in complete agreement with the Kansabati scheme, but the Planning Commission raised the question regarding the utilisation of irrigation to be provided by this scheme, as probably another scheme completed some time earlier in Bengal had not been satisfactorily utilised for the purpose of irrigation. As regards the other scheme of the Farraka Barrage, he wrote that the only hurdle was the attitude of Pakistan.
4. B.C. Roy wrote to Nehru, in a similar view on the same day. He stated that some parts of some districts in Bengal particularly Bankura, parts of Midnapur and Birbhum and the whole of Purulia which had been transferred to West Bengal could not be brought under cultivation because of want of irrigation. Hence in September 1955, the second Five Year Plan gave high priority to irrigation and flood control in the Kansabati river. Staff, equipment and machinery meant for the Mayurakashi project had been transferred to the Kansabati project; the Mayurakashi water, he made clear, was intended for the district of Birbhum and the DVC water for the district of Burdwan. Neither of these schemes could irrigate lands either in Bankura or Purulia or Midnapur. As for the Farraka Barrage, he wrote that the scheme was intended primarily for the development of the Port of Calcutta as it provided an all-weather riverine route between Calcutta and the areas in Bihar and UP. Roy hoped that Nehru would consider his points as he had promised the Muslim community of Murshidabad to develop their district which had been suffering from inundation and swampy areas.
5. Nehru wrote (not printed) to V.T. Krishnamachari on 7 May 1958 that he did not know anything about the scheme referred to in these letters.

8. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi
May 8, 1958

My dear Ajit,

You might remember that some time ago I drew the attention of your Ministry to some wells which were being constructed in Bankura district in Bengal.² This was an experiment of a somewhat new type of well which was said to be very suitable for a fairly large-scale irrigation. The man who had started this was M.A.T. Iengar who was then District Magistrate of Bankura. But for some odd reason the West Bengal Government did not like him and so whatever he did was sat upon.

When this matter came before us, I suggested to your Ministry that some of these wells might be completed as an experiment so that we could know how good they were. I believe your Ministry even offered some money for the purpose. Even so the West Bengal Government has not taken any interest. I am told that your latest offer is Rs 75, 000.

This seems to me rather odd. I am not interested in the lack of agreement between Iengar and some officials of the West Bengal Government. I am interested in an experimental proposal being carried out and I do not understand why the West Bengal Government should come in the way when it costs them nothing. Perhaps you might find out from them. If the West Bengal Government is not cooperative, why not have some of these wells dug in, let us say, the eastern districts of UP or some part of Bihar? You have provided the money and this can be used there. The digging of such wells would also afford relief and employment to a considerable number of persons.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(32) 56-58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 33, pp. 117-118.
3. Nehru also wrote to Rafiuddin Ahmed, Minister of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry in the West Bengal Government, on the same day, enquiring about the facts in this matter.

9. To Walter Nash¹

New Delhi
19th May, 1958

My dear Prime Minister,²

Thank you for your letter of the 9th May, 1958.³

I am grateful to you and your Government for the further grant of £31,000 under the Colombo Plan towards the cost of plant and equipment for the Patna Cooperative Milk Producers' Union Dairy. I note what you say in this connection.⁴ I am passing on your letter to our Finance Ministry as well as the other Ministries concerned. I have not personally been in touch with this project, but I am sure our Ministries will deal with it in a proper manner and to your satisfaction.⁵

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Prime Minister of New Zealand.

3. Informing Nehru of the allocation of a further grant of £31,000 for the Patna Cooperative Milk Producers' Union Dairy, Nash wrote that in view of New Zealand's balance of payments problems, it was proposed that this grant together with the sum of £9,000 allocated for this project in May 1955, be transferred to the Government of India as and when the money was actually required to meet payments for equipment for the Patna Dairy.

4. Nash had advised that this amount be placed in a separate account within the Public Accounts of the Government of India and progress reports on the scheme and audited statements of expenditure be provided from time to time to the New Zealand Government.

5. In a note to Cabinet Secretary on the same day, Nehru suggested that Ministries of Finance and Food and Agriculture should take the necessary steps.

10. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

New Delhi
May 19, 1958

My dear Ajit,

When I went to the Nutrition Research Laboratories at Coonoor,² I suggested that they should draw up menus for balanced diets at low cost.³ The Director⁴

1. JN Collection.

2. On 28 April 1958.

3. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 798-799.

4. C. Gopalan.

has now sent me some of these menus. It might be worthwhile for you to give publicity to these, especially in South India.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. To Ajit Prasad Jain¹

Manali, Kulu Valley
19th June, 1958

My dear Ajit,

Thank you for your letter of 14th June which has reached me today. I was happy to read your reactions to the work being done in certain parts of Bombay State in regard to bunding.² Your report is indeed most encouraging and I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of your letter to Chief Ministers of all the States so that they might profit by it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. A.P. Jain Papers, NMML.

2. A.P. Jain wrote that after many a tour in the countryside to see the working of agricultural schemes, the bunding work done in the two talukas of Kurjat and Parner of Ahmadnagar district of Bombay State appeared striking. There was perfect collaboration between the Agriculture Department which provided technical advice, the Revenue Department which helped in the mobilisation of labour force and the Farmers' Union who executed the work. An area of 150,000 acres in these two talukas were to be covered in a one-year scheme. In many places the work of bunding, done with shovels and 'keni' (a type of bull-dozer), was almost complete. This was encouraging as only an area of little over eight lakhs of acres had been banded in the years from 1942 to 1956.

12. Bhal Reclamation Scheme¹

I enclose a letter from the Chief Minister of Bombay together with a note on the report of the Dutch team of experts on the Bhal Reclamation Scheme.² As

1. Note to A.P. Jain, Union Minister of Food and Agriculture, Manali, 20 June 1958. File No. 17(247)/57-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. On 17 June Y.B. Chavan, the Chief Minister of Bombay State, wrote that he had received two reports in April and December 1957 from the Ministry of Food and Agriculture about the pilot project for the reclamation of Bhal area in the Saurashtra region of the Bombay State. After examining the reports the State Government had decided to accept the Dutch offer of implementing the scheme. Chavan also added that it was possible to complete the scheme in one working season (i.e., November 1958 to June 1959) if the formalities between the Governments of India and the Netherlands were completed before that.

you will see, the Bombay Government who have examined this report are in favour of accepting the proposal to go ahead with the pilot project. It appears this will take some time, perhaps three to four years. The project appears to me to be worthwhile and certainly to be helpful from the agricultural point of view because it will reclaim a considerable area.

2. When I was in Holland last year, the Netherlands Government spoke to me about this scheme.³ They were obviously interested in it. Thereafter, I wrote to the Bombay Government about it.

3. Will you kindly have this matter examined as early as possible so that we can reach decisions and inform the Bombay Government and take such other steps as may be necessary?

3. The Government of the Netherlands was prepared to render technical and financial assistance to accelerate the desalination of the soil along the coast of Saurashtra with a view to increasing the productivity of these areas by making use of the special experience gained in the Netherlands.

II. EDUCATION AND CULTURE

1. Importance of Manual Labour in Education¹

Please write as follows:

"Dear Shri Trivedi,

The Prime Minister has received your letter of the 1st April.² As he told you himself when you met him, he attaches considerable value to manual labour. That is why he is of opinion that our education should be of the basic pattern which includes this as an important element of education.

He would like others to make this part of their live routines in some form or other. But he felt that this kind of thing could not be compulsory as human beings differ greatly and have to find their own way of self-expression.

Yours sincerely,"

1. Note to Private Secretary, New Delhi, 4 April 1958. JN Collection.
2. Letter not traceable.

2. UNESCO Volume of Mahatma Gandhi's Writings¹

Of the three names suggested by you, I think that Professor Arnold Toynbee's is the best. Dr Schweitzer comes next in my list. I would not include Lord Attlee at all in such a list.²

1. Note to Krishna R. Kripalani, Secretary, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 5 April 1958. JN Collection.
2. The UNESCO wanted to publish a volume of Selected Writings of Mahatma Gandhi, to be circulated in several countries. Dr S. Radhakrishnan was requested to finalise and edit the selection and contribute a foreword. Kripalani made the selection and sent them to UNESCO in March 1958 with the approval of Vice-President S. Radhakrishnan.

In his note to Nehru, the President of the Sahitya Akademi, regarding the publication of the volume, Kripalani suggested the names of Dr Albert Schweitzer, Professor Arnold Toynbee and Lord Clement Attlee for contributing an introduction to the book.

The book was published under the title *All Men Are Brothers: Life and Thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi As Told in his Own Words*, edited by Krishna Kripalani, with an introduction by Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan.

3. To B.V. Keskar¹

New Delhi
April 6, 1958

My dear Balkrishna,²

Your letter of April 5th about the recruitment of competent editors, scholars, etc., for the Collected Works of Gandhiji.³ I agree with you in what you say. The selection of these people is not of the normal routine kind as persons so chosen will be for a relatively short period.

I have found that the Chairman of the Union Public Service Commission⁴ takes a very reasonable view if difficulties are explained to him. I suggest that you might have a talk with him and try to find a way out.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2(114)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting.
3. Keskar wrote that the work of the project *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* was of a temporary character and though the Edition itself might take a number of years it was not essential that a particular person might have to continue for the entire period. Scholars and people versed in Gandhiana might have to be called at short notice and for short periods. The rules of Government recruitment were proving to be a stumbling block in expediting the work. Thus it appeared urgent that the Government allowed the Ministry to recruit, with the help of the Advisory Board, suitable people without having to refer to the UPSC. Otherwise there was the danger of the project being indefinitely delayed. This question, he wrote, had assumed importance and it meant financially a great deal to the Government.
4. V.S. Hejmadi.

4. Employment of Indians Trained Abroad¹

The problem of Indian students abroad and, more especially those who go to the United States, deserves very careful consideration by us. The letter from our Minister, Shri H. Dayal,² is disturbing.

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, the Secretary General, MEA and S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 7 April 1958. JN Collection.
2. Harishwar Dayal, Minister in the Indian Embassy in Washington.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The other day, I discussed the question of students going abroad³ with Shri B.K. Nehru⁴ of the Finance Ministry. This was largely in connection with the question of foreign exchange. Shri B.K. Nehru was of the opinion that we should not put restrictions, from the point of view of foreign exchange, to the going abroad of students. It does not make much difference to the foreign exchange situation and it is a pity to stop earnest people from going abroad for study. I told him that I was not worried about the foreign exchange element, but I did not want people to go abroad who would not make good there and might even bring discredit to our country; in many such cases that had happened. I suggest that you might show Shri H. Dayal's letter to Shri B.K. Nehru, or send him a copy.

The question is, therefore, two-fold: (1) how not to encourage students going abroad who are not likely to profit by their visit or who are not likely to be useful to India. It is true that it is not very easy to discriminate and find out the future capacity of a candidate. Nevertheless, some attempt should be made. (2) The question of finding speedy employment in India for people who have been trained abroad. We have repeatedly considered this matter in the Planning Commission, in the Cabinet and in some of the Ministries. The principle of employing all competent persons was accepted, even though no particular post might be available at the time. I do not know what further developments have taken place. Various lists, etc., were being made.

I think that SG was interested in this matter. He might see these papers. Also, we should send a copy of Shri Dayal's letter to the Education Ministry. A copy or relevant extracts from it should be sent to the Planning Commission and to Professor Thacker.⁵

As I have said above, Cabinet definitely decided that the normal rules of recruitment should not apply to these young Indians trained abroad. The idea was that there should be a pool here which should absorb any competent Indian who comes back, immediately on return, even though no definite post was available. Such a person should be attached to some of our plants or corporations and later he should get a regular post. Indeed, it was suggested that even before they have finished their course abroad, we should be in touch with them and tell them definitely that we will take them if their record has been good.

3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 261-262.

4. Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance.

5. M.S. Thacker, Secretary in the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, and Director General, CSIR, 1957-62.

5. To S.N. Bose¹

New Delhi
7th April, 1958

My dear Prof Bose,²

I have received a report of the meeting of the Karma Samiti³ held on the 12th January, 1958, where it was decided that the donation of Rs 60,000 received from Premier Chou En-lai⁴ should be credited to the Chancellor's Rabindranath Tagore Jayanti Fund. From the minutes, it appears that one member of the Karma Samiti, Shri P.K. Sen Gupta, added a note of dissent as he wanted Rs 25,000 out of this money to be used for the purpose of acquisition, repairs and remodelling of Gurudev's old place of residence 'Dehali'.⁵

While it was decided to put the whole money in the Chancellor's Fund, it was also decided that 'Dehali' should be acquired and, if necessary, the money from the Chancellor's Fund should be used for this purpose.

May I say that I entirely agree with this resolution. In fact, the full resolution passed meets the point raised by Shri P.K. Sen Gupta. I think it is right that Gurudev's old residence 'Dehali' should be acquired by us and there can be no objection of any kind for the necessary money for this purpose being taken from the Chancellor's Fund.

I have been thinking that it would be a good thing for us to decide fairly soon what kind of plan we are going to have for the Rabindra Sadana, etc. As soon as we decide this, we can actually start putting up some building for the library and pictures. This will actually help in collecting further funds. I do not think there will be any difficulty in finding funds for this purpose. Therefore, the sooner we can do this, the better. I shall await the report of your architects and others.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Vice Chancellor, Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan.
3. The Executive Council of Visva-Bharati University was called the Karma Samiti.
4. Chou En-lai visited Santiniketan on 30 January 1957, where an honorary D.Litt was conferred on him. He also made a donation of Rs 60,000 to Visva-Bharati.
5. Rabindranath Tagore raised a few mud and thatch houses at Santiniketan for his children. Besides these, he built a double-storied house with a single room in each floor. This building is known as 'Dehali'.

6. To K.L. Shrimali¹

New Delhi
April 9, 1958

My dear Shrimali,²

Your letter of April 9th,³ with which you have sent a copy of a letter from the Vice Chancellor⁴ of the Banaras Hindu University.⁵ I have read the letter with amazement. A university which functions in this way should be closed. Anyhow, as you are expecting a report fairly soon, you might as well wait for it.⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Kalu Lal Shrimali (1909-2000); educationalist and politician; Dean, Faculty of Education, University of Rajputana, Jaipur, 1951-54; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-62; Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Education, New Delhi, 1953-55; Union Deputy Minister of Education, 1955-57; Minister of State for Education and Scientific Research, 1957-58; Minister of State for Education, 1958-63; resigned under the Kamaraj Plan, August 1963; Vice Chancellor, University of Mysore, 1964-69; Visiting Professor of South Illinois University, 1968; Vice Chancellor, Banaras Hindu University, 1969-77; editor of *Jan Shikshan*, a monthly educational magazine; author of *The Wardha Scheme, Adventures in Education, Education in Changing India, Shiksha aur Bhartiya Loktantra*.
3. K.L. Shrimali had written that the letter from V.S. Jha, the Vice Chancellor "makes incredibly depressing reading". He added that he would consult Nehru after receiving the Mudaliar Committee's report which he wanted to discuss with C.D. Deshmukh, Chairman of the UGC and S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President of India and a former Vice Chancellor of BHU.
4. V.S. Jha, Vice Chancellor of Banaras Hindu University, 1956-60.
5. Referring to the fast deteriorating situation in BHU, V.S. Jha informed Shrimali that teacher-politicians and their student allies had intensified their 'nerve war' against the university authorities by a series of marches, demonstrations, quarrels, complaints and threats. A number of law suits were filed on the flimsiest excuses against the university authorities by the employees and others.
6. See also *post*, p. 201.

7. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
April 12, 1958

My dear Rajendra Babu,²

Thank you for your letter of the 12th April with which you have sent a copy of a letter from Dr Ramkumar Varma³ from Moscow.⁴ I shall certainly send this letter to the Sahitya Akademi for their consideration.

I doubt, however, if we can follow the example of the Soviet Government in the matter of publishing books in foreign languages in large numbers. We are, in fact, publishing these translations and, no doubt, this will increase. But we are unable even in our country to publish books in hundreds of thousands as the Russians do. Their system is completely different and they do this for the sake of big-scale propaganda. I doubt also if books published by us would have any big market in the Soviet Union. They would only have that market if the Soviet Government or their official publishers took it up. Other books have little chance.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(7)/57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. President of India.

3. (1905-1990); Lecturer, Hindi Department, Allahabad University, 1929; Deputy Director of Education, Central Provinces, 1948-49; Professor of Hindi at Moscow University and at Moscow Institute of International Relations, 1957-59; Member, Central Hindi Advisory Council, 1981; delivered a series of lectures in the USSR, the UK and the USA on Indian literature and culture in 1983 and 1984; works include *Anjali*, *Chitra Rekha*, *Maharana Pratap* and *Jai Aditya*.

4. In his letter of 29 March 1958, Ramkumar Varma had suggested that great works of Indian languages should be translated into foreign languages on a large scale in the same way as the Soviet Union had published translations of the works of Lenin, Tolstoy, Gorky, Dostoevsky and others in large numbers.

8. To S.B.H. Zaidi¹

New Delhi
April 12, 1958

My dear Zaidi,²

Your letter of the 10th April. This is the first intimation I have got about my

1. JN Collection.

2. Vice Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

name having been proposed and accepted for the University Court. If I had been asked previously, I would have suggested that my name should not be proposed as obviously I cannot discharge any duties of a member of the University Court. But, since matters have gone so far, I have no objection to my name being added to the members of the University Court.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. Quantity and Quality of Education¹

Mr Vice Chancellor,² Mr Chief Minister³ and friends,

First of all I should be grateful to you, Mr Vice Chancellor, if you will keep this hammer and whatever the other thing is called, trowel, as mementos in your museum.

I have already performed the duty you had entrusted me and for the first time performed two foundation stone laying ceremonies, one after the other. You referred in your address, a little while ago, to the problem of the accommodation of students, and mentioned that the idea of this so-called club house originated with me. Of course, it did not originate with me, but it is true that for the last two or perhaps three years I have been thinking about this matter and discussing it with some people connected with universities. It came out before us in a more acute way in regard to the Calcutta University, and, of course, the problems to some extent are the same in other places too.

But, I suppose, it is worst in Calcutta, where a survey was made: It appeared that a very large number of university and college students had absolutely no sitting room to read or study or do anything. They had possibly a corner of a room or a verandah to sleep in, in some relative's house. They went there and spent the night there but it was impossible to read or do anything there, and the result was they were almost aimless wanderers for a good part of the day. They went to the university to attend lectures but again there was no place to sit in.

Now, the ideal situation would no doubt be for proper hostels to be erected and all that in campuses and universities, but even in rich countries, this has

1. Speech at the foundation stone laying ceremonies of the Bombay University club house and a hostel, Bombay, 18 April 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. T.M. Advani.
3. Y.B. Chavan.

been found to be very difficult as the numbers are so large. So this idea arose that instead of thinking in terms of a hostel where students live, spend their days and nights, you need not provide for their night lodging, but provide for their day's rest, work, etc., where they might, if they so choose, spend the day, a part of the day, after their college lectures, etc.

They could read there, they could write there, they could have some amenities there, they could also have some amenities of club life, etc. But, in the main, the idea was that they should have a quiet place to rest, to work and to play. They could have a bath there, they could have their food there. Short of having a place for sleeping, resting at night, they could really spend a greater part of the day there. So you see the idea is something far more than the word club. That is why I didn't like the idea of a club house. Somehow, the club house idea gives a very limited notion of what it is after. And I do hope you will find a better word for this.

Now, I am not quite clear in my mind as to the proposed functions of this place. The other, I take it, is just a normal ordinary hostel. Is that so? Now, I understand the hostel will be for 250 students. But this place that has thus far been misnamed club will be really for thousands practically. Suppose, if all the thousands come, it would be a little crowded. Well, as I was coming here with the Governor,⁴ I mentioned to him that probably when our ideal in regard to education is realised, that is, to the extent that education is provided to all those who are in need of it, from the cradle upward—nursery schools, primary schools, secondary schools, colleges, universities, etc., specialised institutions, technical schools and all that, post-graduate courses—it would mean that at least 50 per cent of the total population of the country will be engaged in some educational institution, and a good proportion would be engaged in teaching them. Suppose, our population is likely to be, fairly soon, 400 millions. That means some 200 million students of various ages from the cradle upwards will be going to some kind of school or college, or university, specialised institution—that's a terrific number. To provide for 200 millions, you can imagine how many teachers are necessary, a very large number obviously, and equipment, books, paper, everything, tremendous figures, and then building accommodation, both the classrooms, etc., and, where necessary, hostel accommodation—a tremendous problem, isn't it, providing in this way for 200 million people in this country and yet we have to do it. I hope we will do it. I am inclined to work this out. We shall have to think, therefore, always in terms of not doing it in a way which cannot spread out, in a limited way. That limited way may be very good but very good for very few, and the others may not get it at all. There is that danger.

4. Sri Prakasa, Governor of Bombay State.

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One wants, of course, our educational institutions to be first-rate in every way, apart from the teaching, which should be good. The teaching condition, the equipment, etc., should also be good. But there is this terrific problem that in making a few first-rate institutions, are you depriving a large number of others from having any education at all? Of course, ultimately everybody will get it. This is really a problem of transition. I think that it is highly important that our elementary or primary education should spread as rapidly as possible all over the country; that every child at that age should get it or should get the basic education of a seven-year course, that itself is a big job. But I think it is highly important, not really from the point of view of the individual—that is important naturally, every individual should have that opportunity—but from a social point of view also, the society's point of view. Because we are entering a phase of our development, call it, if you like, industrial development, industrial age, etc., which demands that type of education. At least you can't go ahead without it. We are getting into a highly technical age; whether you use the plough in the field or anywhere, education makes you a better worker. I don't mean the type of education that just makes people talk. So, this widespread education, primary education, is quite essential, I think.

On the other hand, you must have quality in education. You must have first-rate men coming out of your universities. A nation without quality is a second-rate nation. No matter how many schools or colleges you have got, there must be men and women of quality, not quality in the old sense of the word, quality in the sense of clothes and feathers and all that, but quality of mind, quality of spirit. So, at both ends we have to aim at this step, in quantity as well as in quality. It is rather difficult, of course, to balance these things with limited resources but one has to make the effort in regard to village schools—and this of course does not apply to towns and cities but to villages, which stand so much in need of this spread of primary education—to begin with. I have been saying, in other cases, our conception of a school should be a teacher and pupils minus a building. You should forget that a school is a building. The school is a teacher, with pupils naturally. I don't mean to say that building is bad, building is certainly useful. But the PWD conception of a school must be given up, if we are to spread education.⁵ Essentially, we should, if we like, revert to a more primitive conception of sitting under a tree and teaching our pupils. It is better for you to pay your teacher much more and not to spend money on bricks and mortar. You get better teaching by a better-paid teacher even though he has to sit under a tree. It is more important to save money on buildings and pay more to the teacher and purchase some equipment.

5. See also *ante*, pp. 8-9 and *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 236-238 and 822-823.

Now, you might say, "Where is one to keep the equipment? We can't leave it under the tree." That is true. Therefore, the real nucleus of the school might be just a small structure to keep the equipment, not as a classroom. I have seen various models of this. They are quite interesting. You can keep the small equipment, maps, books, paper, pencils, etc., and just possibly, that small structure may have just a rectangular structure, any small structure, say 16 by 12 feet, or something like this, just four walls, each wall having a blackboard, four classes all round; in the back is the blackboard of course and there can be a simple shed or not, as the case may be; the villagers will provide it, if they want it.

My point is, we should think less, especially in villages, in terms of solid structures. I think it is healthier, unless the building is a very fine one. The model primary school building is neither good to look at nor very healthy to go inside, it is a dull place. So it is healthier, better to sit under the trees. And you could organise, as far as possible, your holidays to fit in with the monsoon so as to avoid the difficulty of sitting in the open in the monsoon. Adapt yourself to that and get out of strict rules, rigid things. We have got to get the thing done, that is, take education to the boys and girls and not merely observe certain rigid rules which come in the way of that being done. Whenever I talk about basic education—I see a calculation being made; if we have basic schools all over India, the amount required was, I forget, hundreds or thousands of crores. Now, are we to give up education because that is so. Obviously not. You have to find some other way and normally speaking, the only way that I can see is to give up the building or more or less give it up. Well, if the villagers put up a building, well and good. I don't prevent them, but don't wait for the building, I mean. Supply higher salary to the teacher and provide some equipment, instead of the building, and then trust the villagers as they want to build, let them build and begin working and I am sure many villagers will themselves have a building without any effort. So, we have to do that, and the other end is, I think, a question of quality. It is, of course, very important: it is frightfully unfair to expect quality from a poor student who has no place to sit or read. He doesn't have a chance. The least we can do is to give him a chance. Then after the chance is given, if the opportunity comes, well, it is up to him to take advantage of it, some may take more advantage than others. But this kind of wandering about the streets—doing nothing at all or, as often happens, especially in the streets of Calcutta, where the occupation of a large number of students often is, not always, going up and down the streets in processions, and I rather doubt if they always know what the procession is about—this kind of thing, it is a frustrating experience, I suppose, to go up and down the streets in processions but there is nothing else to do. How can one expect any quality of mind from that type of training that a person can get?

We are entering a new age, I suppose every age is a new age, I suppose it might be said with some truth that we are entering a new age, with these new

discoveries of science. Even in my life time, when I think back, I am surprised to see how the world has changed in the last 50 years: leave out other things, when I was a little boy, the automobiles were rather new things, they were there, of course, but the automobile age was just coming in. I remember seeing as a little boy experimental planes in Europe, flying and coming down flop. In Germany, in the Frankfurt aeronautical exhibitions, the plane would go, fly two hundred yards and come down flop. The next day I saw it flying and so on, and now of course it is all over the world, there are air services and what not. And now we are told we live in the, call it what you like, Sputnik age, or interplanetary space travel, the atomic age. I have not a shadow of a doubt that the next 50 years will probably see even greater changes in the world than the last 50 years have seen.

That requires many qualities; of course it requires a certain scientific, technical quality of mind to live in a technical age but even more than that, and perhaps more especially because of that, it requires something, another quality of mind which is timeless, which makes the mind a master of events and not merely its slave, being driven hither and thither. It gives a certain serenity of outlook, with breadth of vision, it takes away our narrowness. All those things, which philosophers have recognised, from the earlier stages, as the essential qualities of a cultured mind. And we have to combine these two. Now, you don't get a cultured mind or a highly trained mind if you don't have opportunities.

In the world today, there are all kinds of things happening which are exciting, some things which are pleasing, many things which are highly displeasing; it depends on what our mental approach is to them, if you are pleased or displeased. Certainly, there are many displeasing elements. Certainly, there are dangers in the world today, for the first time in man's history when the possibility of a total destruction of the world arises, from these hydrogen bombs and the like. So that the time for allowing things to drift and settle themselves somehow is rather past, it is too grave a risk. But all this we really require, in the ultimate analysis, a sufficient percentage of the population of some quality of mind, of spirit, and that is where universities come in. For, after all, if universities don't give that quality of mind to our boys and girls, who else is going to give it, how else are we going to get it? So, the universities not only provide training for the profession, training for some function in life, but also this essential quality of mind.

This University of Bombay has produced many men of quality. I have no doubt it will produce many more men and women of quality, and if we can make it easier for the boys and girls of quality today to have the opportunity to work, to develop as many men and women of quality, then at least you have done one good job well. So, I hope this effort of ours today, of putting up this foundation stone, will ultimately lead to quality.

10. To K.L. Shrimali¹

New Delhi
21 April, 1958

My dear Shrimali,

Shri R.R. Bhole² together with one of his colleagues came to see me this morning about the People's Education Society³ founded by the late Dr Ambedkar. They gave me some papers which I enclose. They spoke to me about two loans advanced to them, one directly by the Government of India and the other by a trust fund in Hyderabad. I remember Dr Ambedkar coming to me some three years ago asking me for a postponement of the repayment of the Government loan. I think we agreed to that then for a period. The same question has arisen now. Now that the period of postponement is over, I gather they are being asked to pay for the instalments due during this period of postponement. Thus they are asked to pay rather a large sum.

I think that we should show them as much consideration as is feasible in this matter. So far as I know, this Education Society has done good work for the backward classes and deserves encouragement.

I gather that Shri Bhole will be seeing you, as also the Home Minister.⁴ I suggested to them to see the Finance Minister⁵ also if this could be arranged. As they are seeing you and will explain everything, I am not writing much more.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. (1913-1993); Member, Bombay Legislative Assembly, 1937-42; appointed District Judge in 1955 and retired as Judge, Bombay High Court, in 1975; Chairman, People's Education Society, Bombay, 1956 and North Maharashtra University Commission, 1965; Member, Law Commission of Maharashtra, 1977-80. Backward Classes Commission, 1979, and Lok Sabha, 1980-84.
3. B.R. Ambedkar, former Union Minister and leader of the depressed classes, founded the People's Education Society at Bombay on 8 July 1945 to provide education to the people of lower castes by establishing educational institutions and to foster general interest in education among them.
4. Govind Ballabh Pant.
5. Morarji Desai.

11. Shun Mediocrity in Arts¹

Mr Governor,² Mr Chief Minister,³ friends,

You have done me honour in inviting me to this inaugural ceremony⁴ presumably because I happen to be the Prime Minister. That does not necessarily signify any particular quality in the realm of art. I rather doubt, if a census was taken of Prime Ministers and like persons in the world, that they would come high up the artistic point of view; certainly, I would not. But because at one time, under special circumstances, I wrote some books, I am supposed to be a writer, and I have been made the President of the Sahitya Akademi. Anyhow, whether I am placed there or not by virtue of merit, I certainly attach great importance to the cultural activities of the country being given full scope and being encouraged.

You cannot really create culture or literature merely by prodding people on. There must be something in them which can come out, provided an environment is created which is helpful. All that a state can do, all that anybody can do, is to provide a helpful environment. I do not think that the environment in India was very helpful in the past. In the near past, before Independence, all our efforts were directed, in the political field, to gaining independence. That does not come in the way of art but it does divert people's attention very much to a particular activity which becomes important then. Secondly, and something that was more dangerous from the point of view of creativeness, during this long period of British domination in India, was that we thought far too much of foreign models. To some extent that was good because we had become decadent in our literature, in our art. There is no doubt about it in my mind. And we wanted some kind of push, some urges. They did come to us, I think, to some extent from abroad, whether in the political field or even in the literary field. So far as that went, it was good. But if that goes too far and becomes imitative, then, of course, you lose all creative tendencies in the people. Real art cannot be imitated. It has to be created. It has to come out, well, from people's lives and thinking and urges.

Take our wonderful dancing, the classical dances in India. Somehow or other, they began to die off. It was almost thought that it was somewhat improper and immoral to dance. All kinds of voices were raised against them and they

1. Speech while inaugurating the Kerala Kala Parishad, Trichur, 26 April 1958, AIR tapes, NMML.

2. B. Ramakrishna Rao.

3. E.M.S. Namboodiripad.

4. After inaugurating the Parishad, Nehru laid the foundation stones of a new engineering college at Trichur and the Kerala Engineering Research Institute at Peechi Dam, situated about 35 kms from Trichur.

nearly died. Fortunately, there are some people who kept them alive and now when those restrictions and strange restrictive ideas are removed, you see how they are beginning to flourish in India, flourish both from the classical point of view, the classical dances of India of the North and the South and even more so the folk dances of India, which are really wonderful in their variety, hundreds and hundreds of all kinds of folk dances from every part of India. You have them here of course, and perhaps the richest area in India for folk dancing are the so-called tribal areas—how wonderful those dances are! Every year we have a big festival of folk dancing at the time of the Republic Day in Delhi. And during the past many years, we have tried as far as possible not to repeat the same set of dances because there are so many and the standard has been high. The danger, if it is a danger, is that our dancing is being affected somewhat by cinema. Now, I am not saying anything against cinema. I merely say that copying of the cinema styles does affect the classic dancing, to its disadvantage I think. Let us have both, if you like, but in different compartments. In the same way in music. I know nothing about music or almost nothing but I am told that there is considerable advance being made all over India in the musical domain. About painting and the like, I am not quite sure where we are. We have certain eminent artists who carry on an older tradition rigidly. Well, I feel that the older tradition has lost force. It is graceful, it may be nice to look at, but it is rather lifeless. We have new artists, powerfully influenced by western models, who are doing, I believe, good work. Of course, all their work is not perhaps top-ranking. But there is an urge to do good work. I have no doubt it will fulfil itself.

But having said all this, I must say also that a terrible lot of work is being done, whether in painting or other arts, which is very mediocre and sometimes worse. There is a passion, for instance, for putting up statues of Gandhiji, of other leaders. There is hardly a statue that I have seen worth being looked at twice. There are paintings that I have seen, the only relief from which is to turn your head away from them, as there was one of mine which I saw yesterday morning and one of Rajen Babu which I unveiled also yesterday morning⁵—a sort of thing, which perhaps, if a schoolboy did, he might be told to do better next time. But when our artists do so, this type of mediocre work, it is not good. They should not be patted on the back. They should be told that this is wrong, that they should improve, they should take some more lessons.

There is a danger in India today of our relapsing into mediocrity. It is a grave danger. I see sometimes associations of writers, literary men they are called, well, some of them are first-class, no doubt. Some of them imagine, because they can just write something on a piece of paper, they are great writers. Now, how to save ourselves from mediocrity? I am worried about this. I suppose it is

5. For Nehru's speech on the occasion, see *post*, pp. 855-856.

inevitable. When there is an urge and everywhere people want to do something, they cannot all be brilliant writers or artists or sculptors. One has to put up with this. But academies of art, literature or any other form of culture should at least try to set high standards and not encourage every second-rate person, who presumes to be, who thinks he is, a great writer, great sculptor, great artist or a great musician. There must be somewhere, where standards are kept. I am saying this because you have got this academy or Parishad, Kala Parishad. I do earnestly hope that, while you will encourage everybody, you will try to keep up standards and not reduce them by not distinguishing between the good, the bad and the mediocre. It is a painful duty sometimes to tell a person that he is mediocre. It hurts him. Nobody likes saying that. But for an academy, that painful duty has to be performed or else the academy itself becomes mediocre and its judgement becomes of no value. So I venture to put this before you because of this apprehension that I have.

I am myself convinced that there is a tremendous deal of talent and sometimes even of genius in the country in regard to arts, provided opportunities are given to develop that talent. When I see the tribal folks, I am surprised at their art. And mind you, they have not gone to any school of art or school of dancing. They have not had the chance of being told to do things in a particular rigid way, which might take away from them their creativeness. You know perhaps that children in schools, etc., are encouraged now. There is an exhibition in Delhi organised by Shankar Pillai,⁶ of 'The World Children's Art' to which children from all over the world come. It is an astonishingly good exhibition and it is surprising how children who have not had to go through rigid training, how good they can be by just expressing themselves. Now that raises another question. We must of course have training. For artists or for that matter, everything worthwhile requires hard work and training. But if the training suppresses the individual in his creativeness and just teaches him some formal methods of whatever he may be trying to do, then it kills the real thing. I remember reading the story of a young man who went to a great Chinese poet, Li Po, a famous man who lived hundreds and hundreds of years ago. He said "Master, how can I become a great writer?" So Master Li Po said, "Well, learn all about writing, whatever it may involve, from the teachers, and having learnt it, forget it as fast as you can. Then you will be a great writer." Now, you have to do both, learning and forgetting. Otherwise you get oppressed by the rules and regulations and you cannot create and yet if you do not know the rules and regulations you will have to be a mighty genius then to do anything without learning techniques of the same. Well, probably at the present moment, we are likely to spurn the sight of too many rules and regulations.

6. Well-known cartoonist and founder of the Children's Book Trust, New Delhi.

So, I would like your academy and other academies to keep up standards, encourage natural creativeness as far as possible, but help of course in regard to the techniques, rules, regulations, etc., so that the person may develop on right lines. Also, it is important, I think, that the various academies that are being started and or that are continuing in different States should keep in touch with each other and also with the central all-India academies of literature, art, dancing, music, painting, etc. Because, I think in that way you learn much from each other, give much to each other and enrich your own variety of art to some extent.

India is very rich, I believe, in artistic forms. But, India, being rich, has also suffered from a long term of stagnation and repetition. What more wonderful things can we have in some of the older specimens of Indian architecture? They are amazing in their strength, in their beauty and yet you do not find much beauty in the later forms of architecture, whether it is temple or anything. It is mere repetition. It is mere ornateness. You become more and more ornate, more and more fine-carving and all that; that is not beauty. It may be fine handicraft work, fine artisan work, but it is not beauty. We lost that grand style in architecture which you can see in India still in the older buildings. But which you will see even more in other countries where Indian artisans went, whether it is in Angkor Wat⁷ in Cambodia or Borobudur⁸ in Indonesia or so many other places. So we have to develop that. We cannot, by order, or by legislation, develop great art, but it is the duty of the State to encourage art.

Now, one of the speakers was afraid and expressed his apprehension that State interference in art and literature might not prove a very bad thing, or it might. To say that the State should not interfere in conditions as they exist in India means practically that the State should not encourage the arts because there is no other way of encouraging them. In the old days, art in India was encouraged more especially by the ruling princes and the like. That type does not exist now. So unless something takes its place—the individual, the rich man hardly exist, the very rich man who can do this—the only way to encourage it is for the State; there is no other way out. Therefore, the State should encourage it. But I entirely agree if it is said that the State, while encouraging it, should not interfere, should not lay down canons. That should be the duty of the literary or artistic association and academies. Let the State help any academy or help an association and leave it to the academy or association to function more or less

7. Angkor Wat, a temple complex in Cambodia, dedicated first to Vishnu and later to Gautama Buddha, was built by King Suryavarman II in the early 12th century A.D. It is the finest example of Khmer architecture and is also depicted on Cambodia's national flag.
8. Built in the ninth century A.D., Borobudur is a Mahayana Buddhist shrine in Central Java in Indonesia. It was declared a World Heritage site by UNESCO in 1991.

as it likes. That is, broadly speaking, the policy we try to follow in the central academies. We do not come in the way of anybody. But quite inevitably, it cannot be helped when we give prizes; somebody has to choose. The State does not choose; we appoint other people to choose literary men and in the choice of it, maybe the wrong people are encouraged or the wrong tendencies are encouraged. Some time back there was an exhibition in Delhi of modern Indian paintings. The panel of judges chose some out of hundreds of such paintings and there was an exhibition of them. Some days afterwards, there was another exhibition of those paintings which had been rejected by the panel of judges. Well, the second exhibition of the rejected paintings drew much larger crowds than the other one and was much more appreciated. Well, it cannot be helped, I suppose. I suppose, the judges who selected the first lot applied some canon, rigid canon, which ruled out certain rather fine paintings. Well, one has to take these risks. So, broadly speaking, it comes to this that the State should help in such a way as not to impose its own ways and canons but leave that to literary or artistic academies and associations. I suppose mistakes will be made but anyhow we will progress in that way.

Kerala, of course, is full of rich cultural traditions. And I have no doubt that, given the opportunity, those cultural traditions will grow richer and richer. I am happy, therefore, to have been here today at this gathering of the Kala Parishad. Thank you.

12. Need for Trained Technical Personnel¹

Mr Governor, Chief Minister and friends,

I am particularly happy to perform this formal ceremony of laying the foundation stone for a new engineering college here. The ceremony is a formal one and my laying the foundation stone does not mean much, because it will be properly laid, afterwards, I suppose. Anyhow, this association with an engineering college is very much to my liking.

All the world knows today that engineers are playing perhaps the most important part. Engineers and scientists are playing this very important part today in building the world. In India also, as in our five-year plans, our engineers are ever playing a more and more important part. Recently, we had a census taken of engineers in India. It was a long drawn out process, and it took nearly an year to trace them, all of them. We found that we have 72,000 engineers in

1. Speech while laying the foundation stone for an engineering college at Trichur, 26 April 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.

India. I was all surprised at the number, because, I thought, they were fewer than that. But even so, 72,000 is not at all enough, when we work out the needs of the country. In the next five to ten years, we want hundreds and thousands of engineers. And you must also remember that it takes time to produce a well qualified engineer. Let us take a big plant, an iron or steel plant. To build an iron or steel plant, it may take five to six years. But to build a man who will run the iron or steel plant, it will take a much longer period. And therefore, it becomes important for us to start training and building these men not only for the iron and steel plants but for engineering and other structures—building engineering projects, some of which you have and some will, no doubt, appear on the scene in the course of our successive five-year plans.

We sometimes talk a good deal about resources, the internal resources, foreign resources and foreign exchange—and that is important. But really, the most important thing is basically not money, but trained human beings, trained personnel. And training takes time. Unless we lay the foundations of spreading out this training from now onwards, the biggest bottleneck later will be not having enough trained people. Therefore, engineering has in itself various aspects and particularly requires more and more training facilities and I am glad to note, not only that this college is going to start functioning pretty soon, but also that there is a chance for two or three more engineering colleges, partly public and partly private, to function in Kerala. Now, that is so obvious that nothing need be said about it, i.e., the need for training. And when we talk about engineering training, we come up against probably a difficult problem. The problem is, naturally you want to give high class training to produce really top-ranking engineers. I think that this training takes such a long time that many types of work which do not require high class trained men also suffer because we have not got such men. Therefore, we need to have not only very top ranking men so far as training is concerned but also specialised courses in engineering—specialised courses for particular types of work which do not require such long training. I imagine that we shall have to have both. But every engineer should, I think, have a training in a specialised thing for a year or 18 months. That man trained on that line is not a fully qualified engineer, but he is fully qualified to do that particular job which you want. I cannot define this much more. But I have no doubt that something of that type has to be done.

Of course, even the best qualified engineer, that is to say, by his educational course, requires a great deal of experience before he can tackle the biggest job. Take something like the Bhakra-Nangal. Now India has and is having for sometime very good irrigation engineers, pretty good high dam engineers, and other types of engineers also. Our irrigation system is one of the biggest in the world and very fine dams have been built. Nevertheless, when we came to building the Bhakra-Nangal Dam, which was bigger than anything ever undertaken in India and possibly the biggest thing that is being done today in

that line in the world, we engaged the services of some foreign engineers and others. There is sometimes a lot of criticism in Parliament: "Can't you do this with Indian engineers, or with Indian people?" Naturally, we want to employ Indian engineers. But I think it should be clearly understood that when we undertake the work of the highest order, the best possible men must do it, whether he is Indian or non-Indian or wherever he comes from. It is the work that counts and it is absurd to say that we will have Indian engineers whether the dam breaks down or not. It is ridiculous. I do not mean to say that the dam will break down because the Indian engineers made it. That is silly. We have to set the highest standard in this business. Now in the Bhakra and some other places, we engaged engineers from America. They were frightfully expensive. But they know their job and therefore they have been of extreme use, and what is more, because of this experience of Bhakra and Damodar Valley and others, hundreds and thousands of our engineers are now doing that job too. In the Bhakra, I believe, I do not quite remember, but I believe two to three thousand engineers were employed, of course, on all grades, senior and junior men. You can imagine the extent of that. And therefore, I have no doubt that India will have the best engineers of all types not only because of the training they get here but because of the experience they gather. So, I am glad of the other engineering colleges that you have.

As I was coming here, I was shown some tools. I was told that they were supplied to schools and the like. It is a very good idea. But it is not clear to me as to what age group the engineering college will deal with. Somebody said, six plus.² That is very good. But the engineering college will deal with somebody other than six plus, I suppose. They will learn in some primary school, not the engineering college. I take it that they will come from the schools and later, to the engineering college. But this is important, I think, that some kind of basic knowledge of tools should be given or should be acquired by children almost in their play. In fact that is the best way of acquiring any knowledge whether it is in language or mechanics or even the most elementary principles of science or mechanics. Nothing is more fascinating for a child than a tool. And especially a tool with which he or she can do something or may make something. They have the joy of creating something. And it surprises me that this is not utilised more, and some horrid and ugly things are given to them to play with. I have seen in other countries boys and girls. I have seen boys and girls also, may be girls of 12, 13 and 14 years old, actually building a toy hydro-electric station which produced electricity in the backyard of their institutions, actually producing electricity from the garden. Only boys of 13 or 14 used to build that type of hydro-electric stations! It is much more useful than all the lectures they could

2. It is quite possible that somebody said sixth pass and Nehru heard six plus. However, the reference is to Sixth Form, equivalent to matriculation and not age six.

have heard. The point is, people should have to do all these things whether it is in the teaching of science or specialised subject which requires practical experience. I think that we are to give much more time to the practical aspect than to the theoretical. Theoretical is, of course, important. It is the base, but the practical is more important, and you will find that that is the tendency all over the world to give more and more time to the practical and also give them as good equipment as you can because the lecture part is the least important of all.

It is, as I said, necessary because it is the learning from doing and that is important. The whole system of basic education is just to learn from doing something. You apply that to almost everything you like, except to real theoretical subject, and you will find how much easier it is to teach and to learn and how fascinating learning becomes to the boy or girl who does it. The only way to be moderately successful in life is to know how to combine work and play. By separating them, work becomes onerous and play also becomes rather tedious. But if you combine work and play, whatever your age might be, then you know, to some extent at least, how to take the most from life. If children are taught that way from the very beginning, not drawing hard and fast lines between work and play, then they will grow up well and will fit in with both work and play in the later years of their life.

So, I thank you for inviting me here for the inauguration. I am quite sure that this college will be of great service not only to Kerala but to the whole of India.

13. To Mukul Dey¹

New Delhi
29th April, 1958

Dear Shri Mukul Dey,²

I have your letter of April 20th.

It appears to me very desirable to have Gurudev's³ paintings suitably mounted and framed. But this is a matter to be taken up by the Visva-Bharati authorities.

1. JN Collection.
2. Mukul Chandra Dey (1895-1989); Indian painter-engraver; studied art at Santiniketan; travelled widely to learn etching and printmaking; first Indian principal of Government School of Arts, Calcutta, 1928-43; chose an "essentially western medium" to depict Indian life and legends from a common man's viewpoint; executed portraits of Tagore, Albert Einstein, Mahatma Gandhi, and members of the Tata family; his works are on display in Victoria and Albert Museum (London), Indian Museum (Calcutta) and National Gallery of Modern Art (New Delhi).
3. Rabindranath Tagore.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

They can write on this subject to the Rabindranath Tagore Centenary Committee. Some kind of an estimate will also have to be sent.

You refer to the Central Government's policy of helping artists. This is really meant for very indigent persons and the help is very little.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. To B.V. Keskar¹

New Delhi
29 April, 1958

My dear Balkrishna,²

I enclose a letter from Chetan Anand³ about his making a film on Bhakra-Nangal. I think it is an excellent idea for him to make such a film and I hope the film will be in colour. I thought this had been fixed up already, but evidently there is some delay. I suggest that you expedite this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting.

3. (1915-1997); Hindi film director and actor; worked for some time for BBC; taught at Doon School, Dehradun; started, together with Dev Anand, Navketan Production, 1949; directed a number of films, including *Neecha Nagar*, *Afsar*, *Taxi Driver*, *Haqeeqat* and the popular TV serial, *Param Veer Chakra*.

15. To Edwina Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
May 2, 1958

My dear Edwina,²

You might be interested in some new stamps we have issued. One is for the Air Force Silver Jubilee. The other is about an old man whose centenary we celebrated a few days ago.³ He is one of the early founders of women's education in India. I suppose it is very rare that a centenary stamp is issued of a living person.

Yours,
Jawahar

1. JN Collection.
2. Edwina Ashley, Countess Mountbatten of Burma.
3. The reference is to D.K. Karve. See also *post*, pp. 850-852.

16. To Wilfred Cantwell Smith¹

New Delhi
May 4, 1958

Dear Professor Smith,²

Thank you for your letter of April 5th, 1968, and for your book *Islam in Modern History* which you have kindly sent me. I remember well reading your first book and liking it. I am sure your new book must be equally interesting. Anyhow, the subject interests me greatly and I hope to find time to read it though this may not be in the near future.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. (1916-2000); scholar of comparative history of religion; visited India, 1940-45; Birks Professor of Comparative Religion in McGill University, 1949; founding director, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 1951-63; Professor, Harvard University, 1964-73 and 1978-84; author of *Modern Islam in Asia: A Social Analysis*, *Islam in Modern History*, *The Meaning and End of Religion*, *Belief and History*, *Faith and Belief*, and *Towards a World Theology*.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

17. Malayalam Translation of the Rig Veda¹

I am sending you Vallathol's² translation of the Rig Veda in Malayalam; also, a letter sent by his son to me.³ Perhaps, you might consult the Vice-President⁴ about what the son has written to me.

1. Note to K.R. Kripalani, Secretary, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 4 May 1958. File No. S.A.107/9, Part I. Sahitya Akademi Records.
2. Vallathol Narayan Menon, an eminent Malayalam poet, passed away on 13 March 1958.
3. Vallathol's son C. Balachandran had written on 26 April 1958 that all that the family had inherited from Vallathol was a printing and publishing house and his literary works, and all his savings had been invested in the printing press. He wrote that for want of working capital, he was finding it difficult to publish his father's works in time. He gave details of the printing expenses of Malayalam translation of the Rig Veda and the *Valmiki Ramayan* and wrote that these expenses would be "a recurring one and too heavy for our feeble shoulders." He also mentioned Vallathol's last wish to have a building of his own for the printing press and publishing house. Balachandran requested Nehru for monetary help for meeting these expenses.
4. Vice-President S. Radhakrishnan was also the Vice-President of the Sahitya Akademi.

18. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
May 6, 1958

My dear Sri Babu,²

I am writing to remind you about Professor J.C. Jain.³ I have been much distressed about him because I feel that we have treated him badly and unfairly and done much damage to his career. Because of the offer of appointment to him by the Bihar Government, he resigned from his service in Bombay and packed up to go to Patna. At the last moment, he was told that he had not finally been selected for the post. He was thus left high and dry.⁴

What is more, rumours circulated that he had not been selected because he was supposed to be a Communist sympathiser, the principal reason for this being

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Bihar.
3. Head of the Hindi Department at Ramnarain Ruia College, Bombay.
4. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 359-360 and Vol. 40, pp. 325-326.

that he was a member of the India-China Friendship Association. In the eyes of our Intelligence people, it is a sign of Communism to join this Association. This, of course, is quite absurd and we have encouraged people to join it.

Altogether this incident has pained me greatly because of its obvious injustice to a man. It has further pained me to find how we can be misled by some odd Intelligence reports.

I wish, therefore, we could do something for him and I was glad to find from you that you were trying to find a post for him. Meanwhile, I would suggest to you to write to him a letter which will help him, that is, in which you could remove any misunderstanding about him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

19. Appeal for Contribution to Tagore Centenary Fund¹

Three years from now we shall celebrate the centenary of the birth of Rabindranath Tagore. I wonder how the young men and women of today think of him, what picture do they have of this great son of India, who moulded the thinking and action of the generations that preceded them. I belong to a passing generation who had the high privilege of living through that period when the many-sided light of Tagore illuminated our minds and our lives. What was he, dreamer and poet, singer, artist and musician, playwright and actor, novelist and essayist, educationist and humanist, nationalist and internationalist, philosopher and man of action? Even this brief record of the many-sidedness of his life, gives a poor picture of what he was. We have the magic of his words and songs with us, and one of these songs has become our beautiful national anthem, the *Jana Gana Mana*. Succeeding generations will derive inspiration from what he wrote and from the story of his life. They will think of him as one in line with the ancient sages of this land who have come to us from time to time to rejuvenate us and pull us out of our narrow ruts of thought and action. But will they remember his message and act up to his teaching, for he was above all a teacher and a liberator, ever trying to free our minds and our social structure from the

1. Radio broadcast on the birth anniversary of Rabindranath Tagore, New Delhi, 8 May 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.

shackles that bound them. Intensely Indian, drawing sustenance from the soil and thought and the long past of India, he was truly a world citizen, and his nationalism fitted in with the widest internationalism. In him, we see the integration of thought and action. In Santiniketan we see his ideas gradually taking shape, leading to the establishment of Visva-Bharati near Santiniketan, also Sriniketan,² which became the embodiment of the deep urge he had to face the fundamental problem of India. Like Gandhiji, he went back to the village which was the basic fact of life in India. There he tried to experiment with his social policies so as to help the village folk to build a new social order.

As the years passed, his attachment to Sriniketan and the rural reconstruction work there grew. For his idea of India became more and more that of our vast rural population growing in mind and body. He left us much in the realm of thought but he was no writer or singer living in an ivory-tower, he was a man intensely interested in and devoted to the building up of our country and our people. He left us Santiniketan, Visva-Bharati and Sriniketan, children of his mind, and the scenes of his activity, and the temples where he worshipped.

We shall ever remember his songs and writings, but if we are true to him, we shall carry on his message and see that Santiniketan and Sriniketan flourish. As Chancellor of Visva-Bharati University, I have opened a Chancellor's Rabindranath Centenary Fund.³ This is meant to help in carrying on his work in Santiniketan and Sriniketan, and thus to pay our tribute to him in action and service. I trust that many in India and abroad will contribute to this Fund. Let this be one of our ways of our paying homage to Gurudev's memory, but the real homage is for us to remember his message and to help in building up India, as he told us to do in his magnificent language.

2. The Visva-Bharati University, founded by Rabindranath Tagore, has two campuses, one at Santiniketan and another at Sriniketan. Located at a distance of about three kilometres from Santiniketan at Surul, Sriniketan was established in 1922. The main focus at Sriniketan is on adult education, agriculture, cottage industries, village welfare and handicrafts, which are sold through rural cooperative stores.
3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, pp. 245-247 and Vol. 41, p. 227.

20. To T.R. Neswi¹

New Delhi
May 9, 1958

Dear Shri Neswi,²

I have received your letter of May 8th and read it with interest. With much that you say, I am in agreement, but with some parts of what you have written, I do not agree. But, it is a small matter whether I agree or not. The main thing is that you have decided to embark on an experiment in village living. That I think is an excellent idea.

You refer to the Shri Aurobindo University and suggest that such institutions must be spread all over India. I do not find myself in agreement with you about this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Thimmappa Rudrappa Neswi (b.1900); Parliamentary Secretary to the Government of Bombay, 1937; Vice President, Karnataka Pradesh Congress Committee, 1947; Member, Bombay Legislative Assembly, 1947-51; Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Dharwar South, 1952-62.

21. Preventing Pilferage of Old Statuary¹

It has repeatedly come to my knowledge that valuable old statuary lying about some of our famous old temples, is picked up by anyone who goes there. The houses of many foreign diplomats in Delhi are full of these pieces of statuary, some of them very fine specimens. Can we not do something to prevent this pilferage and to guard all these relics? Surely, they can be collected and put in some shed or other round about all these old temples. I should like you to confer with the Archaeological Department on this subject.²

1. Note to Humayun Kabir, the Union Minister of State for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, New Delhi, 9 May 1958. File No. 40(145)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Humayun Kabir replied on the same day saying that he was asking the Director General of Archaeology to examine the question once again and make recommendations. He wrote that these pieces of statuary were scattered all over the place and unless they were collected and put in a museum, it was almost impossible to prevent occasional pilferage.

22. To J.C. Jain¹

New Delhi
May 10, 1958

Dear Professor Jain,

You met me the other day and told me of how you had suffered because of the unfortunate misunderstanding that had taken place in regard to your appointment as Professor of Prakrit and Jain Learning in the Class I Bihar Educational Service. As you know, this matter has come up before me previously also and I enquired into it fully from the Bihar Government. After this enquiry I came to the conclusion that there was a grave misunderstanding and the decision arrived at was not fair to you. The Chief Minister of Bihar also agreed with me in this matter. Unfortunately it could not be reversed at a later stage as the vacancy had already been filled. Both the Chief Minister and I however feel that you were in no way to blame. Indeed the Chief Minister told me that he hoped that another occasion might arise when it might be possible to offer you a post in Bihar in the Educational Service.

I am writing to you now to make it perfectly clear that there is no adverse opinion about you in Government and we feel that your special knowledge of Prakrit and Jain Learning should be utilised whenever an opportunity offers itself.

I send you my good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

23. To Y.B. Chavan¹

New Delhi
May 10, 1958

My dear Chavan,²

I do not know if you have heard about the case of Professor J.C. Jain. I have been much disturbed about his case and I feel that he has not been treated at all fairly by us or rather by the Bihar Government. Indeed the Chief Minister of Bihar himself feels that way now. The facts of this case are given in the attached note which Professor Jain himself sent me. I think these facts are broadly correct.

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Bombay.

Chiefly because of Professor Jain's association with the India-China Friendship Association, our Intelligence people reported against him that he had communist sympathies. Because of this, at the very last moment, his name was struck off. I think this kind of banning of individuals on vague reports is very undesirable. More particularly it was quite absurd to ban a person because of his association with the India-China Friendship Association of which many of our colleagues have been members.

Anyhow I have done what I could in this matter and the Chief Minister of Bihar is trying to find some suitable post for him. Meanwhile Professor Jain says that his reputation has suffered greatly and he wanted at least some kind of a letter to clear up this misunderstanding. I have therefore written to him and I enclose a copy of it.

I am sending you this letter so that you might help, if necessity arises, to remove any kind of stigma that might be attached to Professor Jain.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

24. To Humayun Kabir¹

New Delhi
May 10, 1958

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of the 9th instant about pieces of statuary lying about.² I realise that it is difficult to collect everything in a museum. What I had suggested was that in particular places a temporary shed might be erected and these pieces should be put there. I had particularly in mind Khajuraho temples, but there must be others too.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(145)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, p. 191.

3. Humayun Kabir replied on 5 June 1958 that the Director General of Archaeology had reported that so far as the protected monuments were concerned, every attempt had been made to stop pilferage of sculptures. Sculpture sheds had been set up near some monuments to house the loose sculptures and local museums had been established at more important monuments. The difficulty was with regard to the unprotected monuments, where the number of sculptures lying about by the road side or under trees in villages was enormous. There was no way of protecting them *in situ* but there could be more intensive surveys to remove pieces of artistic value to a nearby sculpture shed or local museum. Kabir wrote that establishing cultural centres in each Community Project or National Extension Block in cooperation with the Ministry of Community Development would be useful in this situation.

25. To Shri Ranjan¹

New Delhi

May 12, 1958

My dear Shri Ranjan,²

Your letter of the 10th May.³

If you are so anxious about it, you may name the Library after me, though I do not like the idea at all.

I cannot accept any engagement as far ahead as December. I do not know what I shall be doing then and where I shall be.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 9/30/57-PMS.

2. (1899-1969); Reader in Botany, Allahabad University, 1925-1941; General Secretary, the National Academy of Sciences, India, 1939-42; appointed Professor, 1941; appointed Dean, Faculty of Science, twice, 1944-1950 and 1952-1956; Chairman, UP State Board of Agriculture, 1948-1951; Vice Chancellor, Allahabad University, 1958-61 and of Agra University, 1965-68; author of *A Text Book of Plant Physiology*.

3. Ranjan wrote that he was aware of the fact that Nehru did not approve of his name being attached to any building but he argued, "This new Library is no building. It is the soul of the University—a University which you love so much." The University was planning to hold its 70th anniversary in December 1958 and Ranjan hoped that Nehru would address a special Convocation in that connection.

26. To K.L. Shrimali¹

New Delhi

May 16, 1958

My dear Shrimali,

Kakasaheb Kalelkar² came to see me today about his proposed visit to the West Indies. He wanted to extend this to the United States because he had several pressing invitations from there. I have agreed to this as it did not involve much expenditure on his part.³

1. JN Collection.

2. D.B. Kalelkar, an associate of Mahatma Gandhi; social reformer and educationist.

3. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 763-764.

Anyhow, I do not like the idea of anyone calling himself downtrodden because it stands in the way of his progress. At the same time, we must not shut our eyes to the reality either. We must comprehend the problem. Moreover, no race or people can go very far, except by their own effort. It is all very well to provide opportunities or help but that alone will not do unless an individual or community has inner strength. India became free by her own strength and not by the help of others, and India will grow when there is an economic revolution in the country and our big economic problems are solved. We are a poor country and yet we must advance by our own strength. We will certainly accept any help from outside gratefully but that will be only a drop in the ocean. In what does our strength lie? It does not lie in gold or silver but in hard work. We must work hard if we want to increase production from land, industries and cottage industries, etc., which can be converted into gold and silver later on.

You have said that untouchability must be removed. It is obvious that it must be removed and it is gradually going. I have no doubt about that and we must make an effort to get rid of it completely. But the most important thing is to uplift the people because other things will follow automatically. What does that mean? It means making the people educated and, secondly, improving their economic condition. These are the two things which are especially important. Thirdly, everyone should get employment. But that does not mean making reservations and keeping 50 posts here or there for them. Whether posts are reserved or not is a different matter. The essential thing for you is to make yourselves better off by your own effort. Nobody can then stop you.

So, first of all, I would say that proper arrangements for your education must be made and along with it practical training in some field or the other should also be provided because book-learning alone, though essential, is not enough. Our educational system must be improved by including some practical training in some craft. As you know, nowadays education involves some practical work too. It is not purely mental work. India is advancing industrially and small, cottage and heavy industries are coming up very fast. We must train people to work in them. You must remember that the days when government jobs were considered superior are gone. There will have to be government servants, clerks and what not, but now new avenues of employment are opening up, which involve manual work, and our education must lean in that direction. If everyone wants safe government clerical jobs, one cannot go very far. It will be far better for people to train themselves for some useful occupation instead of pushing files the whole day.

We must have confidence in ourselves because that makes us strong. Secondly, we must get rid of feelings of bitterness and hatred. If there is something wrong or unjust, it is natural to feel angry. If a particular section of society is suppressed, it is bound to give rise to anger. But retaliation out of anger will fritter away our energy in useless quarrels. I agree that there are

28. Education Should Develop Broad Outlook¹

The real aim of education is to broaden children's outlook and not to confine it to the contents of the textbooks. The child has to be given education to develop not only physically but also mentally.

I had several occasions to witness the demonstrations of physical training imparted to school children under the scheme² and I am very much impressed and feel that the scheme is beneficial and advantageous to the students in building up their character.

The instructors should impart physical as well as mental training to young children entrusted to their care.³ This mental training is as important as physical training. The mental training is the real foundation on which the character of these children has to be built up. Children can be taught things in schools but the real teaching is to train them to shoulder the responsibilities later in life.

Learning is a continuous process and one has to learn throughout one's life. Mind is a sharp-edged instrument to help the students learn quickly but this process of learning should not stop with the completion of education. In fact, it has to continue throughout the life. Another important thing in education is to make students open-minded. This would lead them to have broad outlook on life and thus the more they learn, the more they will progress and contribute their mite to make the country and nation march forward.

India cannot remain unaffected by changes. Therefore, the students particularly have to keep their minds fresh and understand clearly the developments in the country and also acquaint others with the changes.

This is not to ignore the sources of strength embedded in India's past, because drifting away from the past will make the progress difficult. During the last 40 or 50 years, there have been great changes in the country and this period was greatly influenced by Gandhiji. The young students have to understand this Gandhian era in the history and its fundamental principles.

1. Address to the instructors of the National Discipline Scheme, New Delhi, 17 May 1958. File No. 40(44)/56-63-PMS. Also, printed in *The Hindu*, *National Herald* and other newspapers on 19 May 1958.
2. The National Discipline Scheme—introduced by General J.K. Bhonsle when he was Deputy Minister in the Union Ministry of Rehabilitation in July 1954 and taken over by the Ministry of Education in December 1957—was a general scheme aimed at making the younger generation healthy, both in mind and body, and instilling in them a sense of patriotism, self-reliance, tolerance, self-sacrifice and discipline.
3. About 100 instructors were undergoing training at Faridabad under the Scheme and 300 such instructors were imparting training to over one lakh children in various states at this time. General J.K. Bhonsle was the Director of the Scheme.

In the changing world new solutions have to be found out for ever-pressing new problems. The success of the five-year plans greatly depends on public cooperation. The future of the country depends upon the quality of its people and mere words and promises will not do. The people must have 'character'. Money is helpful in trade and commerce but it is the education which raises the status of a country.

29. Conference of the New Education Fellowship¹

I am inclined to think that it would be worthwhile to encourage the holding of this Conference in India in 1959.² I take it that this means in the last quarter of 1959. The Government of India need not invite the conference. All that they have to say is that they are agreeable to this Conference being held in India.³

Such a conference, more especially with UNESCO's backing, would bring new ideas in the field of education to India. Also a discussion of the Gandhian ways applied to teaching would be helpful to all.

As for expenditure, so far as foreign exchange is concerned, it will bring some foreign exchange to us. I have no idea of how many people are likely to come, but they will no doubt meet their expenses in hotels, except perhaps some special guests. Nevertheless, expenditure will be incurred by us on the Conference and possibly we can arrange some kind of a tour of some delegates to some parts of India. We need not make any commitment at this stage about a grant, but we must keep it in mind that some kind of a grant will have to be given. It is stated in these papers that this will not exceed Rs 100,000.

1. Note to Ministry of Education, New Delhi, 18 May 1958. File No. 40(34)/56-57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. The Conference of the New Education Fellowship was to be held in India from 28 December 1959 to 6 January 1960.
3. A note dated 19 August 1958 by S. Sen, Joint Secretary, MEA, explained that Nehru had approved of holding of the Conference in India. He pointed out that the International NEF in London had issued invitations to all members of UNESCO as per the usual practice and had informed India that they would be willing to consider any adjustment which the Government of India might desire. However, "China (i.e., Formosa), Israel and Korea (i.e., South Korea)" were among the countries invited. Sen wrote that participation of these three countries would present some problems for India. He advised and S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, agreed that India should not take the responsibility for making any suggestion to the NEF as Formosa, Israel and Korea were members of the UNESCO.

30. To S.A. Agadi¹

New Delhi
19th May, 1958

Dear Shri Agadi,²

I have received your letter of the 15th May, 1958.

I should have thought that there was little doubt about our attitudes towards casteism as well as other disruptive tendencies such as communalism, provincialism, linguism, etc. It is obvious, however, that we cannot put an end to all these social customs and tendencies by mere expression of wishes or even by legislation. We should work on all fronts, realising that these deep-rooted social customs take some time to go. We have also to realise that our standards do not fall. This is important as it will be very harmful to the progress of our country if these standards are allowed to fall.

You refer to the Advisory Body of the Sahitya Akademi of the Kannada language. I am not personally acquainted with this and naturally we have to take the advice of those who know. It is possible that this advice is not always quite correct. I did not know that most of the members of this Advisory Body came from the Brahmin community. Unfortunately, I do not know much about the scholars in the Kannada language. I am forwarding your letter to the Sahitya Akademi.

While I agree with you that this question should be approached fairly and without any discrimination, the mere fact of trying to choose people on the caste lines itself brings in this unfortunate element in matters literary. Literature and art and other cultural subjects have to be dealt with on merit alone. It may happen of course that in judging merit, mistakes are made.

You refer to the publication by the Sahitya Akademi of the Kannada novel *Channabasava Nayaka*.³ I am obviously not in a position to express an opinion about a book in Kannada, and I have thus far not read its translation. But I am clearly of opinion that there should be no suppression of any viewpoints in literature simply because we happen to disagree with them. That would be a kind of censorship which is harmful. The fact that a book is controversial is not enough to ban it, provided it is important enough from the literary point of view to be published.

1. File No. 40(7)/57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Sangappa A. Agadi (b.1906); Vice-President, Hyderabad State Congress Committee, 1945-48; Member, Lok Sabha, 1957-62 and 1967-70; Member, Mysore Legislative Council, 1964-67.
3. *Channabasava Nayaka*, the Sahitya Akademi Award-winning Kannada novel written by Masti Venkatesha Iyengar, was a historical novel.

I am a little surprised that you are laying so much stress on different communities and grave injustice being done to one community or another in a matter concerning literature. If this approach is made in literature, quite a number of the world's classics would not have been published at all because some people object to them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

31. To B.V. Keskar¹

New Delhi
May 19, 1958

My dear Balkrishna,

I enclose a letter from Anu Bandyopadhyaya.² I knew her somewhat when she was with Gandhiji. Then I lost touch with her. I met her recently in Bombay and she told me that she was doing some work in connection with the edition of Gandhiji's writings³ which was being brought out.

She was much concerned and exercised over the fact that someone (Haribhai Joshi) had been appointed as Editor of the speeches although his knowledge of English was exceedingly feeble and he could not even spell correctly.

This was a serious charge to make. I told her that she should speak to Jairamdasji⁴ or others.

Now it appears that she has got into some slight trouble because she wrote to me on this subject and I forwarded her note to you. I hope she does not suffer further because she has written to me.

But what I am concerned with is the fact that a person who has been asked to edit Gandhiji's speeches is incapable even of spelling, much less of editing. Surely this is a serious matter and cannot be left to chance. For a work of this kind, one should employ the best scholars and not just a person who may have

1. File No. 2(114)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. (b. 1916); freelance journalist and writer; founded a handloom weaving centre at Suri near Santiniketan; author of *Bahurupi Gandhi* which was translated into six Indian languages.
3. The reference is to the *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, which was being published by the Publications Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.
4. Jairamdas Doulatram was the Chief Editor of *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* from 1956 to 1958.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

done some odd bit of journalistic writing or some such thing. We are undertaking a monumental work in bringing out a collected edition of Gandhiji's writings and speeches. We can take no chances and we must therefore employ the very best persons that we can get. I hope, therefore, that you will personally enquire into the competence of Haribhau Joshi and not take anybody's work for granted.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Keskar replied on 29 May that all suggestions for appointments for editorial staff were made to him by the Chief Editor, Chairman and Secretary of the Advisory Board who was also the Secretary of the Ministry, after mutual consultations. After this the consent of the UPSC was obtained.

32. Extending a Helping Hand to a Tourist-Photographer¹

A certain Mr William H. Eagle came to see me here at Manali. He is an Englishman, over 70 years of age. He told me that he had been in India for four years, visiting archaeological sites, more especially old temples and taking a vast number of pictures and noting down all kinds of measurements and details about them. In fact, he showed me hundreds of pictures which appeared to be good. He said that he had taken over ten thousand such pictures.

2. He has already visited Ajanta, Ellora and Kashmir. He is now going round the various temples in the Kulu Valley and he wants to return to Ajanta.

3. Our Archaeological Department apparently knows about him because he had a letter from the Director General in which the wish was expressed that he would be helped wherever he went. He asked me if Government could help him. I told him that it was not quite clear to me how Government could help, but if he would indicate something, I would refer the matter to the Archaeological Department. He has now sent me a letter, which I enclose. In this he makes a request that he should be allowed to stay at Rest Houses free of charge, he himself paying for the board. This does not seem to be a very big request and I do not know how far this is feasible. The Archaeological Department might consider it and if they think that some little help can be given to him in the work he is doing, this might be arranged.

1. Note to the Archaeological Department, Ministry of Education, Forest Rest House, Manali, 25 May 1958. JN Collection.

4. I do not think any general orders of the kind he requires can be issued. But at any particular place where he is going to, such as the Rest House near the Ajanta Caves, some facilities might be offered to him.

5. I do not know if it is possible for our Archaeological Department to utilise in any way the very large number of pictures that he has taken.

33. To K.L. Shrimali¹

Forest Rest House

Manali

27th May, 1958

My dear Shrimali,

Thank you for your letter of May 26 with which you have sent me a copy of a letter from Dr Sampurnanand.²

Now that there is general agreement that strong steps should be taken in regard to the Banaras Hindu University, I hope that this will be done as soon as possible and certainly sometime before the date of reopening.

You told me once that you did not think it would be proper to publish the report on the Hindu University³ because that would bring great discredit. I do not quite see how you can avoid publishing it. You will have to justify the action we take and the only way to justify it is to publish the report. It will not be good enough just to give extracts from it. I think that we should face the consequences of publishing it. This will give a shock to our people and put them in a mood to accept strong measures. Pantji also told me that he was in favour of its publication. If it is to be published, this should be done at the right moment when we have decided on the measures to be taken.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

3. The 44-page report of the Banaras Hindu University Enquiry Committee, headed by A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, covered various issues including administration, appointments, admissions, inter-related staff members, indiscipline among students, teacher-politicians and group formations, 23 judicial cases involving BHU, etc.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

34. To H.R. Ratna¹

Forest Rest House

Manali

29th May, 1958

Dear Shri Ratna,²

I have received your letter of the 24th May and have read it with interest.

I entirely appreciate what you say about the difficulty of many students in getting books. I think that books should be supplied free to school students or, at any rate, to those who cannot afford them. Ultimately, we should really aim at free compulsory education for all boys and girls from 7 to 14 years, with a free supply of books and stationery. Indeed, I would like to add a free meal also.³ I am afraid, however, that this will take some time, but we must keep this aim in view.

As for your scheme, *prima facie* it appears to be attractive and may well be successful. I do not know how far you will be able to get each student to contribute an extra Rs 1/8 a month for books and stationery. This scheme is worthy of trial.⁴ I am sending it to our Ministry of Education.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(147)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. A teacher in a High School in Kulu.
3. On 30 June 1958, Nehru wrote (not printed) to C. Gopalan, Director, Nutrition Research Laboratories, Coonoor, asking him to send copies of his brochure for low cost balanced diets as well as school lunch programme.
4. Ratna mentioned a cooperative scheme for schools.

35. To B.V. Keskar¹

Manali, Kulu Valley
30th May, 1958

My dear Balkrishna,

Thank you for your letter of May 29.² I am glad you have told me the background which I did not know previously. I quite agree with you that Anu Bandyopadhyaya appears to be slightly unbalanced and much too fond of making complaints. What she apparently said about Morarjibhai was inexcusable.³

I wrote to you on this subject because whenever a complaint comes, I forward it to the Minister or the person concerned. Also because what she said about Joshi was specific.⁴

When I went to Bombay last, I sent for Anu and spoke to her rather harshly.

What guidance can I give you about this matter? If any person makes a complaint, whoever he might be, it should be enquired into provided there appears to be some ground for it. If Anu does not behave properly towards Jairamdas or others,⁵ obviously she will have to go.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2(114)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Keskar drew Nehru's attention to the fact that the publication of Gandhiji's works had been possible only because of an agreement with the Navjivan Trust on two conditions that the work would be done under the supervision of an Advisory Board consisting of 'eminent collaborators of Gandhiji' and that the Navjivan Trust, under the supervision of the Director of Publications Division, would print the Works. Morarji Desai was the Chairman of the Advisory Board. All appointments of editorial staff for the Collected Works were made by the Chairman, the Chief Editor and the Secretary of the Board who was also Secretary of the Ministry, and then put up to Keskar and the consent of the UPSC taken.
3. Keskar wrote that he made thorough enquiries regarding her allegations of partiality, etc., against Morarji Desai and had a talk also with him. Desai told Keskar that he had accepted the chairmanship of the Board "entirely on our insistence" and was prepared to resign if there was the least doubt about his sincerity and impartiality. Keskar informed Nehru that these allegations were entirely without foundation.
4. Regarding Anu Bandyopadhyaya's complaint about Joshi, Keskar clarified that Desai had asked Jairamdas to try Joshi out and keep him if found satisfactory. The Chief Editor, Jairamdas Doulatram, was not likely to keep on any incompetent person, Keskar added.
5. Keskar also wrote that some eminent people like D.G. Tendulkar should have been useful in the Board but "he is not able to function in any body as he is a great individualist and more likely to create controversies and recriminations." Keskar added that it would not be fair to suspect Morarji Desai's competence or impartiality or to interfere in his direction unnecessarily. Keskar expressed the fear that if another such incident occurred, Desai would resign from the chairmanship of the Board and with him the Navjivan Trust was also likely to go out, which practically meant that the work of the Gandhiji's edition would have to be stopped.

36. To Shamoona T. Lokhandwalla¹

Manali, Kulu Valley
30th May, 1958

Dear Shri Lokhandwalla,²

I have received your letter of the 24th May.

It seems to me that after all the work that you have done and the specialisation in some subjects, the most suitable place for you would be in a university where you could teach some subject connected with Islamic History and Law. The subject is certainly an important and interesting one. But the difficulty is that few universities in India at present have got Chairs for that subject. I am sending your letter to our Ministry of Education and asking them if they can help.

So far as our Foreign Service is concerned, your special qualifications will not be utilised fully there. The work in this Service largely consists of political and international problems. We train people in them for years and the Service can only now take in people who have come through the competitive examination and who then get further special training.

I shall be glad to meet you. I am writing this letter from Manali in the Kulu Valley. I shall return to Delhi soon for a few days and then probably come back to Manali. I hope to be in Delhi in the last week of June.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Lokhandwalla taught Islamic Law and History at Edinburgh University.

3. Nehru wrote to K.L. Shrimati on the same day asking him for suggestions regarding what could be done about Lokhandwalla.

37. To Durgabai Deshmukh¹

New Delhi
May 31, 1958

My dear Durgabai,

On my return today from Manali, I have received your letter of the 30th May.² You have, of course, all my good wishes in the new and important work that you are undertaking.

I have been feeling more and more lately that we should lay greater stress on the foundations of education, that is, primary education for boys and girls. From the long term point of view, it is only then that we can make much progress at the other stages. But the other stages obviously are important.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(146)/58-72-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Durgabai Deshmukh, who had been appointed Chairman of the National Committee on Women's Education, wrote that according to the terms of reference the Committee covered a very wide field. She sought Nehru's blessings "to undertake this huge task".

38. Responsibilities of Writers¹

I send my good wishes to the All Punjab Writers' Convention² which is going to be held at Nabha soon. I am particularly glad to notice that this convention will be a bilingual one. Indeed, I would have suggested that it should be a trilingual one, that is, it should include in its scope Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu. Urdu is after all still a very widespread and popular language in the Punjab and it should be nourished.

I am also glad to know that this Writers' Convention will throw its weight against the unfortunate communal trends in the Punjab.

Writers have a special responsibility always, but even more so in the present state of our country. They have to give a lead in the right direction. I hope that the Nabha Convention will give this lead.

1. Message to All Punjab Writers' Convention, New Delhi, 6 June 1958. File No. F9/2/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Held on 8 June 1958.

39. To S.N. Bose¹

New Delhi
June 6, 1958

My dear Professor Bose,

Thank you for your letter of June 3rd.

So far as Rabindra-Sadana is concerned, I do not think we need to worry about any separate donation from Government for the purpose. I have no doubt that Government will make an adequate contribution towards the celebration of the Tagore Centenary. This will be helpful to us in many ways and it is likely to include some provision for Rabindra Sadana. But, quite apart from Government contribution, I am quite sure that we shall have enough money from public donations for Rabindra-Sadana. It is obvious that we must have some such museum and picture gallery.²

What the form of separate trust might be and its relation to the University will, of course, have to be considered by the Executive Council and the Court.

It is clear that the two urgent building necessities are: (1) an administrative block to enable the University to vacate the Udayana buildings, and (2) Rabindra-Sadana. I think that we can go ahead with both these and not wait for adequate funds to be in hand before we begin. We have got something in hand and more can easily come. You have said that the master plan will be ready soon. As soon as we have passed this, we can go ahead with part of it. I am sure that this itself will encourage donors.

I am glad you are going to visit the Royal Society in London.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Earlier Nehru wrote (not printed) to S.N. Bose, Vice Chancellor of Visva-Bharati, on 29 May 1958 that Kshitish Roy, Curator of Rabindra-Sadana (the University's Museum and academy for study of Tagore's works) had prepared a draft scheme for its reorganisation. Nehru had received some more proposals in this regard from Nripendra Chandra Mitra, Anil Kumar Chanda and Chief Justice S.R. Das, which he forwarded to S.N. Bose. Nehru wrote that drawing up of a full scheme and beginning the work, with whatever funds were available, would help greatly in attracting further contributions.

40. To K.L. Shrimali¹

New Delhi
June 6, 1958

My dear Shrimali,

Your letter of June 5th with which you have sent an aide memoire from Shri Fyzee, Vice Chancellor of the Jammu and Kashmir University.²

I think that some of his complaints are justified, though perhaps not all of them. It is unfortunate that he has not got on at all with Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad.³ Also, that Bakhshi Sahib is perhaps not too much interested in University education.

We cannot, and should not, make the Srinagar University a Central University. To what extent we can help it-out of central funds, I do not know. But, I would rather hesitate in giving any large sums before we are satisfied about conditions in Kashmir and how this money would be spent. Apart from this, it would be desirable for us to help the University.

As for our issuing a directive to Bakhshi Sahib to establish personal relations with Fyzee, this is rather an odd request. I do think that Bakhshi Sahib has not treated him well. I have had this report from other sources too. I am writing to Bakhshi Sahib on the subject, but I am afraid my letter will not be of any great help in this matter.

I fear that Fyzee will not be able to continue there. You were right in asking him to remain there for the time being.

I enclose a copy of a letter I am sending to Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(55)/58-69-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. A.A.A. Fyzee had written that a strong, flourishing university, creating an atmosphere of independence and intellectual activity, was of extreme importance for the successful implementation of the legal fact of Kashmir's accession to India. However, the subsidy given by India was spent on things like rice, roads and buildings, etc., and not on the development of mind and culture. He complained that neither financial resources nor government cooperation was forthcoming for his university and Chief Minister Bakhshi considered him to be "a Pakistani agent", a critic of the government and an "enemy" of Kashmir, allegations which were untrue. He added that the Government of India should provide Rs 30 lakhs in three years to the university or make it a central university or else direct Bakhshi to ensure cooperation, otherwise it would not be possible for him to continue as Vice Chancellor after December 1958.
3. Prime Minister of Jammu & Kashmir.

41. To A.A.A. Fyzee¹

New Delhi
June 6, 1958

My dear Fyzee,

Your letter of June 2nd. I am distressed by what you have written and find it difficult to advise you. It is certainly very odd for the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir to treat you in the manner you have reported. I can talk to him about this when he comes here, but we cannot issue directives about social relations.

You suggest that some kind of a conference should be held in Delhi to discuss the affairs of the University. The first problem to be solved, however is not the internal affairs of the University, but rather how far it can carry on properly in present circumstances. The question of help to it from the University Grants Commission can be discussed with the Chairman, Shri C.D. Deshmukh.

I agree with you, however, that we should aim at some clarification about the relationship of the University and the Government and the future of the University. For this no large conference is necessary. I shall certainly discuss this matter with Bakhshi Sahib when he comes here.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(55)/58-69-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

42. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi
June 6, 1958

My dear Bakhshi,

It is evident that you have been having a gala time in Srinagar during the Festival.² I have reports of this from my sister.³ There are many matters about which I should like to talk to you, though there is no hurry about it. When you come to Delhi next and if I am here then, I hope to discuss these various matters.

1. File No. 40(55)/58-69-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. The reference probably is to the annual festival held at the famous Kheer Bhawani temple in May-June. Situated at Tullamula, about 25 kilometres from Srinagar, the temple is dedicated to Ragnya Devi, one of the many incarnations of Goddess Durga.

3. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Indian High Commissioner to the UK. She was vacationing in Kashmir at this time.

For the present, I am writing to you about your University and the Vice Chancellor, Fyzee. I learn from our Education Ministry that the Srinagar University is not flourishing at all. This is unfortunate. I realise the demands on your finances and the difficulty you must have to find money for the University. But, in the final analysis, a country progresses only by the quality of its people, and quality is supposed to come by education. If there are not enough trained and qualified persons, a country is a second-rate or a third-rate country. Therefore, education is important, and a university has to be carefully nurtured.

It is not so much money in large sums that is needed as an intimate interest which creates a feeling that importance is attached to it.

I have been told by Vijaya Lakshmi that you do not like Fyzee and that you hardly ever meet him. In fact, that you have made it quite clear that you dislike him and probably even suspect him in some way. I have been very sorry to hear this. Fyzee has certainly some angularities, and he is apt to irritate occasionally by his ways. But I have found him to be a man of integrity and a man of scholarship, and I have respected him for this. Even if you have any complaints about him, surely you should meet him and have a talk with him about them. It is hardly fair to base your opinion about him on vague rumours.

If ultimately you do not want Fyzee to remain there, of course, he will leave. Indeed, he has indicated as such, because he feels that he is not being made use of in the University.

It is not easy to get good Vice Chancellors. They have to be not only scholars and educationists, but should have some administrative experience. Above all, there should be persons who can enthuse the students in their work.

After another four days, I am going again to Manali in the Kulu Valley for a ten-day period of rest.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

43. To Humayun Kabir¹

Manali, Kulu Valley
18th June, 1958

My dear Humayun,²

Your letter of the 16th June in which you mention a proposal to have a buffet dinner on the lawns of the Qutab Minar.

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of State for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.

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I would have no objection to a simple tea party being given on the lawns of the Qutab, naturally in the afternoon. But I do not at all approve of the proposal to have a dinner and a ball there. I think that from any artistic point of view the idea of a western ball in the surroundings of the Qutab would be wholly out of keeping. Further, I would take strong exception to wines and spirits being served at such a function in the Qutab area. I am sure the public would object to it also.

Further, as you have pointed out in your letter, this might well become a precedent for other international conferences and the like. A buffet and a ball, etc., would require a great deal of organisation, lighting up, etc., and I have no doubt that this would interfere with the Qutab and might even do some damage.

I would, therefore, suggest to you to say in reply to the request made that we regret we cannot agree to the proposal made for a dinner, ball, etc., at the Qutab. We would be agreeable, however, to an afternoon tea party there. I would not have any objection to some Indian dancing being organised there on that occasion. Folk dancing would fit in there better than our classical dancing.

As for a costume pageant, I have no particular objection, but I am definitely of opinion that the proper place to show such a pageant is not the Qutab and in the daytime. These costumes show off much better with proper lighting at night. We have had such pageants at the Ashoka Hotel and they were successful. Indian classical dancing also would show off better at night in a properly lighted hall.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

44. To Syed Nausher Ali¹

Manali, Kulu Valley
20th June, 1958

Dear Syed Nausher Ali,²

Your letter of the 17th June has reached me here at Manali. You begin this letter by saying that you intend to publish the correspondence. Your object evidently thus is not so much to discuss a subject with me but rather to give some publicity to your own viewpoint. That is hardly a way to carry on any correspondence.

1. JN Collection.

2. Member, Bengal Legislative Council, 1956-62.

Your letter is a tirade against our Government's policy and to some extent against me. It would hardly be becoming for me to speak about myself and it is my misfortune that you have formed an unfavourable opinion about me. But so far as our Government's policies are concerned, your letter shows so much ignorance of them and of what has happened in India during the last few years that it becomes a little difficult for me to try to educate you in such matters.

I would probably have not troubled you with a reply but for one statement that you have made which I think deserves a reply. You say that some people have said that "India has become independent after a thousand years of foreign rule". I do not know of any responsible person who has said this. Certainly, in my opinion, such a statement, if made, is completely wrong. It is true that there were foreign invasions of India on a number of occasions. If, however, the foreign invader settled down in India and made India his home, and had no outside base or support, then India was not dependent on any other country. It is true that many of these invaders became, in the course of time, absorbed in India and India became their homeland, whether they were Muslims or others. Religion should not make any difference to this. A ruler may be autocratic or even tyrannical or he may be a good ruler. In neither event does the country become dependent on an outside authority. I think it is perfectly correct to say that during a period, such as the period of Mughal rule in India, the country was certainly independent and under the rule of Indians, whether they were Muslims or non-Muslims.

For the first time in the history of India, the seat of authority for any length of time remained outside India when British rule was established here. This was not a question of the rulers being Christians, but the real change was that authority rested elsewhere with another country, namely, Great Britain. On the removal of British power in India, independence was re-established in India and the seat of authority was in India. A further and a vital change of course took place with this. The authority was not autocratic or based in law or effective on any group, religious or other, but was democratic, drawing its power and authority from the people as a whole.

You refer to caste. You should know that our Constitution does not approve of this and in fact we are opposed to it. It is true, however, that social customs cannot be abolished suddenly by law. But it is equally true that caste has no political significance today and will inevitably disappear with the growth of education and rising economic standards. In local areas, there are caste conflicts and some local caste may have predominance.

Most of your other remarks are based so much on ignorance that it is difficult for me to deal with them. People, whether in India or abroad, who have studied the developments in this country during the last ten years, have expressed their great surprise at the marked progress made by this country in spite of great difficulties. It might perhaps be profitable for you to compare what has happened

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in India during the past ten years with what has happened in all the neighbouring countries of India which gained their independence about the same time. You will then perhaps realise that India has done not only far better than these countries, but has laid strong foundations of future progress, which are largely absent in these other countries.

You refer to socialism and the socialist pattern of society. I am afraid that your knowledge of socialism, what it is, and how it is gradually built up in an underdeveloped country, is very limited.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

45. To Partap Singh Kairon¹

Manali, Kulu Valley
20th June, 1958

My dear Partap Singh,²

I have come across here one of the teachers in the Government High School at Kulu. His name is H.R. Ratna, BA, BT.³ He struck me as a man of ideas and considerable enthusiasm. He has certain cooperative schemes for the schools but what interested me more are his schemes to develop a certain area with the cooperation of the villagers. In particular, he has spoken to me about a village in district Kangra.

I think a man of this kind deserves encouragement and opportunities to test his ideas. It is true that sometimes such men run away with their ideas and they might not always be quite practical. But then most of our people have no ideas at all and little enthusiasm. Such a man, if given an opportunity in connection with community development or in some other connected way, might well prove useful. But it will probably do little good to put him under somebody else who does not think according to him.

1. File No. 40(147)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Punjab.

3. See also *ante*, p. 202.

I am merely drawing your attention to this man. He has given me a note on the way he wants to work. I am taking this note with me and I shall show it to S.K.Dey.⁴ Perhaps you might ask your Minister dealing with community development⁵ to get in touch with H.R. Ratna and ask him for his proposals. When you come this way, I suggest that you might send for him and have a talk with him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

- 4. Union Minister of State for Community Development.
- 5. Gian Singh Rarewala was Minister of Community Development in the Punjab Government.

46. To Anil K. Chanda¹

Manali, Kulu Valley
22nd June, 1958

My dear Anil,²

I have your letter of the 20th June and I am glad that you agree with me, or rather I agree with you, in regard to a proposal to have some kind of compulsory service for young men and young women.³

If this principle is accepted, then we can try to work it out. I think that we should keep the two ideas separate. One is to apply this to university graduates, etc. The other is to apply it to everybody, in theory to begin with, though in practice it will have to be limited.

While the first proposal is desirable, the second has certain advantages which you yourself have pointed out about various classes mixing together and living together. As a matter of fact, if we have this kind of compulsory service, many of our students and youth league camps, etc., on which we spend a good deal of money, could be incorporated with it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

- 1. File No. 2(260)/58-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
- 2. Union Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply.
- 3. Chanda had referred to Nehru's fortnightly letter to Chief Ministers dated 9 June 1958 on this issue (see *post*, pp. 798-799). Chanda also mentioned his suggestions made eight years ago during a debate in the Lok Sabha for making it compulsory for undergraduate students to obtain a certificate either from the National Cadet Corps or from the University or a recognised authority for having rendered social service.

47. To Tarasankar Banerjee¹

New Delhi
June 23, 1958

Dear Tarasankarji,²

Thank you for your letter of the 19th June which I received today on my return to Delhi.³ I received some little time ago the joint letter which you and Mulk Raj Anand⁴ sent. I am glad to learn of the impressions you formed in Moscow about the proposed Writers' Conference to be held at Tashkent. I have little doubt that the Soviet writers would like to deal with this matter on the literary level and not to bring in politics. But sometimes, in spite of their wishes, politics creeps in. However, that should not prevent us from taking part in such conferences and, as you know, when this matter was referred to me I agreed.

I noted with interest that the scope of the conference has been extended to writers from African countries. But I was a little surprised at the fact that Morocco was left out, though Algeria and even the Cameroons were included. Algeria should of course be included, but it is odd to leave out Morocco.

1. File No. 40(7)/57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Tarasankar Banerjee (aka, Bandyopadhyaya) (1898-1971); Bengali novelist; participated in the Non-Cooperation Movement; President, Anti-Fascist Writers' Association, 1941 and Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan, Kanpur, 1944; Member, Legislative Council, West Bengal, 1952-60; received Sahitya Akademi Award, 1956 and Jnanpith Award for his novel *Ganadebata* in 1966; represented India at the Asian Writers' Conference at Tashkent, 1958; President, All India Writers' Conference, Madras, 1959; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1960-66; Fellow, Sahitya Akademi, 1969; wrote more than 40 books, including *Rasakal*, *Kalindi*, *Kabi*, *Dui-Purush*, *Hansulibanker Upakatha*, *Arogya Niketan*, and *Bicharak*.
3. Banerjee had attended in Moscow the preparatory committee meeting of the Asian Writers' Conference, scheduled to be held in October 1958 in Tashkent, for which writers from African countries were also being invited. He wrote to Nehru that there was hardly anything political about the conference and it was really a get-together of literary men from two continents for purely literary and intellectual exchange and goodwill. He added that Mulk Raj Anand and he had written to Nehru earlier that though they had been empowered to select the Indian delegates, everything should be done with the advice and cooperation of the Sahitya Akademi. He also informed Nehru that Soviet writers had promised to celebrate suitably the Rabindranath Tagore centenary.
4. (1905-2004); well-known Indian writer in English, notable for his depiction of the lives of the poorer castes in Indian society; one of the pioneers of Indo-Anglian fiction and one of the first India-based writers in English to gain an international readership; received Sahitya Akademi Award for his work *Morning Face*; other works include: *The Village*, *Across the Black Waters*, *The Sword and the Sickle*, *Coolie*, and *The Private Life of an Indian Prince*.

You have suggested in your letter that the Sahitya Akademi should be directly associated in some form with this Tashkent Conference. I consulted Dr Radhakrishnan⁵ about this today. Both he and I feel that this would be a new departure for the Sahitya Akademi. We have not thus far been associated in any conference outside India or sent delegations to it. A decision to participate in outside conferences would be a major decision, involving certain responsibilities for the future. We should not like to do this rather casually in this case and at this stage. As you know, Mulk Raj Anand and you have been empowered to convene a preparatory committee for the selection of the Indian delegation. Where would the Sahitya Akademi come in at this stage?

Both Dr Radhakrishnan and I felt that at this stage we should not raise this question of the Sahitya Akademi being formally associated with this Tashkent Conference. This does not mean of course that members of the Sahitya Akademi cannot go to it or that we have any lack of goodwill for this conference.

I am glad to learn of the possibility of the celebration of the Rabindra centenary in the Soviet Union.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Vice-President of India and Vice-President of Sahitya Akademi.

48. To Humayun Kabir¹

New Delhi
June 25, 1958

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of the 25th June about the dinner which Air-India International wish to organise. I do not know about the particular ruins which you mention. I have no objection to the dinner taking place there if they are found suitable.²

I have also your other letter of today's date about Indian students in England. We should certainly give thought to the question of breaking their contracts, but the difficulty would be that they are prepared to pay any penalty attached.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. See also *ante*, pp. 209-210.

49. A Tribute to Saghar Nizami¹

I am happy to pay my tribute to the work of our poet, Saghar Nizami.² A quarter of a century ago or more, his Urdu poems attracted attention both by their language and their content. There was sweetness and melody in them, and the fire of youth and a certain simplicity and a modern approach in his themes. He brought about a certain happy combination of Urdu and Hindi, and while retaining many of the conventional styles, yet gave them a new trend.

I am glad that even after this lapse of time, he retains something of that old spirit and that our language is being further enriched by him. I hope he will continue to do so for many years to come.

1. New Delhi, 26 June 1958. JN Collection.

2. Mohammad Samad Yar Khan alias Saghar Nizami (1905-1984); literary journalist and poet; participated in the Non-Cooperation Movement, 1921; author of *Shahabiyat*, *Samundar ki Devi*, *Tahzeeb ki Sarguzasht*, *Subuhi*, *Rang Mahal*, *Maujo-Sahal*, *Shakuntala*, *Nehrunama* and *Mashaale Azadi*.

50. To Humayun Kabir¹

New Delhi
June 27, 1958

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of the 27th June about the Salar Jung Museum at Hyderabad.² This Museum, as you say, is a remarkable affair. It contains some very fine and valuable pieces. It also contains a good deal of junk.

Anyhow, I have no doubt that it would be desirable to consider it a national museum and take it over. I hope you are not compelled to keep the junk in it also in future. I agree with your proposal.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(148)/58-60 PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Humayun Kabir had drawn Nehru's attention to the Salar Jung Museum at Hyderabad, which was set up as a private museum to preserve the art objects and other curios of Salar Jung III, the Prime Minister of Hyderabad from 1912 to 1914. Nehru had inaugurated the museum on 16 December 1951. Citing the dilapidated condition of the Museum in which an "amazing collection with some of the finest specimens of art and craftsmanship" were preserved, Kabir wanted the Government to take it over and convert it into a national museum.

3. The Union Government took over the museum and the adjoining library in 1960 and by enacting the Salar Jung Museum Act, 1961, it was declared an "Institution of National Importance". The Museum was shifted to its current premises in 1968.

51. To Pitambar Pant¹

New Delhi
June 30, 1958

My dear Pitambar,²

You may have seen, in one of my fortnightlies, a suggestion I made about compulsory service for every person in India, subject to health of course, between certain ages, say, 19 to 22.³ The period, I think, should be a year, but perhaps it may be reduced to six months to begin with. The idea was that we should have the equivalent of compulsory military service, but for social purposes, plus a certain amount of drill, physical training, etc.

Apart from other considerations, there is the question of finance. I have no idea what this will amount to. I should like the camps for training to be under military officers, to impart a sense of discipline. Other parts of training would be by civilians. One object of this is that people of all classes and grades mix together and live together and go through the same course. Of course, there is the difficulty of some of them being educated, others half-educated and others not educated at all. Again, there will be young men and young women. All this will require careful consideration. But, some parts of the training, like drill, physical training and manual work, should be common. The intellectual part probably will have to vary.

While I should like the law to apply to everybody, or rather we should have the right to call upon everybody, we shall not be able to deal with this mass of people to begin with, and the expenditure might be too much. We might, therefore, call upon a limited number to begin with. We have at present all manner of odd camps for which Government pays. It will be possible to absorb them in this training.

I should like you to work out how many people are likely to come within the age limits suggested. These figures might be given for each age limit, say, 19, 20, 21 and 22, men and women separately. We might begin with a hundred thousand and, perhaps, it is better to deal with the men first.

There is another way of limiting these numbers to begin with, by applying the rule to high schools and colleges. The actual figure of people undergoing training in the NCC at present would be helpful.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2(260)/58-70-PMS.
2. Head of the Perspective Planning Division of the Planning Commission.
3. See *post*, pp. 798-799.

III. LANGUAGE ISSUE

1. The Status of Urdu¹

The President received a deputation yesterday from the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu Hind.² He has sent me a note on the discussion that took place.³ I am sending this note of his with all the attached papers that he has sent me. From the President's note, it would appear that he thinks that some action should be taken by Government in this matter.

2. Personally, I think that this is an important matter which has exercised the minds of a large number of people in India. There can be no doubt that there is a feeling among them that justice has not been done and that in fact the provisions of the Constitution have not been carried out. More than four years ago the Anjuman presented a representation to the President signed by 2,050,000 adults of UP.⁴ Apparently no answer has been sent to them formally at least to

1. Note to Govind Ballabh Pant, the Union Minister of Home Affairs, 30 April 1958. File No. 19/10/58-SR(R), MHA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. A 17-member deputation led by Colonel B.H. Zaidi, Vice Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University and President Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu Hind, submitted a representation to President Rajendra Prasad in which they referred to their earlier memorandum dated 15 February 1954 regarding the status of Urdu language, and another one submitted by Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu (Bihar) in Patna on 24 February 1956. According to the delegation, most of the disabilities of the Urdu-speaking people still continued. Their demand was that directives be issued under Article 347 of the Constitution to the Governments of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab and Delhi that Urdu be officially recognised throughout these territories for purposes of (i) providing adequate facilities for instruction and examination in Urdu language at primary and secondary levels; (ii) ensuring publication of important laws, rules, regulations and notifications in Urdu and acceptance of documents in Urdu in courts and offices; (iii) recognising Urdu as the medium of examination in all competitive examinations for the public services; (iv) rendering financial assistance to institutions of higher learning in Urdu; and (v) ensuring broadcasts of news, talks, features, plays, etc., in Urdu from AIR.
3. Colonel Zaidi, Dr H.N. Kunzru, Dr Tara Chand, Pandit Sunder Lal and some others took part in a short discussion with President Rajendra Prasad regarding their demands. Rajendra Prasad noted that the deputation wanted recognition of Urdu "not as a regional language but only as a language of a minority" and added that it should be easy to take effective steps to satisfy their legitimate demands. However, the memorandum called Urdu "the common heritage of the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and others" and wanted the benefits of a "linguistic minority" for Urdu-speaking-people under Article 350-A of the Constitution of India.
4. For Nehru's reaction to it, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 25, pp. 91-92.

this representation. Other representations have also been made since then in other States.

3. I think that this matter should be considered by Cabinet and a definite decision should be taken.

2. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
May 17, 1958

My dear Pantji,

After the resolution of the Congress Working Committee the other day in regard to languages and, more particularly, its direction that Urdu be treated as a regional language in areas where it is prevalent,² I think we should immediately declare Urdu as the regional language of Delhi State. I had written to you previously on this subject and you had replied saying that in effect this was so. Nevertheless, I think that a formal declaration is now needed. In fact some people have asked me since the Working Committee resolution when such a declaration is going to be made.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. The CWC adopted a resolution on 'National Languages' on May 1958. The resolution noted that though Urdu was the mother tongue of a very large number of people and was widely used, it was not 'the majority language at present in any State', however it was recognised as the State language in the Jammu and Kashmir State and as a regional language in parts of Andhra State. The resolution acknowledged that Urdu had its origin in India and was widely known in Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab and some other parts of the country. The large number of newspapers, periodicals and new books coming out in Urdu demonstrated its vitality. The CWC recommended that facilities should be provided for instruction and examination in the Urdu language up to the secondary stage to all children whose mother tongue was Urdu; arrangements should be made for the training of teachers and for providing suitable text-books in Urdu; documents in Urdu should be accepted by all courts and offices without translation and transliteration in any other language or script, and petitions and representations in Urdu should also be accepted; important laws, rules, regulations should be issued in the Urdu language in the regions specified for this purpose, and in other ways, encouragement should be given to the development of the Urdu language.

3. To Sampurnanand¹

New Delhi
May 19, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,²

I was very glad that the Working Committee passed a resolution on national languages at its last meeting with your full concurrence. Unfortunately, owing to a peculiar set of circumstances, the question of Urdu has become a political and communal question, which should never have been allowed to become that. As you pointed out, there was much exaggeration on both sides.

The fact, however, remains that this question of Urdu has become one of great importance from the political point of view. I think that culturally it is important also. But, for the moment, I am worried about the political consequences. It has been one of the most powerful organs in Pakistan against India. In Kashmir, this has also been used by our opponents with effect. Broadly speaking, it may be said that, rightly or wrongly, the vast majority of Muslims in India have felt distressed and frustrated because they thought that Urdu was not being given a fair chance. I have no doubt that, from the political point of view, this has injured the cause of the Congress greatly.

Realising this, the Communist Party, the Praja Socialist Party and even Master Tara Singh³ have held aloft the standard of Urdu. For us it has become a question not only of doing the right thing and the just thing, but also the politically correct thing. I have no doubt that if we had not pulled ourselves now, our cause would have suffered greatly. Some weeks ago, the President received a deputation favouring Urdu. Previously, he had received other deputations who had presented a vast number of signed forms to him from UP and Bihar especially. The President thereupon referred this matter to me and wanted the Government to consider it. He wrote a note expressing his own views in favour of our accepting the proposals made by the deputation.⁴ This matter, therefore, is on the agenda of our Cabinet and is likely to be considered by it in the course of the next two weeks or so. Fortunately, the Working Committee's decision has clarified matters.

I see from some press messages from Lucknow appearing in the newspapers that some people in Lucknow wish to tone all this down on the plea that

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

3. A prominent Akali leader.

4. See *ante*, pp. 218-219.

everything has already been done for Urdu and nothing more is necessary.⁵ Whether this is true or not, any such impression is likely to do a good deal of harm. I think that we should deal with this matter with clarity and grace and not reluctantly and with qualifications. The Working Committee resolution made it clear that Urdu should be treated as a regional language in areas where it was prevalent. Among the areas mentioned especially were Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Punjab. It is rather odd that it should be considered a regional language in the Telengana part of Andhra Pradesh but not in the home of Urdu.

You will remember that the original demand has been for Urdu to be made a State language of UP and perhaps of some other States also. The question now, however, is something less, that is, a regional language in areas or parts of States where it is widely prevalent. I hope, therefore, that your Government will announce this and declare Urdu a regional language for those areas of UP where it is prevalent. Elsewhere also, of course, it will have the normal privileges of a minority language.

I am leaving tomorrow morning for Manali in the Kulu Valley.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. A section of the people in Lucknow reacted sharply to the resolution of the Congress Working Committee regarding facilities to be given to 'minority languages' in general and Urdu in particular. They strongly objected to Urdu being given the status of a second official language. Furthermore, at a meeting held at Lucknow on 17 May 1958, which was attended by Chief Minister Sampurnanand and his Cabinet Ministers, it was claimed that the UP Government had already provided all facilities for the instruction and use of Urdu.

4. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
June 9, 1958

My dear Pantji,

You will remember my sending you, a good long time ago, a representation on Urdu, which the President had forwarded to me. We have to send some answer to this or rather to make some recommendation to the President. I had suggested to you that this might be put up before the Cabinet in some form or other.

1. JN Collection.

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Meanwhile, the Working Committee has passed a resolution covering that ground to a considerable extent. How far that resolution is going to be acted upon by State Governments, I do not know. Newspaper reports are not very satisfactory, and the plea is often advanced that, in fact, everything is being done for Urdu. That surely is far from satisfactory.

In any event, it is desirable for the Cabinet to lay down its policy precisely. I hope, therefore, that the matter will be put up by the Home Ministry before the Cabinet.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
June 10, 1958

My dear Pantji,

Thank you for your letter of June 9th,² which I have just received this evening. This deals with the language problem of Delhi, particularly with reference to Urdu. I have rather rapidly read through the note attached to your letter.³

1. File No. 40(132)/57-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Pant had written that the composition of the population of Delhi had changed over the years and about five per cent of the people would return Urdu as their mother tongue. However, he was not quite sure whether declaring Urdu as the regional language of Delhi State "at the present moment would be opportune and advantageous." He was worried about the way different languages had come to be identified with particular religious groups and was anxious to avoid adding any complication to such a delicately balanced situation.
3. The note attached to Pant's letter referred to the report of the Language Advisory Committee, Delhi State, which was generally approved by the Delhi Cabinet and was forwarded to the Government of India in October 1956. Soon after, Delhi ceased to be a State under the States reorganisation process and a final decision was held over for a more opportune time. Meanwhile, a deputation of the Delhi Hindi Sahitya Sammelan led by V.K.R.V. Rao, Vice Chancellor, University of Delhi, met Pant demanding recognition of Hindi as the official language of Delhi. And a deputation of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu Hind had submitted a memorandum to President Rajendra Prasad (see *ante*, p. 218). The note suggested certain arrangements to meet the demands of the Anjuman except the recognition of Urdu as a medium of examination for recruitment to public services, and publication of important laws in Urdu. The Congress Working Committee also adopted a resolution on 15 May 1958 to encourage Urdu.

In your letter, you say that the number of persons who would return Urdu as their mother tongue is but a very small percentage of the population of Delhi, being perhaps not more than five per cent. I am surprised at this. I cannot, of course, say how many people would return Urdu as their mother tongue, but I have no doubt that the actual Urdu-knowing people in Delhi are probably more than the Hindi-knowing people. One simple test is the circulation of newspapers in Hindi and Urdu. That is a good test. My impression is that the circulation of Urdu newspapers in Delhi is greater than that of Hindi newspapers.

But, the actual figures apart, there can be no doubt whatever that, in the city of Delhi, the language spoken is what is normally called Urdu, far more than Hindi, and further that the Urdu script is used to a very large extent, whatever the percentage of that might be. Thirdly, there is tremendous sentiment on this point in Delhi especially, which has been the birthplace and home of Urdu.

You refer to difficulties and communal passions and the possibility that the claims of Gurmukhi might be advanced. I realise that in India, as it is constituted, communal claims can always be advanced. But, for anyone to consider Gurmukhi on a level with Urdu in Delhi has little justification. This is not a question of the number of Muslims in Delhi, but of the language of Delhi which is used and loved by large numbers of persons. I would, without the least hesitation, face any communal trouble over this issue rather than do a manifest injustice.

Further, it is not a question of Delhi alone, but Delhi, in so far as Urdu is concerned, is a symbol for all India and for more than India. I have no doubt that we shall commit a grievous error if we do not do full justice to Urdu here and elsewhere.

The Language Advisory Committee of Delhi State made a very definite recommendation in regard to Urdu.⁴ If we do not accept that recommendation, we shall put ourselves completely in the wrong. I am not much impressed by what Sardar Gurmuikh Nihal Singh has written.⁵ I would be willing, if necessity arises, to give certain facilities to Punjabi, but I see no reason why Urdu should suffer because of the fear of Punjabi.

In the note attached, some reference is made in paragraph 8 to the opinion of the Ministry of Law and it is stated that, according to them, the provisions of

4. The Language Advisory Committee of Delhi State, constituted in May 1955 under Yudhvir Singh, Minister of Health, Delhi State, recommended that (a) Hindi should be adopted as the language of Delhi State for all official purposes, and that (b) Urdu might be recognised as a regional language for public purposes.
5. While forwarding the report of the Language Advisory Committee in October 1956 to Union Home Minister G.B. Pant, Gurmuikh Nihal Singh, the then Chief Minister of Delhi, noted that he personally felt that Punjabi written in Gurmukhi script should be accorded the status of a regional language like Urdu. He wrote that "more than 50 per cent of the population in Delhi now consists of Punjabi-speaking persons."

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Chapter 2 dealing with regional languages have no application to Union Territories.⁶ With great respect for the Ministry of Law, I think this is rather nonsensical. Anyhow, whatever legal interpretation might be, the fact is that our language policy in the Constitution and elsewhere is based on certain logical approaches in regard to any area. If an area has a language which can be called regional language, the fact that it has become the Union Territory does not change the linguistic habits of the people.

The Congress Working Committee resolution has been quoted, but that part of it dealing with Urdu being a regional language has apparently been left out. That was the essence of that resolution.

As I wrote to you, we have to advise the President on the memorandum received by him from a deputation some time ago in regard to Urdu. For the last two years, they have been demanding an answer in terms of the Constitution. We shall have to give some answer.

You know that I feel rather strongly over this question of Urdu. This is not a personal matter or a sentimental matter. It is, I think, of vital significance for our future.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. The paragraph read: "...and as the official purposes of the Union must include purposes of administration of a Union Territory, the Constitution does not contemplate adoption of a language other than English or Hindi for any Union Territory. The expression 'regional language' occurs in the Constitution only in the heading of Chapter II of Part XVII which relates specifically to States."

6. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

Manali, Kulu Valley
12th June, 1958

My dear Pantji,

On the eve of my departure from Delhi, I received your letter and a note on the question of language, more particularly Urdu in Delhi State. I sent you a rather hurried reply.² I have been thinking about this matter a good deal since then and I feel that I should write to you more fully on this subject.

As you know, I am much concerned about this matter. But it is not my concern or my strong feelings about it that should necessarily lead us to a

1. JN Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

decision. We have to find out what the right decision is from various points of view. My own mind has been quite clear on this subject. It is not a new question for us. In various forms and ways we have considered this question of language for the last 30 years or more. It is true that during this period many far-reaching changes have taken place and a decision taken previously need not necessarily hold good now or, at any rate, it should be considered afresh. I do not personally think that the major changes that have taken place have affected the basic principle which guided us previously and on which Gandhiji laid so much stress. I have lately been reading some of Gandhiji's old letters and papers in this connection and I have noted afresh the great importance he attached to a proper approach to the question of language and, more particularly to Urdu. He looked upon it not merely from the linguistic point of view but much more so in relation to the true foundations of our national life which we are endeavouring to lay. With his usual foresight, he realised that this question of language was of vital importance. It aroused passions more than almost anything except perhaps religion itself. He took up an attitude in regard to Hindi and Urdu which went rather far. On the one hand, he wanted the country to evolve a language which he preferred to call 'Hindustani' and which was to be simple, popular and a mixture of the two. He went further and wanted everyone or most people to learn the two scripts, namely, Nagari and Persian. I felt then that this insistence on everyone learning the two scripts was not feasible. Presumably he laid stress on that, as he often did about other matters, to emphasise a certain aspect to which he attached so much importance and in order to encourage the learning and use of the Persian script. No doubt he had in mind that there might be a tendency later to discourage this and he did not want this to happen.

I am referring to this past history as it has relevance even today. Because the very thing that Gandhiji was afraid of and wished to avoid has taken place during the last few years since Independence. I do not propose now to discuss the content of Hindi or Urdu or Hindustani, although I feel, and many others are also of this opinion, that the type of Hindi we are evolving is unnatural, artificial, not easily understood by the masses generally and, therefore, likely to be the language of the select. I think that we should make every effort to check this wrong tendency, for it will be injurious for the future development of Hindi.

Then there is the argument which Sampurnanand and others have sometimes advanced that Hindi and Urdu are really not different languages but two aspects of the same language. I am very largely in agreement with him and I wish that this was realised more than it is today. But the fact remains that present tendencies are to widen the gap between them. In the name of calling them one language, it is neither right nor fair to suppress or discourage one important aspect of that language. Whether they are one language or two is really not of much relevance at present except for linguistic pundits. The point is what we are to do with them as they are.

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So far as the Congress is concerned, it has in the past stood by Gandhiji's views on this subject to a very large extent and even since Independence its stress has been that way. It has repeatedly emphasised the importance of Urdu and the script in which it is written.

We may consider this question from the narrower linguistic point of view and what the Congress policy is as well as what the Constitution has laid down. That is a proper approach in so far as it goes. But, obviously, there are wider and deeper considerations which we must bear in mind. Everyone knows that Urdu is a language which has grown up in India and India is its homeland. Even the Persian script has been used for hundreds of years and may be considered as one of our well-established scripts in India. When the Constitution refers to Urdu as one of our national languages, it includes obviously the script, just as when it refers to Punjabi, it includes the Gurmukhi script. It is also a fact that Urdu is spoken, read and written in the Persian script even now in India by a far larger number of persons than several of the languages given in the appendix to the Constitution. Even now the number of books published in Urdu compares very favourably with books in most other Indian languages and many of these books are of a high standard. The language obviously has certain vitality.

One would have thought that there would be no argument about Urdu in India. And yet the fact remains that there is a strong prejudice against it and it is accepted with reluctance and even with a degree of resentment. I have been quite unable to understand this reaction to it except as some kind of a leftover from pre-Independence controversies which have no relevance today.

In your last letter to me, as far as I can remember, you mentioned three points. One was that probably only about five per cent of the people of Delhi could claim Urdu as their language. The second was the claim being put forward in favour of Gurmukhi because many Sikhs lived in Delhi and the third was that, according to the opinion of our Law Ministry, the Constitution did not provide for a Union Territory to have a special regional language.

As for the last point, I do not understand how the Constitution comes in the way, and if the Constitution does come in the way, the sooner it is changed, the better. Surely we cannot allow our basic policies which we consider vital to be set aside because of some strained interpretation of the Constitution. As for the possible demand for Gurmukhi to be given a special place in Delhi, I do not think this has anything to do with Urdu and the fear of some demand from the Sikhs surely cannot come in the way of doing the right thing for Urdu. There is no comparison between Urdu and Gurmukhi, more especially in Delhi. But, if by force of circumstances Punjabi has to be given some facilities in Delhi State, let people have them even though they might not be considered wholly justified.

I was much surprised to read in your letter that you thought that only five per cent of Delhi's population was likely to claim Urdu as their language. I do not know on what calculation this was based. In actual practice, I should say

that Urdu was far the most prevalent language in Delhi, even more so than the type of Hindi that is normally used now. I mentioned one test to you, that of newspapers. I believe that there are Urdu newspapers in Delhi with wider circulations than Hindi newspapers. Apart from this, surely it is common knowledge that Urdu is widely spoken and read in Delhi.

I think you mentioned in your letter that the number of Muslims was much fewer. I do not at all like the idea of considering Urdu as the language of the Muslims. That is not factually correct and for us to say that is on a par with foreigners talking about Hindu Congress or Hindu India. But apart from this, even the number of Muslims in Delhi is surely much more than five per cent and equally surely there are large numbers of Hindus and Sikhs who talk, read and do their business in Urdu. I have often referred to Urdu in my public speeches at the Ramlila Grounds as well as in the Punjab. Whenever I have done so, there has been an immediate enthusiastic response from the vast crowds gathered there. It seems to me that we have got cut off from public feeling and sentiment and mostly extremists on this issue impress us with their views.

There is another aspect. If it is said that undoubtedly, prior to Independence, Urdu was the dominant language of Delhi, but that it has ceased to be so now, what does this signify? It means that Urdu which took its birth in Delhi, and of which Delhi and the people of Delhi were so proud, has since Independence, owing to various factors, been reduced to a subordinate position, which it occupies now. In other words, the policy we have pursued, as well as some other factors, have led to this loss of prestige for Urdu in the very place of its birth. If that is the result of our policy, then that policy will no doubt gradually crush it still further, not only in Delhi but elsewhere. That is exactly what our critics say. Why do people oppose the encouragement of Urdu or the recognition of it as a regional language wherever it flourishes? Previously the demand was made that Urdu should be one of the State languages in the areas where it flourishes, that is, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and the Punjab. That demand has, I believe, been given up. What is claimed is that it should be a regional language. That is a very modest claim which does not come in the way of any other language, certainly not of Hindi, and which is based on certain facts. Muslims are more connected with this language and are emotionally bound up with it. But let it not be forgotten that a very large number of Hindus and Sikhs are equally connected with this language. To all these people it would be something in the nature of a tragedy that our Central and State Governments, in spite of our professions and our Constitution and the Congress resolution, followed a policy to discourage the use of Urdu as far as possible. That would not only be a tragedy but a blunder of the first magnitude.

What exactly the function of a regional language is I am not sure. It would include, of course, all the things that you have already mentioned in your letter. Is there anything more that will have to be added? I am not clear about this

except that it will have a certain status which otherwise it would not have. It does not mean that it is a compulsory language for everyone to study. That would only take place if it was made a State language in addition to the other State language.

Thus the question becomes one of prestige, status and sentiment—the conflict being between the sentiment for Urdu and the sentiment against Urdu. This sentiment against Urdu is entirely confined to some protagonists of Hindi. I do not think any other language area in India has that anti-Urdu sentiment. I think that the anti-Urdu sentiment represents a very wrong, narrow and dangerous approach. It is, if I may say so, an aspect of the communal approach.

I have dealt with this question on the linguistic basis thus far. There is another highly important aspect of it. Rightly or wrongly, and I think rightly, the Muslims in India have a special attachment to Urdu, including the script. It is an emotional and sentimental attachment and to them Urdu represents a part of their culture. For them it has become a symbol of their status in India. If that symbol goes or is not respected and encouraged, this will be a terrible blow to them. They will come to realise that there is no honourable place for them in India and gradually they will lose such other symbols as they possess as a community and live in India on sufferance. They will feel, as the Hindus feel in East Pakistan, that they are citizens of India only in name and not as of right and there is no future for them here. It will be little good our telling them what our Constitution says or what our Congress resolutions say. They will have lost faith in all these and in the majority community in India and frustration will grow.

This is a dangerous outlook and something which may do infinite injury to India. After all, there are 40 million Muslims in India, more than any other minority community. To make them feel frustrated and deny them what they consider their rights and privileges would be not only opposed to all our policy but something which might endanger the State. We have had language difficulties in India and they have given us a lot of trouble. But all those difficulties were trivial compared to this major problem that might arise if we are not very careful.

So far as the Congress is concerned, it is obvious that we have lost a great deal of Muslim support and this withdrawal from the Congress goes on fast. From the narrowest viewpoint, this has to be checked. It cannot be done by pious phrases and resolutions, but by the action we take to remove the sense of frustration and despair. We have to satisfy this vast community. If they are not satisfied, we fail. They are the judges of this, not we.

The Muslim community in India made claims on us in the past, through the Muslim League, which it was impossible for us to accept. We even agreed to pay the terrible price of partition. By and large, the Muslims remaining in India accepted this, though not without much inner searching of heart and tried to adapt themselves to this. It is true that there are groups of Muslims in India who

did not accept this and who create trouble and will continue to do so. But we have to think of the vast majority whom we can win over. If we adopt policies which play into the hands of their extremist groups, then we do not win over the vast majority.

The reaction of this big community of Muslims in India not fitting into our scheme of things will spread and affect the other communities, like the Christians, and so the process of disintegration will go on. All our opposition parties, excepting the communal Hindus, will profit by it and India will suffer grievously. The majority community, that is the Hindus, will go into their shells again and become more and more narrow in their approach.

India in ancient times was, I believe, a country and a people with a broad approach to life and social problems. Philosophically, of course, it was tolerant to all kinds of opinions. Later, although the philosophy endured, in practice we became a closed society, with our caste system and inhibitions about eating and drinking and marriage and a host of other things. We lost touch with the world and built up a hierarchical society with enormous social differences. Thus, though our philosophical approach continued to be of the highest order, our practice became the narrowest anywhere in the wide world. Hindu society became more of a closed system than any other in the world.

Islam also was more or less a closed system, though of a different type. Within Islam, there was a good deal of equality, but the Islamic group was closed in relation to the rest of the world. Their religion and what followed from it led to this building up of a closed social group, however big it might be.

Islam and Hinduism came up against each other in India and the two acted and reacted on each other for hundreds of years. Most of this time Islam was dominant in the political sphere. Nevertheless, the two affected each other to some extent and there was always the problem of how they could live together in peace and cooperation. It was a tremendous problem because both were in their own way closed systems, unlike others in the rest of the world. Akbar tried to solve it. So did many other Hindus and Muslims. Whether it could have been solved or not if left to their own resources, I do not know. But the British intervened. While they brought the new dynamism of the Western civilisation, they also tried to keep the Hindus and Muslims separate. The British went and as a last legacy we had the partition and all the horror that followed it.

After Independence, we faced this problem afresh in a new context. The Muslims, in spite of their much wider experience of the rest of the world, had not really learnt how to live with others as equals. The Hindus, on the other hand, had never learnt how to live with others as equals because of their closed social system. The most they did was to tolerate others. The great question that faces India today is how far the different communities can learn to live with others as equals. In other words, it is a question of peaceful and cooperative co-

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existence. We talk about this in the international sphere but we have not realised it within the nation.

Thus in India one of the major problems of integration is for Hindus and Muslims to learn the lesson of co-existence as friends and equals, allowing each the fullest growth of its life values and culture. It so happens that language is one of the peculiar symbols of this culture and Urdu has become that symbol for the Muslims in India.

The Muslims are an international community, just as the Christians or the Buddhists, not so the Hindus and this has had an additional narrowing effect on Hindu society. The Muslims in the world today spread out over vast areas and to some extent they have a feeling of religious sympathy with each other. Islamic countries are not very powerful today, but there is a strong and dynamic feeling of nationalism in them and they will no doubt play an important part in world affairs. Islam is spreading fairly fast in Central and other parts of Africa. It is on the whole an expanding religion. It faces a great crisis, how to adapt its rigid and closed system to the modern world which is changing as never before. Of course, the Hindus also have to face that problem. But their system, while a closed one, is not a rigid one. Therefore, the impact of modern change does not hit them with the same force as it does Islam. But, in mind and heart, the Hindus have to face this very difficult question.

The question of Muslims in India is a problem of international significance. If we succeed in evolving a society of real co-existence among equals, with equal opportunities to all, not only in the Constitution but in practice, then we have solved one of the major problems of the world and given a lead to Muslim nations, apart from others. Indian Muslims thus have a vital part to play internationally. If we fail to solve this problem, then we suffer, of course, and we get more and more isolated from the rest of the world.

Take even the question of Kashmir. There is no doubt that the people in Kashmir are greatly affected by the position of the Muslims in India. They follow closely the fate of Urdu in India because, as I have said, that is a symbol not only of the present but of the future for them.

Thus, this question of the Urdu language in India is not a narrow linguistic issue but one which has in it vast consequences for good or ill. If we deal with it wisely, we take a big step towards the integration of India and we ourselves grow in consequence out of the narrow grooves of thought and action that we have lived in for centuries past. We influence the great Islamic world and we influence also the wider world outside it.

Urdu, of course, is a language of India and now a language of Pakistan. But even now it has some slight link between us and the countries of Western Asia and Central Asia. In the Soviet Republics of Central Asia, I found that my little knowledge of spoken and written Urdu was appreciated, even as it was in Western Asia because of many common words and the script.

I have written to you at great length. You will forgive me. But what I have written will indicate to you the enormous importance I attach to this problem for the future of India. It is no mere language problem for me and I think that we must take up a clear, definite and unequivocal attitude in regard to it. No half-way house will do any good. It will only irritate everybody. If we move even by a hair's breadth from the recent Congress resolution that will mean that we have failed. I am personally convinced that not only in Delhi but also in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Punjab Urdu should be declared as a regional language for certain areas. This is not only the right thing, the practical thing, not only in accordance with Congress policy and our Constitution, but also the wise thing. I am myself in a very peculiar position, as I have openly declared my views on this subject many times in public. Having done so, I have had to swallow my words and people have taunted me that I talk tall and can do nothing. That applies not only to me but to the Congress also and if we are to save the Congress from going downhill and losing the virtue it possesses, then we must hold tight to the principles we have proclaimed and act up to them.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
24th June 1958

My dear Pantji,

Thank you for your letter of June 22² and the note attached to it on the language

1. JN Collection.
2. Confessing that he had "become chary and a little overcautious in the matter of languages", Pant wrote that it had been his conviction that "the free and unhampered growth of the national languages, including of course Urdu, is vital for bringing about the emotional integration of the country." He felt that "languages have become identified with particular religious groups, and the prejudices and passions by which the issues relating to one or the other have tended to surcharge each other". However, he expressed the hope that it was "only a transitional phase of a historical development of the last few decades and ultimately the larger forces of unity and harmony will prevail." He added that "Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi have been enriched by the creative work of many writers and poets who wrote both in Hindi and Urdu or Urdu and Punjabi" and that "languages cut across communal and religious differences."

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question and, more especially, Urdu.³ I have already written to you at some length on this subject and I do not wish to add to that. Individual proposals can of course be considered carefully and decided upon. But a feeling has grown upon me during the last ten years that our decisions are not given effect to and even where they are accepted in theory, all kinds of difficulties are put in their way. Year after year, I have been talking about these matters and sometimes writing about them without producing any appreciable result. It has been a frustrating and disheartening experience. One might almost think that there is a deliberate and organised attempt to discourage Urdu and not to allow it to function.

It is perfectly true that unfortunately Urdu has become associated with the communal issue and is sometimes considered the language of the Muslims. That, of course, is factually incorrect and it will be very wrong for us to think of it in that way. For the Muslims of Bengal, Bengali is their language, not Urdu. For the Muslims of the South, the languages are Tamil or Malayalam or some other. Therefore, it is quite wrong to talk about Urdu as a language of the Muslims. If there was not a single Muslim in India, Urdu will still be one of the national languages of India.

The fact that because of communal or like considerations many people whose language is Urdu will not declare it as such is a temporary phenomenon due to communal feelings, just as in Punjab the anti-Hindi and the anti-Punjabi elements encourage wrong declarations. Therefore, I feel that our approach should be as clear, precise and definite as possible such as not to allow misinterpretation or any bypassing of it. Further, that we should not tie up Urdu with Muslims even though we have to take this major psychological fact into consideration that Muslims attach vital importance to it.

The other day I received a report that a cooperative society in Meerut presented its books to the appropriate authority there. This was rejected because they were written in Urdu. The unfortunate organisers of the society knew no other language or script.

It is difficult to make anything fool-proof or mischief-proof and yet there is so much folly and mischief on this issue that you will appreciate, I hope, my grave anxiety.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Pant noted that in States like Delhi, UP, Bihar and Punjab a very small percentage of the population had claimed Urdu as their mother tongue. He felt that declaring Urdu as a regional language might attract controversy and agitation.

8. To Narendra Prasad Saxena¹

New Delhi
June 28, 1958

Dear Shri Narendra,²

I have received your letter of June 25th.³

During the Hindi agitation in the Punjab, I spoke and wrote on the subject on many occasions. I tried to understand the point of view of those who stood for that agitation. I went a long way to meet that point of view. Nevertheless, that agitation was continued and, whatever the original motives might have been, it became a purely political and communal agitation. It harmed the cause of Hindi more than almost anything I can think of, apart from vitiating the atmosphere of the Punjab. In fact, it became an agitation largely carried on by people from outside the Punjab, who knew little about the conditions in the Punjab.

I was greatly distressed by this and more especially by the fact that a religious and cultural organisation like the Arya Samaj, which had done so much good work in the educational and cultural fields in the past, should behave in this very irresponsible and communal way. Apart from the other harm that this agitation did, which was considerable, the reputation and prestige of the Arya Samaj suffered greatly because of this association with the narrowest communal elements in the Punjab and in the country.

I do not know what you mean by saying that our Home Minister has not taken the Punjab issue seriously, or when you refer to my "unbreakable silence over the Punjab issue". None of us took this agitation lightly, and I know that the Home Minister exercised all his great patience and wisdom in handling it. So far as I am concerned, as I have mentioned above, I spoke and wrote about it on many occasions. It is true that I have not referred to it in recent months because I saw no occasion for it. I do not quite know what you expect me or the Home Minister to do about it now. Our position has been repeatedly stated with the utmost clarity.

I think it is very extraordinary that people living in the south of India should raise a language controversy in the Punjab. That itself shows the unreality of

1. JN Collection.
2. Narendra Prasad Saxena, popularly known as Swami Somanand Saraswati; Arya Samaj leader and acting President, Basha Swatantra Samity and Sarwadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Hyderabad.
3. Explaining the reason for the Arya Samaj launching a satyagraha movement over the language issue in Punjab, Narendra Prasad Saxena wrote that the movement had been started with the object of resisting the attempts made to thrust Gurmukhi on the unwilling people of Haryana, which was a "predominantly Hindi-speaking Division." He appealed to Nehru to take personal interest in the matter and resolve the issue.

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this agitation. Any attempt to revive it will only injure further the cause of Hindi, apart from doing harm to other national issues. Hindi is well established as our principal national language, and in the Punjab, especially, there is no question of Hindi suffering in any way.

It seems to me rather remarkable that in this age of amazing scientific developments, when the atomic bomb and the Sputnik are changing the face of life and when in India we are struggling in the face of great odds for economic advance, some people should spend their energy over issues which have no reality.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

IV. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

1. Prospecting for Uranium Ore¹

P.G. Deb.² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) the steps Government have taken to tap uranium ores within the country;
- (b) the details of special instruments which are either manufactured in India or imported from abroad; and
- (c) whether there is any scheme before Government to announce rewards to quicken the findings and the survey programme in the country?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) A detailed and systematic survey and prospecting work for location of deposits of uranium ores in the country is being carried out by the Atomic Minerals Division of the Department of Atomic Energy since 1950. Six geological field parties and eleven drilling units are at present engaged in this work in different states. Preliminary mining has also been undertaken in areas where commercially recoverable quantities of ore have been proved to exist by drilling and other methods.

1. Reply to questions in the Lok Sabha, 8 April 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XV, cols. 8777-8778.
2. Badkumar Pratap Ganga Deb, Ganatantra Parishad Member of the Lok Sabha from Angul, Orissa.

Private prospectors and mine-owners are also being encouraged to help in the search for atomic minerals, including uranium ores, by the free loan and servicing of geiger muller counters, assay of samples sent by them and free technical advice in developing suitable deposits.

(b) Almost all instruments required for the work, such as radiation survey meters, counting rate meters, scaling units, power supplies, pulse height, geiger muller tubes, logging and radio-assay equipment, etc., are made in India in the laboratories under the Department of Atomic Energy.

Most high quality components, valves and transistors required in the construction of these instruments and scintillation crystals testing instruments, such as test meters, oscilloscopes, measuring bridges and dosimeters, etc., are imported from abroad. Components made in India are being used progressively to a greater extent, and Indian manufacturers are being encouraged to improve their quality.

(c) Rewards ranging from Rs 100.00 to Rs 10,000.00, according to the grade and size of the ore deposits discovered, have already been announced by Government. Copies of two press notes issued in this connection are laid on the Table of the Lok Sabha.

2. Development of Atomic Energy¹

Mr Speaker,² I have been the Minister-in-charge of this Department of Atomic Energy for some years and I have tried to understand and follow its development. But as a layman, I cannot pretend to know much about the scientific side of it or about the highly complicated and intricate work that is being done in connection with it. I see from the numerous cut motions that some honourable Members have tabled numerous proposals and suggestions which presumably flow from some intimate knowledge of atomic energy and how it should be worked. I confess I cannot meet them at this particular level of personal knowledge and have to rely, therefore, on scientific colleagues and advisers.

1. Extracts from the speech in the Lok Sabha on the demands for grants for the Department of Atomic Energy, 10 April 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XV, cols. 9246-9257 and 9291-9295.
2. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

Fortunately, we have some very eminent scientists connected with our energy establishment and they have done good work and shown good results which have attracted attention in other parts of the world. Anyhow, I welcome the great interest taken by the honourable Members in this development of the atomic energy in this country.

It is many years ago when we first formed the Atomic Energy Department³—before that it was called something else—because we realised even at that early stage the importance of this. Normally speaking, the development of atomic energy has taken place in the countries which are industrially advanced. They have the resources for it. It is somewhat unusual for a country like India, which is on the threshold of industrial advance and is struggling to bring about what might be called the industrial revolution here, which took place a hundred or more years ago elsewhere, it is rather unusual for a country in this position to launch out into an atomic energy programme. We did so not because we wanted to show off that we have got something big—that would have been foolish—but because of the definite realisation that this was of the highest importance looking at the future. We were on the threshold of the atomic age in the world. For us, this had overlapped, if I may say so, with our being on the threshold of the industrial age in India. But it is impossible for us to go through the slow processes of the industrial age, having arrived at somewhere far behind, while the other countries have gone on to the atomic age. So, we thought that we must give thought to this matter.

Fortunately, we had able nuclear scientists. Otherwise we could not have done it. It is not a question of money. Money is the least part of it. Indeed if anything worthwhile that has been done in the country, let us remember that, though money is important, it is of the least importance compared to trained men. That is the real thing. It is they who produce things and money.

But there was another aspect of this question which led us to think in terms of atomic energy development and this was the question of power supply. It is well known that you can almost judge of a country's progress by seeing how much power it produced and consumed. Our sources of power, thermal, and hydro-electric, are there of course, but the principal source of power in India still continues to be cow dung. It is well to remember this. People do not realise it. I forget the exact figure but probably 80 per cent of the power—or maybe more—used in India comes from cow dung. That is, of course, the primitive state of our economy.

The other day, my colleague, who was then the Minister of Irrigation and Power,⁴ spoke about the untapped sources of power in India. Of course, there

3. The Department of Atomic Energy was formed on 3 August 1948.

4. S.K. Patil.

are untapped sources, very big sources. But I think he was somewhat optimistic about those untapped sources. Not that he was not justified in being optimistic, you can take either view.

For instance, one source was the river Brahmaputra, more especially at the place where it takes the turn to India from Tibet. It is a potential source of enormous power.... I agree. I did not hear what the honourable Members said.

Hem Barua.⁵ Five million kws.

JN: It may be so. But in order to reach that turn of the Brahmaputra there, it would require enormous efforts on our part. It is relatively easier perhaps for the Tibetan authorities and the Chinese Government to reach there. It is more in their territories than ours. Anyhow, it is difficult to get there, and having got there, it is difficult to get out of there, I mean, to get out the power that you produce there.

But apart from that, the normal calculations about the coal and hydro-electric power depend upon how much we use and at what rate we consume. For instance, if we consume this power at the present rate, which is of course a very low rate, it may last us 200 or 300 years or more. But if we consume at the rate of the USA today, then all the potential power will last us 30 years—maybe 35 or 40 years. Of course, we are not going to consume at the rate at which the USA consumes because we cannot. We may arrive at some middle figure between this and that.

But the point is that we have not got inexhaustible supplies of power in India and that was one reason among many others which forced us to consider the possibility of using atomic energy in future as power for civil purposes.

This was mentioned for the first time, I think, by the Chairman of our Commission, Dr Bhabha, who has been speaking at some length about this subject. He spoke, I think, last year at Dublin at the British Association meeting too, working out the figures.⁶ People are somewhat doubtful and incredulous about the feasibility, about the economic aspect of it. He showed even then that in places far removed from the coalfields or the places where hydro-electric power is produced, this was a feasible proposition. It was not feasible in the economic sense right in the coalfield because coal was cheap there.

But ever since he made that calculation other developments are taking place which indicate the probability of this power being produced from atomic energy

5. Praja Socialist Party Member of the Lok Sabha from Gauhati, Assam.

6. In his lecture entitled "On the Economics of Atomic Power Development in India and the Indian Atomic Energy Programme" at the Dublin meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Homi J. Bhabha spoke on the significance of developing atomic power for civil use mainly by the underdeveloped countries. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, pp. 233-234.

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in a cheaper way, and it seems now quite a feasible proposition in most places. I have no doubt that further advances will make it more feasible still.

In a country like India, whose power sources are very limited at the present moment, it is of the highest importance to get something like that. The use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes is far more important for India than, let us say, for the United States of America because they have got tremendous other sources of power and cheap power. So, not only for the obvious reason that we are on the new source of energy which is going, probably, to transform world conditions in the future and therefore we should know about it—know it not by reading textbooks from other countries, but we ourselves, our scientists, discoverers and research workers should know about it; that is important—but apart from this, it is important because we hunger for more power in this country. Honourable Members are making demands for electricity there, and electricity here, which are completely legitimate and understandable. You can really measure the advance of any part of the country by the electric power available there. Because of that too, and looking into the future, we thought it desirable to carry this work on.

What is this atomic power? This is a part of nuclear physics. Nuclear physics is and should be a part of the basic training in physics in any university. But, if we want every university in India to take up this atomic energy work in detail, well, they just have not got the equipment or the personnel, and we will spread out our very limited resources in trained men as well as equipment, with the result that there will be no result at all—just spread-out, fine lectures delivered here and there. Therefore, we have to concentrate our available talent, our available equipment, which is exceedingly expensive—these reactors—in this Atomic Energy Establishment⁷ that we have got, expecting that the universities will do a good job of work in teaching nuclear physics and thus supply people from there to these specialised agencies of the Atomic Energy Establishment where they can do higher work, and that specialised agency again supplying their trained men for work in the universities, for teaching work and the rest.

I am laying stress on this because, first of all, it is very important that our universities should have up-to-date teaching and equipment for nuclear physics. That is the basis out of which every other thing will come. And, they have not got it today. They are ambitious—some of them—and want to do atomic energy work. I like their ambition but they have not got the facilities for it. They make demands on the Atomic Energy Commission: “Give us this equipment; give us that; give us lakhs and lakhs of money.” I want to make it clear that we cannot,

7. The Atomic Energy Establishment founded at Trombay, near Bombay, for research and development in the field of atomic energy, consisted of three main divisions covering physics, chemistry and engineering, in addition to biology and medical and health divisions.

financially or in terms of personnel, spread ourselves all over India in regard to higher atomic energy work. But what we do is for special research projects. The Department gives money and, maybe, supplies some equipment too, if necessary.

So far as the study of nuclear physics is concerned, which we should like all universities in India to have in an adequate degree, that is not the function of the Atomic Energy Department as such. The University Grants Commission should look into it and do it. We must not get mixed up in the two because that may mean lack of success at both ends.

Now, in this Atomic Energy Establishment, may I say—of course, it does not need saying, perhaps, but I should like to repeat it—that we are not in the slightest interested in atomic bombs and the like, except in so far as we wish to avoid them and not be targets for them? Anyhow, all our work on atomic energy is for the peaceful use.

We have drawn up some kind of a long-range plan, which is not complete, in regard to the development of atomic energy. Even during the last year the programme has expanded rapidly. The scientific and technical staff of the Atomic Energy Establishment, which is the heart of the research and development activities of the Department, now exceeds 600. A year ago it was 320. These figures only include graduate scientists and engineers and those with higher qualifications. It is expected that this number will increase by another 300 during the current year—that is, it will come to 900 senior scientists.

To feed this recruitment, the Department has started a training programme from last August, admission to which was made after a very rigorous selection by interview. The total number of applicants exceeded 7,000. Of these, 1,400 were called for interview, and over 1,100 actually appeared. The number selected was about 200, of whom about 176 will finish their course. These trainees are given not only courses in basic physics, but also in chemistry and mathematics to fit them for the more advanced courses which come later in the year; there are tutorial classes for small groups of students. This training, I should like the House to note, is necessary chiefly because the training received in the universities was found not to be adequate, and it is our desire that the preliminary training should be made adequate in every university, instead of some universities having inadequate training there and wanting to do some direct atomic energy work also, which also will necessarily be inadequate.

Now, so far as the scientific work of the Trombay Establishment is concerned, this has also increased in breadth, variety and intensity. Our first reactor, the House may remember, is called Apsara⁸—the Water Nymph.

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8. Apsara, India's first atomic reactor was designed and constructed indigenously except for the fuel elements obtained from the UK.

It is a suitable name because it is called, I think, 'Water Cooled Reactor'. This Apsara reached criticality, as the phrase goes, for the first time on the 4th August, 1956. It was worked at very low power levels till the end of January, 1957, so as to check its operations. Since then its utilisation has increased rapidly. Demand on the use of the reactor becomes so great that it is working two shifts a day, and it is expected shortly to go into three-shift operation. Requests for irradiation of biological specimens and radio isotopes from various centres in India have been met to a large extent, and an Isotope Division has been established for which special facilities are under construction. This is expected to produce radioactive iodine, radioactive phosphorus and certain other isotopes required for biological and medical investigations. When the Canada-India reactor⁹ goes into operation, the full range of radioactive isotopes, including radio cobalt, will be produced. A new radio chemistry laboratory has been constructed which is designed to deal with radioactive substances, like plutonium and the fission products. Some of these substances like plutonium are so toxic that the maximum permissible dose for ingestion into the system is much less than ten-millionth part of a gram. More of it will be dangerous. Therefore, extremely drastic precautions have to be taken in handling such substances. Most of the work with plutonium is done in glove boxes which are now being made at Trombay. These are glove boxes—the hands never touch them. The gloves are inside and manipulated by hands from outside.

This work with radioactive substances requires a constant watch to ensure that the workers are not exposed to dangerous radiation levels. All the necessary instruments for health protection are now being made by the Health Physics Instrumentation Division. Indeed, most of the electronic instrumentation used in the Trombay establishment or the Atomic Minerals Division is now made in the Establishment, especially in the Electronics Instruments Section. This saves us a good deal of foreign exchange.

The Health Physics Section has organised a Film Badge Service for the workers not only in Trombay but elsewhere in India. Each person wears a film badge and this film in the badge is processed weekly and a record kept of the radiation dose received by each worker. This service is available to hospitals in the country, where radium and X-rays are used, at a nominal charge and it is being availed of by a large number of hospitals and other institutions not connected with atomic energy.

Now, the construction of the Canada-India reactor made progress during the year, though difficulties were encountered with the steel shell. The top of the

9. In September 1955, Canada agreed to supply India a 40 MW research reactor. In February 1956, the US agreed to supply heavy water for this reactor under the Eisenhower Administration's 'Atom for Peace' programme. This reactor was named Cirrus (Canada-India Reactor, US) and went critical on 10 July 1960.

steel shell is a hemisphere, some 140 feet in diameter, and is one of the largest container vessels in the world. It is now expected that the Canada-India reactor will be ready towards the end of 1959. When this reactor goes into operation, India will possess one of the best isotope producers in the world, with which it will be possible to produce all neutron-induced isotopes, including radio cobalt.

A storage block for the used fuel elements—there is a cut motion on used fuel element and therefore I am mentioning it—is being designed so that the intense radiation emitted by them can be used for studies on the effects of radiation on the preservation of food and other biological experiments. Studies are also being made on the use of radiation for killing weevils, insects and other organisms which lead to the destruction of foodgrains in storage. The construction of the uranium plant for producing uranium metal of atomic purity was undertaken during the current year, and the building is nearly complete. A laboratory plant for converting this uranium metal into fuel elements for the Canada-India reactor and other natural uranium reactors is also under construction at Trombay. This will have the necessary facilities for canning the fuel elements in aluminium cans and other minerals, such as beryllium and zirconium. The Department is in close touch with, and carefully follows, all developments in this rapidly advancing field all over the world.

The scientific personnel of the Department have attended scientific conferences, visited laboratories and atomic installations and established contacts with scientists in other countries. The Department has friendly cooperation with similar organisations in all those countries which are most advanced in this field. A number of distinguished scientists and mathematicians from Canada, France, Japan, Poland, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Yugoslavia and other countries have spent varying periods at the Trombay establishment and the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, giving seminars and lectures.

The House knows that we propose to produce our own heavy water, to begin with, in connection with the fertilizer plant at Nangal. Some time ago I made a statement in the House in regard to the constitution of the Atomic Energy Commission.¹⁰ It has been constituted by a resolution of the Government of India. About two and a half years ago, in August 1955 there was the first great conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy in Geneva.¹¹ It was rather a remarkable conference on this new subject and a very successful one. It was presided over by our own eminent scientist, Dr Bhabha. Now, a second conference

10. For Nehru's statement in the Lok Sabha on 24 March 1958 on the constitution of the Atomic Energy Commission, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, p. 326.
11. This conference was held at Geneva from 8 to 21 August 1955. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 29, p. 143.

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is going to take place in September this year at Geneva. Meanwhile, the International Atomic Energy Agency has been established. This came into being in July 1957. There are 62 member-states in it. The first general conference of the Agency was held in Vienna in October 1957.

This, Sir, is an attempt to give an account to the House of the various activities we are indulging in. It is difficult for me, and perhaps for the House also, to go into the details of this intricate business, but I hope that what I have said and the pamphlet we have placed before the honourable Members of the House will give them a broad idea of our activities.

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Mr Speaker, I shall endeavour to reply in brief the points raised. The last speaker¹² made a suggestion that there should be a separate ministry for nuclear research, so that decisions may be taken quickly and at a higher level. Broadly speaking, I do not know any higher level here than the Government and the Prime Minister and I do not know how the creation of a ministry would expedite any decision or make working more easy. As a matter of fact, it was with this very purpose—that the work of this Atomic Energy Department should not get tied up in the normal routine of Government—that the Prime Minister here, and sometimes in other countries also, has directly taken charge of this. So, I can assure Shri Bharucha that whatever other failings may be there in this Department, it does not suffer, as other Ministries often suffer, from delay. Things are done pretty fast.

Secondly, Shri Bharucha laid great stress on not wasting our energy in collecting useless knowledge or in experimenting about all manner of things, but said that we should rather concentrate on special objects of enquiry which might prove useful.

To begin with, we do necessarily concentrate on specific things; we cannot help it, but, when Shri Bharucha refers to useless knowledge, I think, he is on some dangerous ground. There is always the same argument usually between scientists and non-scientists, industrialists and others as to what is useless knowledge and what is not, what is pure science and what is applied science. Everything in applied science would normally come out of some research in pure science. You cannot divide these. Anyhow, the fact is that we do concentrate on specific things.

But some of the matters he referred to concern research in biology or medicine or other things. That type of research is not primarily the work of the

12. Naushir Bharucha, Independent Member of the Lok Sabha from East Khandesh, Bombay State.

Atomic Energy Department. The Atomic Energy Department produces isotopes, equipment, etc., for it. And, this research should take place in a hundred establishments in India wherever it can be, in hospitals, in agricultural institutions, etc. So, that is the place.

I entirely agree with Shri Bharucha that tremendous field for research is open and should take place. The Atomic Energy Department will help in supplying the isotopes and the equipment which they are making. But I may add that, in addition to this, although it is not in a sense the primary work of the Atomic Energy Establishment, as a matter of fact they do research work in these very fields which Shri Bharucha mentioned, whether it is agriculture or biology. They do it and they will continue to do the same but they cannot spread themselves out over all this. It should really be done by a host of people all over the country in other establishments. Now someone asked—was it Shri Nair,¹³ I do not know—about the Government taking a policy decision about the construction of a power station. In a sense, the Government has taken a policy decision but it is naturally subject to two or three factors: the feasibility of it and the finances. It is not that we shall do this on this particular date. We have taken this decision and we intend to do it and will certainly do it. The exact date, the location, the feasibility have all to be considered in terms of other factors.

Dr Sushila Nayyar¹⁴ warned us about the disposal of waste. I want to assure her that so far as Trombay is concerned, there is no waste of that type. The criteria laid down for the future are so strict that I am informed that there will not be the slightest risk. Indeed, one tends rather to take extra measures of safety. I am told that the water that comes out of this after all this is so treated that it is, broadly speaking, less radioactive than the normal amount of radioactivity in the water we drink. The amount of precaution taken is very great indeed. It is said that the workers engaged in nuclear research work and such other industries are better protected than probably in any other industry in the world.

One of the honourable Members said something about scholarships. No doubt, the Atomic Energy Establishment is thinking of providing scholarships for nuclear engineering at the Roorkee University. This might be done elsewhere too later on.

We have at present in Trombay a group working on the design of a power reactor of 10-20 MW with beryllium oxide as a moderator. We are also considering making a strong effort on research for fusion reaction. We have not quite started on it but this will depend on a number of factors and if we feel that from researches on this we are likely to get fruitful results, we may take it up.

13. V. Parameshwaran Nair, Communist Party Member of the Lok Sabha from Quilon, Kerala.
 14. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Jhansi, UP.

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Then there were many suggestions made about consulting others. Our Atomic Energy Establishment is connected, or its chief scientists are connected, with a large number of establishments in India. There are many liaison committees and the like. They are connected with the universities. I shall certainly be happy if this connection grows.

An honourable Member suggested, I think, some kind of a Committee of Members of Parliament. Well, I am not myself quite sure of what a Committee of Members of Parliament as such will do in this matter. But I can assure the House that any Member of Parliament who wants to discuss this matter alone or in a group can certainly do so. We shall be very happy to arrange for this whenever an occasion offers.

Secondly, a complaint has been made that enough information has not been supplied. It is rather difficult to know what type of information might be supplied. I may inform the House that Dr Bhabha and I were discussing this very subject as to what should be put in this pamphlet for the House. We had to draw the line somewhere in the sense that it should not be too technical. Some honourable Members of the House may certainly understand all the technical implications but it was not meant for an isolated Member but for everyone. I told Dr Bhabha: "Please do not make it too technical. Otherwise it will be above the knowledge of many Members." Even the Member in-charge might get into difficulties. It is not because one wants to keep anything secret. There is no secret about it so far as we are concerned. But there is the difficulty about the technical aspect. Shri Bharucha, having made some special study, no doubt understands much more than many others. Anyhow, I shall be very happy to provide any kind of information that is in our power.

Shri Nair said something about the production having gone down in the plants in Kerala. Apart from the fact that the previous production was of all the three plants,¹⁵ the third plant is still not functioning. There has been much difficulty because of this. A bit of the old Madras State went to Kerala and that bit of old Madras had one of these plants. Even now, after a year's effort, there is no full agreement between the Madras Government, the Kerala Government and the Atomic Energy Establishment about the new set-up, as to who should provide the additional director and what should be the shares of each Government. I think that we are now on our way to an agreement. Dr Bhabha visited Trivandrum for this purpose. So, this has created some difficulties in settling down. I believe that sometime in the past there was also a strike which made a difference.

15. The three plants for processing of monazite sands were located at Alwaye, Manavalakurichi and Chavara in Tranvancore-Cochin State.

Previously it was in the old Travancore-Cochin State.¹⁶ One part having gone to Madras, that Government naturally wants its own share in this thing, in the directorate and in the finances.

There is one thing more which I may mention. The recent developments have shown the cost of producing power. I am informed that in view of these developments it is expected that the cost of power from atomic stations would be round about 2.6 naya paise per unit of electricity, which, I believe, is much lower than the cost of generation of electricity from thermal stations in most parts of India, not near the coalfields. If we are to take part in these developments in future, I think it is necessary to set up at least one atomic power station, to begin with, working on natural uranium. After that we can go on to other processes. It is expected, if we start soon, that the first atomic power station might go into operation in 1962.

16. After the reorganisation of States, the Manavalakurichi plant in Kanyakumari district went to the Madras State.

3. To D.S. Kothari¹

New Delhi
April 21, 1958

My dear Kothari,²

I have received today a large number of documents and papers which were placed before the recent Conference of Nuclear Scientists in Canada.³ I have read one or two of these papers and found them very interesting. I should like to read the whole lot, but I have no time at present. I am, therefore, sending all these to you as they will no doubt be of help to you. I should like you to return them to me later as I want to read them and to keep them in our Ministry.⁴

1. JN Collection.
2. Scientific Adviser to the Defence Science Organisation, Ministry of Defence.
3. The second Pugwash Conference was held from 31 March to 11 April 1958, at Lac Beauport, Quebec, to discuss the dangers resulting from the atomic arms race and means of diminishing them. The meeting at Pugwash in July 1957 set up a continuing committee of which Lord Bertrand Russell was the Chairman.
4. Nehru wrote to D.S. Kothari on 8 May (not printed) enquiring about the papers of the Second Pugwash Conference of Nuclear Scientists. He wrote that Homi J. Bhabha had also not received the papers. Nehru received a number of documents from Lord Russell to whom he wrote (not printed) on 21 April: "These papers appear to me of great importance and I am bringing them to the notice of our nuclear scientists here".

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I do not know if Homi Bhabha has received a copy of these papers. I am asking him about it.⁵

You will see that a fuller conference of Nuclear Scientists, in continuation of the Quebec Conference, is going to be held in September in Austria.⁶ I think we should be represented there.

How is your book getting on?⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Nehru wrote to Homi J. Bhabha on the same day.
6. The Conference favoured the plan presented by the continuing committee to hold another conference in September, probably in Austria. In addition to discussing the findings of the present conference, the next meeting was to deal with the long-term problem: "Peace in the Atomic Age." Most of the discussions of the Conference were grouped under three headings: the dangers of the present situation, means of diminishing the immediate dangers and means of relaxing tension.
7. Kothari was revising his book *Nuclear Explosions and Their Effects*. See also *post*, pp. 266-267.

4. Scientific Policy Resolution¹

...Jawaharlal Nehru: I was expressing my pleasure and gratification at the fact that this resolution has been brought up in this House to enable not only the House but also the country to think about this matter.²

Why was this resolution produced by the Government of India? Some Honourable Members have said that it should have been brought out long ago, and have asked 'Why so late?' Some honourable Members seem to doubt the utility of this resolution, because it might be just empty words not to be followed up.

Well, first of all, as a resolution of the Government, it probably is, as Shri Humayun Kabir³ has said, the first time that a Government has in a formal resolution attempted to declare its scientific policy.

1. Extracts from the debate on the Scientific Policy Resolution in the Lok Sabha, 1 May 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XVI, cols. 12764-12775.
2. For the Scientific Policy Resolution moved by Nehru in the Lok Sabha on 13 March 1958, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 321-322.
3. Union Minister of State for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.

So far as we are concerned, it is not only a declaration for the future, but some kind of an attempt to put in words what we have been attempting to do in the past. Shri Humayun Kabir mentioned that as early as 1948, one of the first things that was done by the then Government was the appointment of a Scientific Manpower Committee. It is immaterial whether that Committee's labours were great or little. The point is that thought is being continuously applied to the idea of developing science, scientific research and the applications of science, and even more so, the scientific approach to problems. Also in 1947 to 1948, the plan of a large number of scientific institutes and laboratories grew up which has ultimately led to the chain of National Laboratories, about 14 or 15 of them, in addition to a number of big institutes. So, what I should like to submit to the House is that from the very beginning of not this particular Government, but the Government after Independence, attention has been given to science and to the advancement of science, both research and its applications.

Now, it is easy on the one hand, to say that yet the results have not been so great as we had hoped them to be. On the other, it is easier to say that the results have been rather remarkable. It just depends on how you look at it, what your measuring rod is, and how you compare. I believe, and I do not think it is empty praise, but very eminent scientists from abroad who have come here have been considerably astonished at the rapid strides in science that we have made in the last few years.

It is no good comparing what has been done in India with what has been done in the United States of America or in the Soviet Union or in the United Kingdom. They have a long background of scientific development. You must see where we started from; you must see, above all, that in India we have constantly to face in every problem, and perhaps more particularly in the development of science and technology, a kind of split personality if you like, or a kind of a very mixed and contradictory approach to our problems, because, in fact, we live in conditions in this country which are terribly mixed. We live at one and the same time with the bullock-cart and with atomic energy; there is a gap of thousands of years between the two, and yet we live with every century surrounding us, not only in our external lives but in our minds. Professor Mukerjee⁴ might call it transcendentalism and some others might call it by some other word. Transcendentalism may be a very fine thing, and may be just superstition—it depends on how you look at it.

The point is that our living conditions, and even more so, our thinking conditions in India are a mixture, if I may say so, of the bullock-cart and atomic energy. We swing about from one to the other, and even those people who

4. H.N. Mukerjee, Communist Party Member of the Lok Sabha from Calcutta Central, West Bengal.

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intellectually talk about science, and about the modern developments of science, etc., well, if I may say so, if you take them out of their research, their laboratories and their study, revert to the bullock-cart age! It is extraordinary, this double thinking, in all of us. I am not blaming anybody because our thinking is, after all, a product of the conditions in which we live; and the conditions are mixed.

It was in these conditions that we tried to push up science. Remember, science is not merely getting a machine and making it work. There are many of our industrialists—successful industrialists—who have got big factories. They buy a machine, they buy a man to run the machine and the factory functions successfully. That does not mean that the owner of the factory has arrived at the scientific age or the industrial age. He only has got the knack to use somebody else's brain product to make money. That is all very well. He can do it. I have no objection to that. But that is development of neither science nor industry in the real sense.

If I may say so with all respect, many of us here on every side of the House are experienced politicians, experienced public men, experienced in many things, but probably are not so experienced in science, except what we gather from newspaper reading. Naturally, most of the people are not, because we have not got that background.

Now, to develop science in a country like this is not an easy thing. People think mostly of the application of science. True. But you cannot have applications of science without a foundation and theory and research. Therefore, it is necessary always to have research, to give freedom to the scientist to do his research work and then to apply it.

There is one thing more. Reference has been made to the great development of science in the Soviet Union. We admire the great advance of science in the Soviet Union, just as we admire the development of science in the United States or in the United Kingdom or other countries. I would submit, Sir, that there is no such thing—the word was used; therefore, I am using it—there is no such thing as 'Soviet' science or 'American' science or 'British' science or 'Indian' science. There is science which may develop more in a country because of greater facilities, if you like. I am prepared to agree with that. Similarly, I do not understand when sometimes in this House, Members raise the question of 'Indian' systems of medicine, and 'Western' systems of medicine. I say there is no such thing. There is medicine, which is science, to which India has contributed, to which other countries have contributed. If you leave out the scientific part of it, then it is non-scientific, unscientific, bogus stuff, whatever it may be, whether it is Indian, Russian or American. We say that one country has developed one wing of it, that is a different matter. But either it is science or it is not. If it is not science, I have no use for it.

I say so rather emphatically, but I mean no disrespect to any person's ideas on the subject. But I do wish to point out how we are constantly confusing this

subject, about a scientific approach which is neither western nor eastern nor northern nor southern. It is an approach. It is the approach to search out the truth by trial and error, by experiment, not to believe anything that you cannot prove to be true, not to disbelieve anything either, if you cannot prove it wrong, unless you can prove it wrong.

So there is no such thing as Soviet science or American science. They profit by each other's discoveries. It may be that one day the Soviets come out with some brilliant achievement in science. The next day there may be a British achievement, as there was recently—some months ago—a brilliant achievement of British science and American science. The real thing—and that is where, I believe, the Soviet Government has scored, if I may use that word—is the very great facilities they have given for the study of science, from the cradle upwards, you might say. The toys are scientific toys, technical toys. The boy or girl grows up playing with them, from the crèche upwards, and develops something that we in India almost completely lack, which two countries in the wide world have, to a tremendous extent, the two countries being the United States of America and the Soviet Union, that is, a technical view of life. They are technical-minded to an amazing degree. The machine is God to both these countries. It is astounding how similar these two countries are even though politically they might be apart today. These facilities have been given and those facilities have naturally produced results. You cannot produce a genius by any manner or means. But what you can do is to produce an environment in which a potential genius can develop, or also to give facilities so that there is a large reservoir of competent men doing science, a very large number doing it. Science advances really not so much because of genius but because of the work of a very large number of competent and talented men adding a step to other steps taken by somebody else.

Shri Bharucha made a suggestion which seemed to be rather remarkable. He said some kind of search team should be sent to find out talented people in science and he gave, I believe if I am not wrong, as an example, the cinema owners going out to search for stars or starlets. I hope I am not wrong in that.

Naushir Bharucha: In broadcasting also.

JN: I should imagine that the qualities necessary for a scientist are somewhat different from the potential star in the cinema world. The latter qualities are, if I may say so, external and can be judged more easily by the eye or by the ear, while the scientist's qualities are more internal.

But the real way to proceed is, first of all, for a widespread teaching of science; and secondly, I entirely agree with Shri Bharucha for scholarships and others to encourage every person who shows a particular aptitude.

May I say, apart from our starting the national laboratories, right from that time, this five-year plan business, etc., is after all an attempt, maybe a meagre

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attempt, maybe not as good an attempt as we would like it to be, but an attempt of an approach on scientific lines to our problems.

Honourable Members today talk fluently about planning. But, I should like to remind them that planning 10 years ago was not an easy subject to talk about; or rather not a subject which went down easily with people. If I may say so without disrespect to an old colleague of mine, a respected colleague—he left our Government because he did not approve of the Planning Commission being formed.⁵ Just that not the individuals in the Planning Commission but just the idea of planning was not agreeable to him. There were difficulties in the way. However, this planning operation began and haltingly and stumblingly, if you like, with mistakes; anyhow, it went forward. There too you will find in the first Planning Commission Report and the second this reference to science and the importance of science and technology. So, it is not merely a question of putting out a resolution suddenly but of building up an atmosphere for it, educating the outer public for it and gradually bringing it to such a pitch that the resolution represents a reality and not just some pious hope. When Shri Bharucha said that this may be a pious hope as resolutions are, I would respectfully remind him that this is the culmination of much work that we have done, not the beginning of it.

I should like just to refer to a number of matters that have been said. Many of the criticisms that have been made are, perhaps, justified. Many may or may not; it depends on what is your standard of measurement because you have to measure these things having regard to the background that we work with in India, not telling me that in the Soviet Union this is done, in England this is done. Conditions are different there; there is a tremendous deal of work behind, a period of time and all that.

Again, some criticisms have been made which, I must say, appear to me to be rather uncharitable to our institutes and others. I think our national laboratories have made mistakes, naturally, but by and large, they have done very good work. And I was surprised to learn from some of the honourable Members who spoke that these laboratories would not, it was said, do a particular type of work. Some laboratory, it was said, would not do State work—I just do not understand that—and that they wanted only work sent by the Central Government. This was news to me because most of these laboratories undertake any problem that is sent to them by any individual, private, public, Government, State or Central. Most of the problems that come to them are not from government at all. They are either from some institution or private firm or from some government agency. Some problems are purely governmental problems; and there are other

5. John Matthai resigned as Union Minister of Finance in May 1950 over differences concerning the appointment and the purpose of the Planning Commission. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 14, Pt. II, pp. 200-203 and pp. 227-250.

problems they are dealing with all the time. I do not know where any difficulty arose about it.

Talking about education, much was said about education. Here again, it is not an easy matter. I am not at all happy about the state of our education, though I will say this that we have made very considerable progress. It is not enough for us; we want more progress—that is a different matter—both in quality and quantity. But we have made very considerable progress in these last few years. Anyhow, I am not happy at the state of science in our education: that is perfectly true. There is a lack of competent instructors, there is a lack of equipment, and, it is now, I believe, changing and I hope will change rapidly. I am not happy at the state of science even in our universities, also again for lack of equipment often because science will ultimately be taught really in our universities not so much in our big institutions and national laboratories. These institutions are there to take the products of the universities and not to deprive the universities of their best men and undertake teaching. I do wish that in our universities much more effort is given to the teaching of basic science.

Unfortunately, the universities sometimes want to show off in the sense they will say, "Oh, we teach atomic energy," when atomic energy requires vast equipment and apparatus and all that. I am not referring to normal nuclear physics. That, of course, every university should teach. But I am talking about higher work—our atomic teaching in Bombay and elsewhere wherever it is, the higher course I mean. Because of the reactors and all that, we cannot do it in every university. In the United States of America they may do because they have got vast resources. We have not got the men and if we spread out our men here and there we never get that team work which is required for higher power work. But what the universities have got to do today is to teach basic science, and basic science includes basic nuclear science, in a competent way so as to give a very thorough grounding to our students; and then they can go on to our specialised institutes, etc., where they can continue their studies.

Another thing: it was often said about scientists becoming administrators. Shri Bharucha said something which sent a shiver down my spine. He said that the scientists must be kept well within their spheres and not allowed to interfere with policy. This is just the reverse of what most of the other Members have been saying previous to him. I can understand that and it is perfectly right to say that the scientist should not waste his special knowledge and experience over some relatively secondary matter like administration, I agree: I say it deliberately. Administration is a relatively secondary matter to high-class science work and I fail to see why the scientist in our country takes to administration. Of course, administration is considered to be the topmost thing and everything else is secondary. That really represents the state of backwardness of our country. It is a relic of the British times. In any advanced country, the administrator is always respected but he finds his proper place; he is not on the shoulders or

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head of everybody as he was in India. Scientists, engineers, educationists, authors—all these people find their place in an advanced country. I do not want an able scientist to lose his time in administration as such. I have been worried that a man like Dr Bhabha should have to spend so much time over just administration and we are trying to find a way out, giving him a very competent man to take away the administration part of his work, though he will be there in supervisory charge. These problems have to be dealt with as they come. On the other hand, if Dr Bhabha had not been there in charge, to some extent, of administration also, the Atomic Energy Commission would never have gone up the way it has gone up already. Again today scientists spend quite a lot of time in attending conferences, wandering about all over the world. I do not know what to do about it. I suppose it is necessary. This applies to scientists all over the world.

I may say that our Defence Science Organisation has made very considerable progress under its very able head, Dr Kothari. In fact I hope—I am not thinking in terms of any tremendous weapons and all that; we are not competing with Russia or America—that in many ways it is going to show adequate results.

There is again one thing which the honourable Members may or may not know. One of the divisions of our Planning Commission—I forget what it is; it is perhaps the Manpower Division—has produced a remarkable series of studies on manpower, remarkable not only in the efficiency and the speed with which it has been working but the remarkable work that has been done. I should like to give due credit to that particular division. It is a small division under a very competent head. I am sorry I cannot distribute copies of them but they have been placed in the library here. There are nine or ten separate studies which will give you complete facts about engineers, technicians of all types in India and Indians abroad. All that is necessary before we can plan. I hope to get these things printed and then the honourable Members can see but even now they are available in the library.

There are so many other things that I should like to refer to. I was surprised to hear Shri Mukerjee saying that the Indian Statistical Institute near Calcutta had not produced a single machine. As a matter of fact, they have produced a rather remarkable accounting machine which is in demand all over the world and it is considered to be a big feather in their cap. It is the first time that I have heard that they pay Rs 10 lakh as rent. I did not know whom they pay to and how and where they got the machine from. I would really like to find out.⁶

6. H.N. Mukerjee quoted a report from *The Statesman* (Calcutta edition) of 11 April 1958 that the workshop in the Statistical Institute had not produced any machine since its inception, and had imported equipment worth some two million rupees. He said that "machines to make machines are there and ... we are paying Rs 10 lakhs every year as rental for these machines but the machines which should have been built by those machines are not yet forthcoming."

I am interested in this matter. I have been there and I have seen even their budgets but this particular fact never came before me.

Shri Mukerjee has suggested that a committee should be appointed to look into our national laboratories. In the rules, I believe it is stated that every five years a high-power committee should go round and examine our national laboratories and institutions of importance. We have had two such committees. The last one, I think, met two years ago and it consisted of mostly Indian scientists but one very eminent British scientist was also on it. He was the Chairman or a member—I forget. That committee produced a big and interesting report. This fact is constantly before our mind—about this kind of reappraisal of the actual work done. Now we are trying to do this smaller reappraisal frequently and in fact we are appointing special scientists for that.

Again an impression was created by speeches that our laboratories are not doing any research especially in regard to food. Only three days ago, I visited the Pasteur Institute and the Nutritional Research Institute at Coonoor.⁷ I was much struck by the very fine work done there. The Pasteur Institute I refer to not so much because of rabies and dog-bites but because they are doing extraordinarily good work in regard to influenza and the new influenza epidemic. Very soon after the thing arrived they produced enormous quantities of vaccine and checked this disease in India. The Nutritional Research Institute there is also doing remarkably good work in that field. I do not say that other institutions could not do better work.

I would just refer to one thing. An eminent scientist who works in Almora, Dr Boshi Sen,⁸ showed me the other day a very fine variety of irradiated wheat which really is something surprising: how the use of little isotopes had improved that wheat and how that would increase wheat production tremendously.

There are many things, Sir. The subject interests me. I am glad that it interests the House. I could speak about the other aspects but I do not wish to take up the time of the House any further except to say that I appreciate all that has been said in praise or appreciation of this Resolution and I earnestly hope that the Government will be able to live up to this Resolution and will have the support of the House.

7. On 28 April 1958.

8. For Boshi Sen's work on irradiated wheat, see *ante*, pp. 156-157.

5. Atomic Power Plant¹

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H.C. Dasappa:² May I know whether the idea is not to put up the atomic power plant where we cannot easily have hydel power or thermal power?³

Jawaharlal Nehru: This will be our first atomic plant for production of power. It might be said that it is going to be an experimental plant and we are going to put it up where conditions are most favourable, obviously. We do not want to put it up in a place where it is difficult. But broadly speaking, we put up a plant where other sources of electric power are not available.

V.P. Nair:⁴ I want to know whether the rates of production of atomic energy as compared to energy by hydel power or other methods have been worked out tentatively and, if so, what will be the advantage of this compared to hydel power?

JN: The other day Dr Bhabha addressed Members of Parliament on this very subject and dealt with this in some detail, the rates, etc.⁵ He showed that even now the rates would be favourable, except in places where coal is near or hydro-electric power is available easily. That is, in distant areas it will be favourable. But apart from that, there are almost daily improvements going on which make it cheaper to produce atomic energy. The latest developments indicate that the rates are likely to be cheaper. But all this apart, it is desirable for us to have an experimental atomic power station merely to keep abreast of this developing science. Whether we extend it further for real practical uses, that will depend upon the circumstances prevailing.

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P.K. Deo:⁶ Is it more expensive and if it is more expensive, how much?

1. Extracts from replies to questions in the Lok Sabha, 2 May 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XVI, cols. 12806-12808.
2. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Bangalore, Mysore State.
3. The question related to the site and cost of the installation of an atomic plant.
4. Communist Member of the Lok Sabha from Quilon, Kerala.
5. Homi J. Bhabha addressed the Members of Parliament on 20 March 1958 on "The Economics of Atomic Research."
6. Independent Member of the Lok Sabha from Kalahandi, Orissa.

JN: Our calculations show that the costs compare very favourably if the atomic power plant is put up not in a coal area where coal is near, not in an area where hydro-electric power is easily available, where probably they would not compare favourably. Suppose, broadly speaking, we put it up somewhere in Rajasthan, somewhere far away from coal, they would probably be favourable. It depends on the location of the plant.

Joachim Alva:⁷ In regard to atomic power and energy, we are happy that we have received offers of co-operation and assistance from the USA, Canada and the UK and the USSR. May I know whether we are drawing from the experience of these countries or demand that any one of them helps us in setting up the plant?

JN: Yes, Sir. We have received help from them. We have got quite a large number of our eminent young scientists under training in various countries abroad. But, fortunately, we possess enough competent men to deal with these matters by themselves.

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7. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Kanara, Mysore State.

6. To N.N. Das-Gupta¹

New Delhi
2nd May, 1958

Dear Prof Das-Gupta,²

Thank you for your letter of April 28.

I have no doubt that an Institute of Medical Physics would be desirable. But I suppose this will involve considerable expenditure, both internal and in foreign exchange. At the present moment, we are cutting down every possible expenditure that we can and I do not see how we can possibly undertake a new project of this kind. It is just physical disability that comes in our way, not any reluctance to do so.

- File No. 44(144)/58-61-PMS.
- Niraj Nath Das-Gupta (b.1909); Scientist; Research Associate, Stanford University, California, 1945-46; Reader, Calcutta University, 1947-52; member, Senate and Academic Council, Calcutta University; member, American Physical Society since 1946; Fellow, National Institute of Sciences; General Secretary, Indian Physical Society; Secretary, Biophysics Research Committee for Biophysics since 1961.

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Meanwhile, would it not be helpful for our major hospitals and institutes to have units of Medical Physics?³

You have been good enough to ask me to become a founder member of the Institute. I am trying to avoid association of this kind with institutes and so I hope you will excuse me.

I shall of course gladly meet you whenever you happen to come to Delhi. But I am rather heavily occupied till the 12th of May and I might be going out of Delhi soon after.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Professor Das-Gupta had enclosed a copy of a "Plan for an Institute of Medical Physics" which had been prepared under the directions of late Meghnad Saha. At Dr B.C. Roy's initiative, the Calcutta Corporation had agreed to lease 4 *bighas* of corporation land for constructing the buildings of the proposed Institute. He also wrote that Nehru had supported the idea of utilisation of the fruits of Physical Research for Medical purposes when the plan was first mooted out as early as 1940.

7. To Homi J. Bhabha¹

New Delhi
May 7, 1958

My dear Homi,

I received your letter of May 4th, after our conversation on the telephone.

The difficulty we have in fixing salaries is not so much for individual cases, but for particular grades, etc. I agree with you entirely about the importance and status of the Atomic Energy Commission Chairman, etc. The higher salaries we pay now, except for some individual cases, are relics of past commitments. Most of them will fade out in the course of the next few years. The position then will be that the maximum salary will be Rs 3,000. But, in some special cases, we shall give more. Among these special cases can certainly be the Atomic Energy Commission. Therefore, fixing a grade salary higher than the normal one, even though that might be justified, embarrasses us in regard to other appointments.

I agree with you, however, that the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission be paid Rs 4,000 per month, and the Director of the Atomic Energy Establishment, Trombay, who is also a full time member of the Atomic Energy Commission, should be paid Rs 3,500 per month.

1. File No. 17(62)/57-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

You mention free cars for both of them. I would suggest that the Atomic Energy Establishment should keep a car for use of the Chairman and other members. To have a free car for a particular person again raises a difficulty in regard to a number of others where we have been consistently deciding against it. Alternatively, it might be possible to give a car allowance.

This is practically what you have suggested, and I hope you will agree to it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Atomic Fuels¹

Aurobindo Ghosal:² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether Government are in a position to reprocess the atomic fuels into nuclear fuels in our country?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The question is not clear as the terms "atomic fuels" and "nuclear fuels" are synonymous. A small uranium plant, which will turn uranium concentrates into reactor grade uranium metal, is under construction and is likely to go into operation by the end of the year. Natural uranium contains about 0.7 per cent of the fissionable isotopes uranium-235 and hence can be used directly as nuclear fuel in reactors. If, however, the question refers to the periodic reprocessing of the fuel elements and breeder blankets in nuclear reactors, the position is that the setting up of facilities for the separation of plutonium and fission products from irradiated uranium and for the recovery of U-233 from thorium breeder blankets are under active considerations.

1. Reply to a question in the Lok Sabha, 7 May 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XVII, col. 13648.
2. Forward Bloc Member of the Lok Sabha from Uluberia, West Bengal.

9. Radio-Active Waste¹

Harish Chandra Mathur² and others: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the question of dumping radio-active waste in the sea has been considered by the International Atomic Energy Agency;
- (b) if so, what are the conclusions arrived at; and
- (c) what contribution has been made by India towards the solution of this problem?

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) and (b). The method of dumping radioactive wastes on the sea is only one way of disposing of such wastes and is a part of the wider issue of waste disposal in general. The subject of waste disposal is included among the health and safety activities of the International Atomic Energy Agency. There have been some very preliminary discussions on the subject at meetings of the Board of Governors of the Agency, but no conclusions have been arrived at.

(c) The general question of safe disposal of radioactive wastes is under the active consideration of a committee appointed by the Director of the Atomic Energy Establishment at Trombay.

H.C. Mathur: May I know whether the attention of the Prime Minister has been drawn to a recent note by the USSR on this subject, complaining against this disposal of radio-active waste? The statement made by the Prime Minister in that this problem does not baffle us at all. May I know what the correct position is? While speaking on the Demands for Grants, he stated that we had no problem whatsoever, and that the discharge in the ocean was absolutely safe, and there was less of radio-activity in it than in the ordinary water. May I know what the correct position is, and how the two things reconcile?

JN: My answer previously related to what we were doing at Trombay, and we gave the assurance that that involved no danger to anybody at all. I was not making that statement in regard to everything that was happening in the wide world, as to how other countries were disposing of it. Obviously, I neither know fully, nor can I give an assurance.

1. Reply to questions in the Lok Sabha, 7 May 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XVII, cols. 13581-13583.
2. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Pali, Rajasthan.

The honourable Member referred to the USSR protesting against something. I can say nothing about it, as I do not know all the facts.

Sushila Nayyar:³ May I know whether the Prime Minister will be pleased to see to it that our students taking training in atomic energy in different parts of the world are given full details as to how we are dealing with this problem in India, because they are very much puzzled when people ask them about it and they do not know the answer?

JN: I am surprised to hear that, because the students who have been sent abroad are students who almost always have worked in these establishments at Trombay. So, it is not a question of their being told. They know from personal experience. There might be a special case of a person who has not worked there. If the lady Member could draw my attention to any particular fact in her knowledge, I shall enquire.

Nemi Chandra Kasliwal:⁴ The Prime Minister will recall that a few months back, there was some accident at Harwell in UK in some Atomic Energy Establishment, and subsequently we read that thousands of gallons of contaminated milk and some other waste were thrown into the sea.⁵ May I know whether Government has received any reports on the effect of this dumping into the sea of that contaminated milk and other waste?

JN: The British Government, and I believe, the British Atomic Energy Commission issued statements about this matter, about the accident at Harwell and the steps taken.

H. C. Mathur: May I know whether the method and the procedure adopted by us at Trombay is in any way different from that adopted by other countries?

JN: I cannot answer this question unless I know about the exact procedure in every country. Obviously, most of the procedures are common; they learn from each other—they might vary here and there, but the basic approach must be the same.

3. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Jhansi, UP.
4. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Kotah, Rajasthan, 1952-62.
5. The Atomic Energy Research Establishment, known as AERE near Harwell, Oxfordshire, was the main centre for atomic energy research and development in the United Kingdom from the 1940s to 1990s. In October 1957, two reactors had to be shut down for a while and there were reports of radioactive contamination in the milk from cows of that area.

10. Small Nations and Atomic Weapons¹

Please see the attached letter from Miss Muriel Lester² from Japan and my reply to her.³

It is interesting to find that China has as many as 77 sites prepared already for the production of nuclear weapons.

In a recent paper by Professor M.L. Oliphant, the Nuclear Physicist of Australia,⁴ it is said that while it is very difficult for small nations to make successful nuclear power plants, as this is an extremely complex undertaking, a small nation with a reasonable background of science and technology can manufacture atomic weapons on a small scale if it so wishes.

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA and Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 11 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. (1883-1968); social reformer, pacifist, feminist and a prominent member of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation; founded, along with her sister Doris Lester, Kingsley Hall, a welfare workers settlement in East End, London, 1914; visited India several times; host to Mahatma Gandhi in London in 1931; and toured India with him in 1934; detained many times during the Second World War; works include *Why Forbid Us?, My Host the Hindu, Entertaining Gandhi, and Gandhi: World Citizen*.
3. See the next item.
4. Marcus Laurence Elwin Oliphant (1901-2000); nuclear physicist; worked on the atomic bomb project at Los Alamos, 1943-45; but later strongly argued against the US monopoly of atomic secrets.

11. To Muriel Lester¹

New Delhi
May 11, 1958

Dear Muriel Lester,

Thank you for your letter of the 21st April 1958. I quite agree with you that the deliberate cultivation of hate in any country is terrible to contemplate. I suppose this is the inevitable outcome of cold war.

As for your question about nuclear weapons, I cannot obviously say anything as to what China is doing in the matter. No doubt, the Chinese Government will be interested in producing nuclear weapons as they have no inhibitions in this respect. But I can give a clear definite answer about India. There is no question

1. JN Collection.

of our producing atomic weapons now or in the future. I have stated this publicly in Parliament and elsewhere on many occasions. It is true that we have reactors working for the production of atomic energy for civil purposes, that is, for power. It is our programme to have a power station probably in 1961. For the rest, our reactors are used for experimental purposes and for the production of isotopes for medical, agricultural and like purposes.

It may be said, of course, that if we have atomic energy, we can, with a little effort, also use the apparatus for the production of some kind of weapons. That may be so. All I can say is that we are determined not to do so. You can certainly tell people that we have publicly pledged ourselves not to produce atomic weapons.

In regard to our scientific atomic energy work, we have been in contact with a number of other countries, including the UK, France, the USA, Norway and to some extent the USSR. We have exported some material to France for this purpose to be processed and then returned to us.

As you perhaps know, our leading scientist in nuclear work is Dr Homi Bhabha, who presided over the International Atomic Energy Conference at Geneva two years ago. He is in touch with atomic energy work in many countries which he has personally visited. Owing to our limited power resources we are anxious to develop atomic energy for power purposes in the future. But this will naturally take time.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. To D.S. Kothari¹

New Delhi
May 16, 1958

My dear Kothari,

You explained to me today about your scheme for training junior scientists in Defence Science. This training was to be in India where, you suggested that 50 persons should be taken in every year for five years, that is, totalling 250. That they should be paid Rs 250 per month during training which should last from one to two years, depending on the subject. After training they were to be engaged on a starting salary of Rs 350 per month.

1. JN Collection.

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Your second proposal was for sending some of these trained junior scientists abroad for further special training. Your idea was that 25 to 30 persons should be sent every year. For the present, however, you wanted to send ten persons. The average stay abroad would be from three to six months and in rare cases upto twelve months.

You gave me some kind of a rough estimate of expenditure, but that does not seem to fit in with the other figures.

Anyhow, we are broadly agreeable to your scheme. I suggest that this should be drawn up carefully now with proper estimates, etc., and should be processed in the normal way.

Your other proposals related to salary scales. You suggested that there should be four posts of Directors or Deputy Scientific Advisers on a scale of Rs 2,000 to 2,500 and four posts at Rs 1,800 to 2,000. You suggested further some revisions in pay scales.

I suggest that your proposals should be formally drawn up and processed in the normal way.

In this connection you also suggested that the retirement age of officers of the Defence Science Organisation should be raised from 55 to 60 years.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Defence Minister.²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. V.K. Krishna Menon.

13. To Lal Bahadur Shastri¹

New Delhi
19th May, 1958

My dear Lal Bahadur,²

I have received the following telegram from Dr Bhabha from Brussels:

"Minister for Commerce and Industry has rejected Board recommendation and ordered invitation of fresh tenders for accessories and cascade for fertilizers heavy water plant. Government decision in this matter cannot be taken unilaterally by Commerce Ministry but only jointly with this Department. Course now

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Commerce and Industry.

proposed will delay completion of entire project and is not in Government's interest.

2. Although Thapar³ has not yet joined, he has been member of Board as Agriculture Secretary. Suggest you call him accompanied by Mukharji⁴ to explain entire position.

Recommend matter be reconsidered and Board's decision accepted."

I do not know the facts about this, but I should like you immediately to look into them.

Some time ago, some decisions were taken about the fertilizer plant by the Commerce Ministry overruling the Directors there which seemed to be rather unwise. The matter came up before Parliament in the shape of questions. I should like, therefore, care to be taken in such matters and the Commerce and Industry Ministry not overruling the experts running a corporation or a company. I shall, therefore, be glad if you will look into this matter and let me know what the facts are.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. P.N. Thapar.

4. B.C. Mukharji, Managing Director of the Nangal Fertilizer Heavy Water Project.

14. To Lal Bahadur Shastri¹

New Delhi
May 19, 1958

My dear Lal Bahadur,

I have separately today sent you copy of a telegram from Dr Bhabha about the Nangal Fertilizer Heavy Water Project. I am now enclosing a copy of a letter I have received from Dr Bhabha.

In this letter he says that everything pertaining to the heavy water aspect of the Nangal Project should be processed by the Department of Atomic Energy, as this is a highly technical matter about which others cannot form a correct opinion.² I am inclined to agree with him. Anyhow, I think that this matter might well be considered by the Cabinet. In any event, of course, there should be the closest

1. JN Collection.

2. Bhabha had suggested that the Department of Atomic Energy should be considered the Administrative Ministry for the heavy water work aspect of the Nangal Project.

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cooperation between the Department of Atomic Energy and your Ministry in dealing with it, because heavy water will be intimately connected with the fertilizer part of the project.

I am not expert enough in these matters to express an opinion. But it does seem to me that in a matter so intimately connected with atomic energy, the Department of Atomic Energy should well be brought into the picture.

I am going away tomorrow but I shall be back in ten or twelve days' time. Meanwhile, this matter might well be discussed fully by your Ministry with B.C. Mukharji, Managing Director of the Project, and with Thapar who will soon be joining the Atomic Energy Department. We might consider this in Cabinet early in June when I come back.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

15. To D.S. Kothari¹

New Delhi
June 6, 1958

My dear Kothari,

I wanted to see you today, but I learned that you had gone to Kasauli. I suppose you have gone there to work hard at the book.²

I wanted to tell you that perhaps we might want you to go to Europe by about the end of this month or so. You know that President Eisenhower made a suggestion for a conference of experts to examine if it was possible to detect violations of any agreement to put an end to nuclear tests. This proposal was made to the Soviet Union and it was suggested that the UK and France should also send their experts. The Soviet Union has accepted the proposal, but have suggested that some other countries including India might also be invited to send their experts. The Soviet Prime Minister sent me a message to this effect also.

It is possible, therefore, that we might have to participate in this experts' conference, though I am not sure. Neither the date nor the venue has been settled. Everyone wants it soon, but I doubt if it can meet before the end of this month. As for the venue, various places have been suggested. I imagine that Geneva will probably be fixed.

1. JN Collection.

2. Kothari was revising his book *Nuclear Explosions and Their Effects*.

If we are invited to participate in this conference, I should like you to represent us together with A.S. Rao,³ who is a Deputy Chief Scientific Officer in the Atomic Energy Establishment at Trombay and who is in charge, among other things, of the Air Monitoring Division. A.S. Rao is at present either in Europe or America. He is serving on the UN Scientific Committee on effects of atomic radiation.

I discussed this matter with Homi Bhabha also, and he agreed on your name and Rao's.

I hope you will be able to accept this assignment. For the moment everything is vague, but once a decision is taken, things may move fairly fast. I shall keep you informed.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. (1914-2003); joined the Department of Atomic Energy as a nuclear physicist, 1948; Director, Electronic Group and Directorate of Radiation Protection, Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, early 1950s; Managing Director, Electronics Corporation of India Limited, 1967; Member, Electronic Committee, Government of India, 1971; received Shanti Swaroop Bhatnagar Award for Engineering Sciences, 1965; awarded Padma Bhushan, 1972.

16. To Savitri Nigam¹

New Delhi
June 6, 1958

Dear Savitri,²

I have your letter of June 4th, with which you have sent your brother-in-law's letter. I have read both.

I think your brother-in-law has some justification for what he has written. But, nevertheless, he has done less than justice to what has happened in India. People living in the United States judge from American standards, which obviously are not applicable to India as we are today.

We have been very much concerned at the fact that many of our able scientists are working abroad and doing good work there. We should like them

1. JN Collection.

2. Social worker and Member of the Rajya Sabha from Uttar Pradesh, 1952-62.

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to come here. Obviously, we cannot possibly pay them the salaries they get in the United States or afford them the same amenities. But, as a matter of fact, we are trying to give a better deal to our scientists than most others get here.

There are, of course, brilliant scientists in the United States and elsewhere abroad. But, quite a number of Americans who have come here apparently as experts on behalf of some American foundation or other, and they come in considerable numbers, have struck me as rather second-rate stuff. They get paid much more, of course, than people who are abler than them working here.

As many cases happened of people coming back after training in science or technology in foreign countries and not getting any suitable post for some time, we have now devised a scheme to avoid this as far as possible. Every well trained person will be taken immediately into a pool even if there is no particular post available for him for the moment. He will be attached to some laboratory or industrial plant and given some minimum salary. As soon as a proper post is available, he will get it. As for senior men abroad, obviously each individual has to be dealt with separately according to his qualifications and experience.

There is a reference to some 'foundation' in your brother-in-law's letter. I know nothing about it and, therefore, I can express no opinion at this stage. Any such proposal will naturally be carefully considered by us here.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

17. To Homi J. Bhabha¹

New Delhi
June 6, 1958

My dear Homi,²

Your letter of June 4th about A.S. Rao. We have no news yet about the proposed conference of experts and the possibility of India being invited to it. We can, therefore, take no steps on the basis that we have got to take part in the conference. Meanwhile, I have told Kothari that he might be asked to go there as well as A.S. Rao. Kothari is at present at Kasauli, finishing his revision of the second edition of "Atomic Explosions". I spoke to him on the telephone, and wrote to him also. He said that if I wanted him to go, he would do so, but he seemed to think that you ought to go. I told him that I had approached him at your own suggestion.

1. JN Collection.

2. Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy.

You might, perhaps, write to A.S. Rao that there is this possibility of his being asked to attend this proposed conference. He should be mentally prepared for it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

18. To M.S. Thacker¹

New Delhi
June 7, 1958

My dear Thacker,²

I forget if I wrote to you about stainless steel which was produced in our Metallurgical Laboratory in Jamshedpur. Somebody has been doing propaganda that this is nothing new and is just a copy of a method known in the West. Because of this rather surprising statement, I should like you to tell me that the complaint is quite false.

I gather that our Defence Ministry is also taking this new method of making stainless steel. Is this the same method as the new one at Jamshedpur? Is this stainless steel named after you?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(300)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Director General, CSIR and Secretary, Department of Scientific Research and Technical Education.

19. To M.S. Thacker¹

New Delhi
June 7, 1958

My dear Thacker,

Your letter of the 4th June with which you have sent me the preliminary report on "Indian Scientists and Technologists in Foreign Countries." I take it that this list includes Government scholars as well as private students abroad.

1. File No. 17(60)/56-58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

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I should like you to send this report to all the Members of the Central Government—Cabinet Ministers, Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers and to the Planning Commission. You might also send it to Chief Ministers of States.

What I am concerned about is the future of these people. In the concluding remarks of the report, it is said that these people have no assured future in the employment market in India, and therefore they may have to wait a long time. This is highly unsatisfactory. It is because of this that some time ago we talked about an employment pool for all these persons. I wrote to you separately about this today.² I should like to know exactly how matters stand.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Nehru wrote (not printed) to Thacker on 6 June 1958 that in his reply to an MP he had referred to "our approach to Indian Scientists and technologists abroad and to the kind of pool we wish to create here, I do not know how far things have progressed. I am inclined to think that we are moving rather slowly in this direction when speed is necessary." See also *ante*, pp. 265-266.

20. To Laimayum Lalit Madhob Sharma¹

New Delhi
28th June 1958

Dear Lalit Madhobji,²

I have received your message about the presence of nickel in Manipur.³ I do not quite understand the relation of this to your request for immediate arrangements to be made for some local people to be trained in metallurgy. People cannot be

1. JN Collection.
2. Laimayum Lalit Madhob Sharma (1893-1964); political worker; founder, Manipur Swayam Sevak, 1925; founder, Imphal Branch, All India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, 1933; President, Nikhil Manipur Mahasabha, 1936 and Manipur State Congress, 1953; Member (i) Committee of History of Freedom Movement, 1953 (ii) Manipur State Jail Advisory Committee 1954, (iii) Social Welfare Implementing Committee, 1956, and (iv) Adim Jati Shiksha Agrasar Advisory Board, 1956; Secretary, Untouchability Removal Committee, 1956; Congress Member of Rajya Sabha from Manipur, 1956-64.
3. Lalit Madhob in his message of 25 June wrote: "In view of large deposits of nickel in Manipur it is highly desirable that local men be sent for training in metallurgy immediately. Grateful if you kindly arrange one seat for degree course in Metallurgical Engineering preferably in Banaras Hindu University. Sibpur second preference. It is understood that there is only diploma course in Dhanbad. Hope that seat will be arranged in best available college. Name of candidate will be forwarded shortly through Chief Commissioner. Will be grateful for early reply."

trained in any specialised course unless they have attained a certain standard previously. We should like to encourage people from Manipur to get such training, but they will have to go through the normal procedures and courses.⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Nehru wrote to M.S. Thacker, Secretary, Department of Scientific Research and Technical Education, and Director General, CSIR, New Delhi, on 28 June (not printed) asking him whether it was true that there were large deposits of nickel in Manipur and if we were "taking any special steps in that regard?" He further wrote "Can we arrange to get some local person to get the necessary training?"

21. To Swaran Singh¹

New Delhi
30th June 1958

My dear Swaran Singh,²

Looking through one of the China magazines, my attention was drawn to an article headed "10,000 Small Blast Furnaces—20 Million Tons of Pig Iron". It struck me that we have become so involved in our big steel plants that we have perhaps not given enough thought to these small furnaces which, in their totality, could produce a lot of pig iron. Also the fact that they are spread out will benefit many a large number of areas in the country. I should like you to give thought to this matter.

There is another article in this magazine relating to small power stations. In the Kulu Valley recently it struck me that we could utilise the plentiful water supplies in various places for the erection of small stations which might be just enough for a village or two. In fact, in Manali, the local big man, Banon, had a small power station which was used by him for electric power and for sawing wood. Could we not encourage these small stations? It is true that their output is low but we could get immediate benefit in the locality.

I am sending you this magazine—*China Today*³. After reading it, perhaps you could send it to our electrical people.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel.
3. *China Today* dated 25 June 1958.

V. SOCIAL ISSUES

1. Ameliorate the Conditions of Harijans¹

Rajabhoji,² brothers and sisters,

Your organisation is called the Bharat Dalit Sewak Sangh.³ The first thing that I would like to tell you is that I do not like this name at all. Nobody must ever call himself 'dalit'—downtrodden. I agree that in India, our society has suppressed a large section of people for centuries, and with no opportunity to advance they became downtrodden. But you must not call yourselves downtrodden because that influences your thinking. We do not want anyone to live in separate compartments, that is why Mahatma Gandhi had started referring to them as Harijans, which is a beautiful word. But words like untouchables or depressed classes, though correct in a sense, stigmatise an individual and it becomes difficult to get out of such categories. Therefore, I do not like the idea very much of making separate laws for Harijans. I agree that we have to help them because they have been suppressed for long and have been deprived of all opportunities to advance. Given an opportunity, they will advance and so it is essential to provide them opportunities. So it is proper that there should be reservation even in politics for a few years. But in principle it is not a good thing because the moment you do this, you tend to weaken them. They become incapable of standing on their own feet.

1. Address to workers of the Bharat Dalit Sewak Sangh, New Delhi, 2 April 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. P.N. Rajabhoj (1905-1984); journalist and agriculturist; left government service in Revenue Department, Bombay in 1925 and worked for the uplift of Backward Classes; elected to the Poona City Municipality, 1927 and nominated member, Poona District, Local Board; Member, Indian National Congress, 1930-34; Represented the Depressed Classes on the Franchise Committee at the time of the Simon Commission; General Secretary, All India Depressed Classes League, 1935-37; Signatory to the "Poona Pact"; General Secretary, All India Scheduled Castes Federation, 1942-55; attended Simla Conference as a representative of the Scheduled Castes; Working Committee Member, All India Depressed Classes Association; Member, Backward Classes Board, Bombay State; Vice-President, Depressed Classes Mission Society of India; President, Indian Buddhist Society and President, Bharat Dalit Sewak Sangh; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57.
3. The aim of the Sangh, founded in 1955, was to remove social backwardness of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes through non-violence and persuasion. The Sangh was also preparing workers who would devote their life to the uplift of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Anyhow, I do not like the idea of anyone calling himself downtrodden because it stands in the way of his progress. At the same time, we must not shut our eyes to the reality either. We must comprehend the problem. Moreover, no race or people can go very far, except by their own effort. It is all very well to provide opportunities or help but that alone will not do unless an individual or community has inner strength. India became free by her own strength and not by the help of others, and India will grow when there is an economic revolution in the country and our big economic problems are solved. We are a poor country and yet we must advance by our own strength. We will certainly accept any help from outside gratefully but that will be only a drop in the ocean. In what does our strength lie? It does not lie in gold or silver but in hard work. We must work hard if we want to increase production from land, industries and cottage industries, etc., which can be converted into gold and silver later on.

You have said that untouchability must be removed. It is obvious that it must be removed and it is gradually going. I have no doubt about that and we must make an effort to get rid of it completely. But the most important thing is to uplift the people because other things will follow automatically. What does that mean? It means making the people educated and, secondly, improving their economic condition. These are the two things which are especially important. Thirdly, everyone should get employment. But that does not mean making reservations and keeping 50 posts here or there for them. Whether posts are reserved or not is a different matter. The essential thing for you is to make yourselves better off by your own effort. Nobody can then stop you.

So, first of all, I would say that proper arrangements for your education must be made and along with it practical training in some field or the other should also be provided because book-learning alone, though essential, is not enough. Our educational system must be improved by including some practical training in some craft. As you know, nowadays education involves some practical work too. It is not purely mental work. India is advancing industrially and small, cottage and heavy industries are coming up very fast. We must train people to work in them. You must remember that the days when government jobs were considered superior are gone. There will have to be government servants, clerks and what not, but now new avenues of employment are opening up, which involve manual work, and our education must lean in that direction. If everyone wants safe government clerical jobs, one cannot go very far. It will be far better for people to train themselves for some useful occupation instead of pushing files the whole day.

We must have confidence in ourselves because that makes us strong. Secondly, we must get rid of feelings of bitterness and hatred. If there is something wrong or unjust, it is natural to feel angry. If a particular section of society is suppressed, it is bound to give rise to anger. But retaliation out of anger will fritter away our energy in useless quarrels. I agree that there are

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many bad people in India but there are lots of good people too. But why quarrel about it? It is right that one should safeguard one's rights. However, it must be done by improving oneself through education and training. But if it is done by pulling down and suppressing others, then it takes a different form altogether.

So, you are holding a camp, which is a good thing. You will meet together and discuss various things, pass resolutions, etc. Passing resolutions is a good thing but resolutions do not achieve anything. You must decide how you are going to work to achieve your goals. Please remember that resolutions are of two types. Gandhiji taught us a special method of passing resolutions, which is to tell yourselves and not others what must be done. It makes a great difference. In the beginning, during the freedom struggle, we used to make demands on the British Government and took no action ourselves. The British would turn a deaf ear. Gandhiji told us to forget about them and think what we could do to increase our strength. So when the Congress resolutions began to mention about the things that the people of India were going to do, the British Government sat up and took notice of such things. Therefore, in your resolutions, you must try to chalk out a plan of action, to strengthen yourselves, to provide better educational opportunities to your children, which will have an impact on others. Then they will realise that you mean business and that you are not the sort to sit idle and indulge in self-pity and make complaints against others. That is a sign of weakness. We must get rid of that weakness, for stout hearts can go very far.

Anyhow, I am happy to have met you and, as you know all my good wishes are with you.

2. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
April 16, 1958

My dear Pantji,

I enclose a letter from the Congress President.² In view of the fact that the Madras Government has given special treatment to the Harijan converts to Christianity, I do not see why this should not be given to such converts in Andhra.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. U.N. Dhebar.

3. To K.L. Shrimali¹

New Delhi
23 April 1958

My dear Shrimali,²

I have seen a note by the Director of our Intelligence Bureau³ addressed to the Secretary of the Home Ministry⁴ dated 7th April. This note deals with inter-State gangs kidnapping children for the purpose of begging. I gather that a copy of this note has been sent to your Ministry also.

This note discloses an alarming state of affairs in regard to the kidnapping and maiming of children. I read this out at a Cabinet meeting this morning and we were all greatly disturbed. We have asked the Home Ministry to expedite consideration of this matter and to put up proposals.

I should like you and your Ministry also to give thought to the practical approach to this problem. Everyone agrees in theory. The point is what practical steps should be taken. Any very elaborate and complicated procedure often defeats its own purpose. It would be better to have some simple and effective measures—legislative and administrative.

Will you please, therefore, give thought to this matter and send your suggestions to the Home Ministry addressed to the Home Minister as well as to me?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of State for Education.
3. B.N. Mullik.
4. B.N. Jha.

4. Kidnapping and Maiming of Children¹

This report discloses an alarming state of affairs. As we were having a Cabinet meeting this morning, I read it out to them and all of us were greatly disturbed. We have requested the Home Ministry to complete its consideration soon and put up practical proposals.

1. Note to Indira Gandhi, New Delhi, 23 April 1958. JN Collection.

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2. I think that it would be desirable for the Central Social Welfare Board also to consider this matter and send their proposals. It often happens that the proposals made are too intricate and elaborate and their implementation becomes difficult. It is better to have some simple and effective measures—legislative and administrative—which can be given effect to easily and quickly.

3. I have also asked the Education Ministry to send us their suggestions. If either you yourself would make some suggestions or ask the Social Welfare Board to do so, this would be helpful.²

4. I am returning the note.³

2. Indira Gandhi was the Vice Chairman of Central Social Welfare Board, 1953-57.

3. See also the preceding item.

5. Christian Marriage and Divorce Laws¹

I enclose a letter that I have received.² Prima facie the proposal for an amendment of the Indian Divorce Act of 1869³ appears to me very reasonable. That Act is quite out of date.

2. Probably because this concerns the Indian Christian community, no one is particularly interested in the matter in our governments. I should think, however, that the mere fact that it concerns a minority community should lead us to pay particular attention to this.

1. Note to Asoke Kumar Sen, Union Minister of Law, New Delhi, 2 May 1958. JN Collection.

2. This letter was sent by Mrs C.Y. Khupte, a retired school teacher from Poona.

3. Making a case for the amendment of the Indian Divorce Act of 1869. Khupte had written that the Christian Marriage and Matrimonial Causes Bill, meant to amend and codify the Indian Christian Marriage Act, 1872, and the Indian Divorce Act, 1869, had been pending in Parliament since 1952. She pointed out that the Christian marriage and divorce laws appeared to have become outdated as they gave more right to the husband than to the wife to seek divorce on the ground of adultery.

6. To U.N. Dhebar¹

New Delhi
May 12, 1958

My dear Dhebarbhai,

Your letter of May 7th about Harijan converts to Christianity.² Your previous letter of April 16th on the same subject was forwarded to me to Pantji, who sent me a reply on April 21st. I do not know if I sent this to you. I am now enclosing a copy of this letter which deals with this subject.

I am myself inclined to agree with you that except in the matter of representation in the Legislatures, which is governed by Statute, we should treat all these Harijans, converts or not, on the same basis.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Congress President U.N. Dhebar raised the issue of representation in legislature of Harijan converts to Christianity and the constitutional position in this regard. He also wrote that he looked upon the Harijan converts to Christianity or Buddhism as occupying an intermediate position between Scheduled Caste Harijans and non-Harijan Christians and Buddhists. He wondered how any distinction could be drawn between Harijan converts to Sikhism and Harijan converts to Buddhism.

7. To N. Sanjiva Reddy¹

New Delhi
June 7, 1958

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,

You must have received a letter dated 29th May from the Harijan Sevak Sangh in which reference is made to bonded labour and forced labour in some Andhra forests. I have been reading a note on conditions prevailing in Sriharikota Island in the Collectorate of Nellore. From this report it appears these conditions are very bad. And then there is this forced labour under Government auspices.

I hope you will please enquire into this matter and not let these people suffer.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

8. Commendable Work of Adivasi Seva Mandal¹

The Adivasi Seva Mandal of Bombay² has been doing good work among the Adivasis of Bombay State. We owe a duty and a responsibility to our fellow-citizens who are educationally or economically backward. I do not believe in anyone being classed as backward because of race or caste. I think that given full opportunities every people grow. In any event, it is our duty to see to it that these opportunities are given to the Adivasis. I am glad that this Adivasi Seva Mandal has been serving this important cause. I wish them success and I hope that they will receive the sympathy and assistance of others.³

1. Message, Manali, 15 June 1958. File No. F9/2/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. B.G. Kher, the Premier of Bombay Province (1937-39), organised the Adivasi Seva Mandal in the Thana district of Bombay Province in 1939 to encourage Congress social workers to form ashrams in the area through which schools, hospitals and other institutions and means of social reform could be established.
3. In a letter written on 12 June 1958, Jehangir P. Patel, a Parsi businessman of Bombay, requested Nehru to send a message acknowledging the work of Adivasi Seva Mandal. Patel informed Nehru that they were planning to hold a cinema performance on 17 July 1958 to overcome the financial crisis being faced by the Adivasi Seva Mandal.

9. Cheshire Homes¹

A few years ago, Group Captain Leonard Cheshire² came to see me in Delhi. I had heard of him previously and all the fine work he had done for the relief of suffering. I was happy to meet him. Since then he has expanded his work in India and now intends to make Dehra Dun the international headquarters of the Cheshire Homes. I am very glad to learn of this and I wish him every success.

1. Message, Manali, 22 June 1958. JN Collection.
2. (1917-1992); served in the Royal Air Force from 1936 to 1945; official British Observer at the dropping of atomic bomb on Nagasaki, 1945; founded Cheshire Homes in 1948 to provide specialised residential care facilities and services to physically challenged persons; co-founder of Ryder Cheshire Mission for the Relief of Suffering; founder-chairman of World War Memorial Fund for Disaster Relief, 1989; author of *Bomber Pilot, Pilgrimage to the Shroud, The Face of Victory, The Hidden World and The Light of Many Suns*.

The Cheshire Homes have set an example of unostentatious but effective work for the relief of suffering without much fuss, advertisement or expense. They are a remarkable example of what can be done by earnestness and enthusiasm. Most of us are apt to think nowadays of big schemes of hospitals, medical services and the like, which cost a great deal and tend to lose the personal touch. The big schemes may still be necessary for governments to undertake. But the type of work that Group Captain Cheshire has been doing with such great success seems to me essentially of even greater importance than these big schemes. Of course, the two do not conflict and help each other. He has shown how limited resources can be made to go a long way. Even more so, he has given an example of the human approach.

I would like to express my admiration for the work he is doing and, more especially, the spirit in which this is undertaken. He deserves every help.

10. To B. Pocker¹

New Delhi
June 24, 1958

Dear Shri Pocker,²

I have received two letters from you. In one of them you refer to some reports in the press that there would be no classification under the head "religion" in the next census operations. This is not correct and no such instructions have been issued. What we are considering is the removal of mention of caste distinctions. I presume that religion is bound to be mentioned in the census returns.

Your other letter deals with certain stipends given by the Government of India to Harijans and other backward communities. It is true that owing to reasons of economy the sum set apart for these stipends was unfortunately reduced. This applied to the whole of India. I should very much like it to be increased because I attach much importance to helping students from backward communities in educating themselves.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. (d. 1965); belonged to Indian Union Muslim League; officially Independent Member of the Lok Sabha from Malappuram, Madras State, 1952-57 and Manjeri, Kerala, 1957-62.

11. To Haridas T. Mazumdar¹

New Delhi
June 27, 1958

Dear Haridas,²

I have your letter of June 21st. I was glad to have news of you again.

The proposal you make is so self-contained that no one can possibly object to it. I have no idea of how you wish to tackle the problem of beggars in India. It is not only a big problem, but is ultimately connected intimately with all kinds of other factors and economic conditions. It overlaps to some extent the problem of refugees, which has been particularly bad in Bengal and especially in Calcutta. However, if you devote yourself to this, I am sure you can produce results.

It is for you to decide how best to proceed about it. You mention the Arya Samaj.³ It is more interested in political agitation now than in educational or social work.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. A Professor of Sociology; citizen of the US since 1947; author of *Gandhi vs The Empire*, *Gandhi the Apostle*, and the *United Nations of the World: A Treatise on How to Win the Peace*.
3. A Hindu social reform movement started by Swami Dayanand Saraswati in 1875, the Arya Samaj established many educational institutions in North India. The Hindi agitation in Punjab was also led by the Arya Samaj members.

VI. HEALTH AND FAMILY PLANNING

1. Approach to Family Planning¹

As I have written to you separately, I attach the greatest importance to this research work being done in regard to oral contraceptives. We should encourage this in every effective way and also follow it up by finding the effects of the use of such contraceptives.²

I am inclined to think also that some kind of publicity should be given to the work that is being done here. This will induce people to think of it. This work is being done in other countries too, but this is receiving much more publicity than our work.

1. Note to D.P. Karmarkar, the Union Minister of State for Health, 23 April 1958. File No. 28(50)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. For Nehru's note to D.P. Karmarkar about manufacture of oral contraceptives, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, p. 324.

2. To D.P. Karmarkar¹

New Delhi
April 23, 1958

My dear Karmarkar,

I spoke to you today of a note given to me by Dr Gaitonde.² I enclose a copy of it as this should interest the Health Ministry greatly.

I particularly want the community development schemes to think in these terms and I have, therefore, put S.K. Dey³ in touch with Dr Gaitonde. I think that our family planning propaganda can only go far if it is taken up by the

1. File No. 28(50)/58-60-PMS.
2. Dr P.D. Gaitonde was an eminent surgeon and freedom fighter from Goa, who was imprisoned in Lisbon in 1954-55. He also worked as honorary senior surgeon at Irwin Hospital (presently known as Lok Nayak Jaiprakash Narayan Hospital), New Delhi, from 1955-60.
3. Union Minister of State for Community Development.

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community development blocks. Only then will it reach vast numbers of our people. The Family Planning Department of your Ministry, or whatever it is called, should, therefore, be told to keep in touch with the community development blocks and give them such information and help as is possible.

I think that we should do everything in our power to further the family planning movement both in the research work which is being carried on, and in the general implementation of the programme we may have.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To V.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
April 23, 1958

My dear V.T.²

I am sending you a note by Dr Gaitonde about medical relief work in the rural areas. I like his approach to this problem and I think that it is eminently suited for our Community Blocks. I have asked S.K. Dey to keep in touch with Dr Gaitonde and, in fact, to utilise him fully in that work. Gaitonde is not only a first class surgeon, but is also a fine man and I should like him to be more closely associated with our Community Development work in regard to health matters.

I agree with Dr Gaitonde that these rural hospitals should become the centres of family planning work. In fact, family planning is only spread out if our Community Blocks take it up fully.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 28(50)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.

4. To D.P. Karmarkar¹

New Delhi
May 17, 1958

My dear Karmarkar,

Old Dr Shroff² came to see me today. I have known him for a large number of years and he is now nearly 80 years old. He came to see me about his Charity Eye Hospital in Daryaganj³ and wanted much more help for it. I am sending you the various papers he gave me.

I have no doubt that this Charity Eye Hospital is a good institution and worthy of support. I believe the Health Ministry does support it and, to some extent, the Delhi Corporation also does it. If it is possible for you to add to your grant to it, I shall be glad.

Dr Shroff wants all kinds of capital constructions. I told him that he could not get anything from us at this stage for major construction work. The most that was possible was to add a little to the grant.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 28(53)/58-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Sorabji P. Shroff (1878-1964); graduate of Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh; established a clinic in Delhi, 1914; established a Trust for opening an Eye Hospital in Delhi, 1922; founder of Dr Shroff's Charity Eye Hospital which was opened in 1927; awarded Padma Shri, 1963.
3. Dr Shroff's Charity Eye Hospital was opened in 1927 by a trust led by Dr Sorabji P. Shroff. Selected as a leading eye hospital by the International Conference of Ophthalmology held in Delhi in 1962, Shroff's Hospital is a leading institution of its kind in the world.

5. Contributory Health Service Scheme¹

Mr Minister,² Madam Mayor³ and friends,

I am glad to be here because this enables me to get a brief insight into the work

1. Inaugural speech at a seminar on the Contributory Health Service Scheme of the Union Government, New Delhi, 18 May 1958. JN Papers, NMML.
2. D.P. Karmarkar, Union Minister of State for Health.
3. Aruna Asaf Ali.

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that is being done by you in this Contributory Health Service Scheme.⁴ I listened with much interest to the report of Dr Tiwari⁵ placed before us a little while ago and I was much impressed by it, impressed not so much by the figures he mentioned—all these figures are drops in the ocean of Indian humanity. They may seem big to us, but when one thinks, as one should always, of nearly 400 million people in India who go without adequate medical care, these seem to be only petty approaches. But what impressed me in Dr Tiwari's report was rather the approach to this question—an approach not of first cure some disease, not even the preventive approach, which is important, but rather the real approach, what a doctor is supposed to be: a friend, a counsel, a guide—an approach to educate the people in a friendly way, in a comradely way, and thus build up a national health service.

Now, there can be no doubt, at least I have no doubt, that we should aim at some such national health service. It will bring all those facilities, which are today open to a relatively few persons, to all the people in our country. I do not know when that would be possible. I hope it will not be too long. Anyhow, to wait till everybody has it and not do something on a smaller scale is obviously a wrong approach, though some people often criticise us by saying that you are giving certain opportunities to the select people, say, in the towns or to the government employees and the like, but you cannot, even from the point of view of building up a system on a national scale, suddenly launch out in the wide ocean and get drowned. There you have to build up your personnel because in the ultimate analysis it is not only the money that matters, although money is also important, you have to train your personnel. But as you very well know, it takes years and years to train a man, especially a doctor. So one has to lay these broad foundations keeping in view the real objective, that is, of providing a health service—free health service—to all the people of India everywhere. For the moment we have the service for the government employees. We have another forum: a large number of industrial undertakings, which are growing, and I have no doubt that the new industrial undertakings are bound to have it. Though it should spread, the important part is that it should spread in the right way, in the right direction so that we may not have to retrace our steps.

4. The Contributory Health Service Scheme, introduced by the Centre in Delhi on 1 July 1954, was meant to serve the central government employees, their families and the employees of some semi-government organisations and their families.
5. Tika Ram Tiwari (b.1909); physician; worked in Punjab and under the Government of India from 1935 to 1967; WHO Consultant, National Health Planning for South Korea, 1966-67, Lesotho, 1969-70, Philippines, 1972, and Nepal, 1973-76; Member, Indian Medical Association, Indian Public Health Association and Indian Association for Advancement of Medical Education.

Now it is often said that one of the difficulties in the way of bringing medical services to our villagers or some of our hilly areas is that doctors, young and old, do not at all like to go there. It is because the amenities of city life are not available there. I do not question their desire to have those amenities, but I think that doctors should recognise, and should also inculcate in the young, whom they often teach in the medical colleges and the like, that it is essential for us, for them, to go to the villages and to the hilly areas and to all remote places. I have been long of opinion that it should be essential for and obligatory on the part of a medical student who has taken a degree, etc., before he begins his career, to spend a year or two in the villages. I believe some years back we did make a rule about government service, that is, for doctors that they should have spent some time in the rural areas. That is not the only cause. We want medical help to reach our villages—that of course is there. But leave that out for the moment. I think it is essential for the training of that young man and woman to go and work there. He or she must know the conditions that prevail there. He must know how to meet those conditions. We must have fairly well-equipped hospitals and the like and it is clear that we are not going to have well-equipped hospitals all over the 400,000 villages of India. Are we to leave them to their resources? Obviously not. Therefore, we have to evolve methods which fit in with village conditions, which fit into our financial conditions, fit into what, broadly speaking, India is today. You can improve things as India improves financially and economically.

Therefore, if more of our doctors spend more of their time in villages, etc., I am quite sure they would themselves evolve methods of dealing with these problems which have not been dealt with properly till today. One method of doing it is by enlarging or reproducing a small-town hospital for the villages around, but the difficulty is that there are not too many of such town hospitals existing. The buildings are expensive. It is expensive from the point of view of our conditions and our capacity. The result is that we cannot do it. I have no doubt that it can be done. I have been saying this in another connection—education—that a school is a teacher and students. A school is not a building. No doubt, a building is a useful thing for a school, but the essential thing is the teacher and I would prefer spending rather more money on getting a good man as a teacher, paying him much more than what it is today and, maybe, spend a little money on elementary equipment and not on a big structure. We are to keep this equipment somewhere and for that we can have a small hut. The main thing is you should know what is important and what is not important. Buildings are necessary but human beings are more necessary. The teacher is necessary, the doctor is necessary. Even without a hospital if a doctor is given some equipment he can function well. I think this passion for building huge buildings for hospitals and schools should be curbed. I realise that at central places there should be fully-equipped hospitals, as big and good as you can have. You can

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have them in big cities and the rest, but as soon as you go out of that range, it is far better to spread out simpler buildings. It is necessary to have more expensive equipment in all the hospitals. Special cases can be sent there. My point is that more attention should be paid to the individual. Let him have the basic equipment for a village hospital, erect some kind of very simple structure there and let him be put in charge there for some time and let him function there and learn to function not as a big doctor from the city but rather as a friend, a colleague, a comrade, who goes to the families and discusses their private concerns.

I have read a story about an Indian doctor in Birmingham, who died last year. I do not know this Indian doctor but he worked in a poor district of Birmingham. He was offered, I believe, more attractive posts but he refused them and when he died he had a funeral in Birmingham which many kings have not had. All the people of Birmingham, millions of the poor and the ordinary middle-class people, came to pay their last tribute to this simple Indian doctor who had served them not only as a doctor but as a friend. There was such a huge procession. For two or three days people continued coming to pay their homage. Surely, if any kind of award was to be given, he deserved it more than anyone else. So it is in that spirit that we should approach this. A man who has served in these rather remote places becomes, quite apart from the service he may do to others, a better man and his work is appreciated. Afterwards he would be able to do that work in a better way.

I should like the Indian people, all of them, to develop a little more than they have today the spirit of adventure and a certain amount of missionary spirit. We talk a good deal in our country of *tyaga* and the like and many people at a certain age or even before that take to *sanyasa* and leave the cares of the world. It is the Indian tradition. But I find that spirit lacking when it comes to some kind of organised dedicated work. I go somewhere in the eastern mountains, say, Lushai hills. I come across Christian missionaries, women often, who have lived for the last 30 years—about three weeks' trek from the nearest railway station, and sometimes from the nearest road—in loneliness, absolutely in the middle of some tribal people. One lady came to see me who was living among the head-hunting tribes. She lived there practically all by herself. I think she was an English or a Scottish woman and she gradually got the confidence and affection of the people. Now, that is a spirit which is much more admirable than some act of heroism. But this kind of long-term heroism without ostentation, without award, is something deeper and much more admirable than the spirit of adventure. I would also say that we should develop that spirit of going into the hard places but the emphasis there is of virtue in the mind. I hope you notice the difference between the two. It is a person who does not lose himself just on normal amenities and comforts of life, though they are good, and I do not wish to deny those to anybody, but the moment they are gone, the man or woman is lost. When one does a social good to anybody, it draws out a certain element in

a man or a woman which is good in itself and which makes that person much better in the service of others. Therefore, I was very unhappy when Major Jayal the other day met with an untimely death in an attempt to climb a huge mountain.⁶

Now to go back to the problem of providing medical help to the villages. That is a big problem. It is happening. But if you like to do it, you can do it. As a matter of fact, the demand for the hospitals, dispensaries and the like in the villages is very considerable and very often they even offer to meet the cost partly. I believe the proper way of approach would be something of that type, of contributory type, of the villagers coming together and putting up a simple structure and the municipalities or the local government, or whatever it may be, to help them to run it. I would like personally in such cases that the villagers themselves should form a managing committee of that institute in which the doctor-in-charge naturally will be a member. It may well be that the villagers do not know how to run a hospital. They may make mistakes. I do not think that that matters very much. Some of the best trained men make plenty of mistakes. But the point is that they must have in that work, as in any other, an intimate interest. So I would like these little hospitals to grow up and everywhere a local committee of villagers to be apparently in charge. That will inspire the villagers' interest. That can itself be an education for them. That will enable you to carry out whatever you have to teach them. You will get more financial help from them in the way of contribution because it is theirs, not of the government. Then, again, what is gradually growing here is these ambulatory services. It is very important that these should expand. I hope that the work that you are doing on the lines indicated in Dr Tiwari's speech will grow and flourish and will be a foundation for covering gradually the whole of the country.

Thank you.

6. Major N.D. Jayal, Principal of Himalayan Mountaineering Institute, Darjeeling, died on 20 April during a Government-sponsored expedition to Cho Oyu (28,867 ft), the sixth highest mountain peak in the world which lies in the Himalayas 20 kilometres west of Mount Everest at the China-Nepal border.

ISSUES OF GOVERNANCE

I. CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

(i) General Administration

1. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi
April 2, 1958

My dear Morarji,²

For a considerable time past, I have had lying with me some presents which the King of Saudi Arabia³ gave to me and to Indira. Soon after they were given to us, I spoke to the then Finance Minister about them, as I did not wish to keep them. Nor did I wish to send them to the *Toshakhana*, which is not a suitable place for such things. Ultimately, it was more or less decided in consultation with T.T. Krishnamachari⁴ that these articles might be sent abroad for sale. They are not likely to get good price here.

I enclose a list of these articles. I believe they are fairly expensive. The watches are of the highest quality.

I shall hand these presents over to A.K. Roy⁵ who can keep them for the present in the Finance Ministry or send them to the Reserve Bank and ask them to arrange for their sale abroad.⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Finance.
3. Saud-Ibn-Abdul Aziz.
4. Former Union Finance Minister.
5. Secretary in the Union Ministry of Finance.
6. Nehru again wrote to Morarji Desai on 8 April (not printed) stating that Morarji should keep the presents given to Nehru by the King of Saudi Arabia for the present and wait for a suitable opportunity to dispose of them with advantage. Since the items with the picture of the King of Saudi Arabia could not be sold, he suggested that perhaps the picture could be removed.

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2. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
April 2, 1958

My dear Sri Babu,²

I have received representations about the acquisition by the Indian Iron and Steel Company of some paddy land belonging to the Ho tribal workers in the village of Gua Shahi. We are naturally anxious to help our big iron and steel companies to do their work properly, but this does not mean ignoring or overriding the claims of the tribal people. More particularly, one should avoid taking agricultural lands. I am told that there are fallow lands available nearby. In any event if villagers are pushed out from their cultivated area, they must be provided with other lands.

I understand that this matter has been raised repeatedly and all kinds of promises have been made to the Adivasis. Also that you have been addressed on this subject.

I think we owe a very special duty to these poor, unsophisticated Adivasis and I would request you to pay your personal attention to this matter very soon. The latest report is that the Iron and Steel Company is bulldozing this area.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Bihar.

3. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
April 2, 1958

My dear Pantji,²

I have passed the paper you sent me about the appointment of a Joint Secretary because I did not wish to come in the way now. But I do feel that Joint Secretaries should be rather carefully appointed and mere length of service should not be enough. Together with the Secretaries, they are our topmost rung of officers and it would be unfortunate if the standards of this upper group were allowed to fall.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Home Affairs.

4. Training of Young Government Officers¹

I see in this syllabus of training two subjects mentioned—Nos. 10 and 12. These are (1) a broad sweep of the highlights of Indian History with particular reference to the origin and development of the Indian national movement, and (2) a study of Gandhian philosophy and sarvodaya.

I should like you to find out how these two subjects are dealt with. Are any books recommended? Or are there lectures? Who delivers the lectures?

You might point out to the Director of the School² that what I am interested in is trying to create some understanding of the basic principles which had governed the national movement and which had led ultimately to the Constitution which we have and to the policies that we pursue. I should like to know how far this is done so as to produce a living impact and not merely as a distant academic exercise. Thus, what has been the effect of communalism in India and why is our policy opposed to communalism? How this led to the Partition of India and has a tendency to create disruption. How it is opposed to the nationalist conception.

Then again how is the idea of socialism developed in India and that of the cooperative commonwealth?

I can mention many other subjects. The point is that the training of a young officer has to be something more than an academic exercise for the purpose of answering a paper. It should leave some permanent trace in his mind, because he himself will have to do with such problems in the course of his future work.

1. Note to K. Ram, the Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 4 April 1958. JN Collection.
2. Indian Administrative Service Training School, Metcalfe House, New Delhi.

5. To Kailas Nath Katju¹

New Delhi
April 4, 1958

My dear Kailas Nath,²

Thank you for your letter of the 2nd April. I can well understand the feeling in Madhya Pradesh. I wish I could do something in this matter. Unfortunately, as

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

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you know, one gets entangled in a set of circumstances and it is a little difficult to get out of that tangle. We are all to a large extent conditioned by circumstances.

At the present moment our Council of Ministers is so big that it is difficult to add to it. There is much criticism about the size of our Council of Ministers, including Cabinet Ministers, Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers. Each Deputy Minister means not only adding him or her but adding some staff also.

I have no doubt that there are people from Madhya Pradesh who are certainly as competent as some who are in the Council of Ministers. I shall keep this in mind. Normally, apart from the principal Ministers, I have to rely on the recommendations of these principal Ministers for their deputies, etc. As they have to work with them, I cannot easily impose people on them. Such additions of Deputy Ministers I have made recently have been at the instance of the Ministers concerned.³

Tomorrow I am adding a Parliamentary Secretary from Madhya Pradesh.⁴

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. For details, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 439-441.
4. Anand Chandra Joshi, an MP from Madhya Pradesh, was appointed Parliamentary Secretary in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. B.S. Murthy, an MP from Andhra Pradesh and Gajendra Prasad Sinha, an MP from Bihar, were also appointed Parliamentary Secretaries in the Ministries of Community Development and Steel, Mines and Fuel respectively.

6. Changing Role of Civil Servants¹

Friends,

You have just re-elected me as the President of this Institute. As I was coming up here the Director² told me that he troubled me only once a year. It was probably correct. Except for my this annual visitation I beg to say I do not function as President or in any other capacity associated with this Institute. That, of course, is my fault, not the fault of the Institute, and therefore, I feel hesitant over this annual display of your confidence in me, but, on the other hand, it

1. Speech at the fourth annual general body meeting of the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, 5 April 1958. JN Supplementary Papers, NMML. Also printed in P.L. Sanjeev Reddy and R.K. Tiwari (eds), *Jawaharlal Nehru and Public Administration* published by Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, 2004.
2. V.K.N. Menon.

would be also silly if I were to cry about it. I am grateful to you if you are content with me as I am.

I suppose that during the past two years there has been a good deal of thinking and discussion, and a growing criticism, about the ways of public administration, the way government works. It is a healthy sign, and to some extent, it should always take place. This Institute of Public Administration is itself an outcome of that feeling—that public administration is a subject of great importance and that some organised thinking and study should be given to it, and not merely letters in the newspapers or something in the files.

As you know, we have an O & M Division in the Central Government here and possibly in some States too. Shri S.B. Bapat,³ who has been intimately connected with this Institute's work, is also running the O & M Division whose function is to improve our methods of work, to avoid delay and have greater efficiency, and all that. Somebody referred to delay in one of the questions raised on the Annual Report. As I remarked last year too, I have no doubt that the biggest and the most important thing in administrative work is the avoidance of delay. Most administrative troubles including corruption come from delay than from anything else. Therefore, it is a matter of highest importance. At the same time nothing is more difficult than to avoid delay. It is extraordinary how the ways of government are so fashioned as to bring about delay. Maybe it is because of the factor of the democratic procedure or, even more than democratic, the bureaucratic procedure, because they are meant to help to check on each other and these checks become so overwhelming that the things sometimes are not done or done with a great amount of delay.

There has been some rethinking in recent years about the basic concepts underlying the administrative system, partly because it is inevitable and partly because we are passing through a great and transitional phase in social and economic spheres, involving as it does a tremendous extension of activities of the administration. Government taking upon itself tasks that were not previously undertaken by it. We have had, as you know, during the last few years many important reports on administrative questions—the Appleby reports,⁴ not one but two, and some others. We are constantly discussing in Parliament, whatever Ministry it be whose demands or activities are before it, about the public administration part of that Ministry. Today, this afternoon, we were discussing the demands of Ministry of Community Development and the criticism in Parliament was mostly about the administrative aspect—why a particular thing

3. Director, Indian Institute of Public Administration from 1 June 1955 to 31 July 1956.

4. The reference is to the reports prepared by the American expert on administration, Paul H. Appleby. For details see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 24, pp. 338-343 and Vol. 34, p. 184.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

was not done normally, why it was delayed and why there was no public cooperation and similar questions.

Public administration, apart from the normal features that it should have, should be intimately concerned with public cooperation. The idea of a public servant sitting in a world apart and doling out impartial justice is completely out of place in a democratic society, and much more so in a dynamic democratic society which is moving forward, because the very pace of moving forward depends not on the public servant at all but on the people, and if there is no intimate connection between the people and the public servant, then even if he may be efficient there is no movement forward. The whole conception of the public servant in India has in the past been rather a static conception. Doing one's job as efficiently and adequately as possible, and impartially, was the conception in British times. As I was sitting here, I glanced through an article in the recent issue of your journal on "Civil Service Neutrality" by Shri S. Lall.⁵ Civil service neutrality is a fiction which I have often wondered at. How any thinking person can be neutral, I have not been able to understand. In the old days, of course, I know exactly what it meant, and I think it is a good thing within limitations but the way it is pompously displayed is, I think, not only not right but completely wrong. That a civil servant should obviously be above party politics, I can understand. He must, as far as possible, be a detached, objective person, considering problems in a detached and objective way, and rendering advice for accurate action—that also I fully understand. But the way the concept of neutrality of the civil service is sometimes put forward, or the way it is considered, is something entirely different. During British times, there was a certain definite pattern of government which the British Government had laid down and neutrality meant keeping within the strict lines of that pattern of government—going outside it was tantamount to lack of neutrality. Neutrality thus, in fact, meant extreme partisanship, not at all neutrality. Full acceptance of what the British Government had laid down, the four corners within which he was to function, that was called neutrality of the civil servant. If a person raised his voice against the established pattern, he was supposed to be an anarchist. That he had to function within a prescribed framework is understandable, but why call it neutrality?

In a period of dynamic growth, however, we want as civil servants persons who are not, if I may use the word without any disrespect, merely head clerks but people with minds, people with vision, people with a desire to achieve, who have some initiative for doing a job and who can think how to do it. But the person who is to be completely neutral is a head clerk and no more. He would

5. This article was published in the *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. 4, Issue No. 1, January-March 1958, pp. 1-13.

do his work efficiently as a head clerk, no doubt, but nothing more. Can a person be neutral, I ask you, about basic things for which we stand for, our State stands for, our Plan stands for, for example, a socialist pattern of society?

Can a civil servant perform adequately functions relating to the attainment of a socialist pattern of society if he is entirely opposed to that conception? He might to some extent, but not with any enthusiasm, because if he is opposed to the very growth in that direction, then he is a drag on it. Again, our Parliament has often expressed itself against what might be called a communal approach to political problems. The Government is opposed to it. It is the point of view which either we have or do not have. It is no use declaring that we are neutral here. Neutrality has no meaning in this context. It is perfectly clear that, under a democratic form of government, different parties come into power at different times, and I can understand that the civil servant should not be partial to any party. But he cannot be neutral about the basic issues. I am not quite conversant with all the developments connected with advent of the Labour Government in Britain and how the civil servants there adapted themselves to it. But I happened to be in England on two or three occasions just about that time, and I heard the bitterest complaint from the Labour leaders about the attitude of the civil services. I remember with what extreme warmth Professor Harold Laski⁶ spoke to me about it.

The writer of the article, "Civil Service Neutrality", mentioned by me earlier says that the civil service in Britain is a model. Now it is an excellent service, but this fact is seldom mentioned so openly in that country. Shri Lall has arrived at the same conclusions which I have reached in my own thinking. The British concept of the civil service neutrality is a logical outcome of the political framework within which the British civil service has grown and developed. During the last century, the major issue that divided the Liberal Party and the Conservative Party in England was free trade. Great arguments were put forward on both sides as if the future of the world depended on nothing else. The civil servant was supposed to keep his hands off such party issues. Things have, however, since changed a lot. Some sort of state intervention is now accepted by all, whether it be the Conservative Party, the Labour Party, the ordinary citizen or the civil servant.

In India, we are at present in a stage where all future development depends upon the acceptance of certain basic assumptions and on intelligent and prompt and quick action. What is the civil servant to do in these circumstances? Naturally, he cannot be a partisan to any party but must he be inactive and without any views of his own on basic matters? He will not be happy like that, nor will

6. British political theorist, economist and author; Professor of Political Science at London School of Economics.

anybody be happy. Take another matter. I was wondering only yesterday, how far, at our school for the training of IAS probationers, the trainees were being taught to apply their minds in a positive way towards the consideration of certain basic things for which we stand.⁷ Certain basic issues emerged out of our struggle for freedom and we should give the probationers the background of these issues to enable them to understand intelligently the current problems of the country. But I am not in favour of too much conditioning of the mind. We must avoid any extreme effort to condition the individuals as they do in some communist countries, and also in some other countries which are not communist. Such an effort is made in all countries in varying degrees. But too much of it does not quite fit in with the democratic process. To some extent there is always conditioning by school books which you choose as your textbooks. If you want to condition the mind in the normal way of nationalism, you would select books which applauded nationalists. We must, however, take care not to cramp pliability and individuality. There are certain major problems that the country faces today; and whether you hold a socialist view of life, or a cooperative view of life, or a communal or an anti-communal outlook, you cannot be neutral to their solution. All of us have to be clear in our mind about them; the public servant too should be clear about them, though with an objective and detached approach. Otherwise he will not be able to put in that energy which he must towards their solution.

Here, I venture to re-emphasise two other important aspects of the problem. One is that in the modern age the success of the public servant lies, in addition to ability, efficiency and integrity, upon his capacity to cooperate with the public. It is an essential requirement of the public servant of today. If he cannot meet it, all his efficiency is not of much use. His real success in his job depends on the extent to which he can evoke public cooperation. The second aspect, to which we are at present directing our minds, is related to the training of the public servants initially in such a way as to avoid their developing an 'ivory-tower' attitude in their careers.

Now I shall leave you to your tea. Thank you.

7. See also *ante*, p. 291.

7. Appointments that Require Prime Minister's Consent¹

In looking through these papers again, some further ideas have occurred to me which I give below:

(1) There are quite a number of matters mentioned in the Third Schedule (pages 7-9), which are to be submitted to the President and the Prime Minister or sometimes to the President alone. I suppose that everything that goes to the President has to go through some Ministry and usually through the Prime Minister.

(2) There are a number of appointments, resignations, etc., which are given in this schedule and which have to be referred to the Prime Minister and the President. Among important appointments which are not mentioned in the Schedule are the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, the Chairman of the State Bank of India, the Chairman of the Life Insurance Corporation and the Chairman, Managing Directors and/or General Managers of the major State enterprises, corporations and companies. I think it would be desirable for these important appointments, etc., to be referred by the Ministry concerned to the Prime Minister.

(3) In the Fourth Schedule, it is stated that fortnightly reports from the Indian Missions abroad should be submitted to the President. This seems to me rather unnecessary. We receive a very large number of these reports and I do not see why the President should be burdened with them. We have about sixty Missions abroad. The Prime Minister, who is also the Foreign Minister, does not see most of these reports. Some important reports are sent to the President.

1. Note to K. Ram, the Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 6 April 1958. JN Collection.

8. Rule Regarding Parties at Rashtrapati Bhavan¹

I think that the existing rule should be followed. That is to say that a Minister, whether he is a Cabinet Minister or a Minister of State in full charge of a Ministry, should be allowed to give parties in Rashtrapati Bhavan.

1. Note to K. Ram, the Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 7 April 1958. JN Collection.

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There may be special cases where a Minister of State who, though not technically in charge of a Ministry is practically in charge of a major Department of a Ministry and there is some important conference organised by that department. In such a case an exception might be made, but that would be a special case and usually one in which foreigners are also attending the Conference.

In no event should Deputy Ministers give parties at Rashtrapati Bhavan.

In the particular case mentioned, that is, a party given presumably on the occasion of the Cooperative Conference, an enquiry should be made if it is merely a conference of representatives from India or whether it is some kind of an international conference where foreigners are also coming. In the latter event the party may be given.

9. To V.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
April 9, 1958

My dear V.T.,²

I enclose a letter from the Home Minister. This is in reply to a letter I had written to him.

I am much interested in these hilly regions which have been neglected so much in the past. I have repeatedly drawn the attention of the State Governments concerned to them, but not much has been done. The first question, of course, is that of communications, that is, roads. The rest will follow.

I think that the suggestion made by Pantji is a good one. The Planning Commission might appoint a small Committee to deal with these hilly areas. Pantji suggests that in addition to this small Committee, a Committee of Member of Parliament representing these areas might also be constituted. They are, of course, interested, and it will be good to have their advice.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2(242)/58-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.

10. Collecting Statistics¹

I am sending you a letter from the Minister of Home Affairs.² This is in regard to Dr Ezhov's note on statistical work in India.³

I think that we should take early steps to bring about the coordination suggested by Dr Ezhov and approved of by the Home Minister. You might, therefore, discuss this matter with Planning Commission and Professor Mahalanobis.⁴

One of the first steps that will have to be taken is to have the same method of collecting statistics both in the Centre and in the States, so that they can be comparable. This means that the Central Statistical Organisation should issue directions as to these methods. If the States want some special type of statistics to be collected, it is open to them to do so.

1. Note to M.K. Vellodi, the Cabinet Secretary, New Delhi, 11 April 1958. File No. 17(285)/58-59-PMS.
2. G.B. Pant wrote on 10 April 1958 that the Central Statistical Organisation, the Department of Industrial Statistics and the Directorate of National Sample Survey, working directly under the Cabinet Secretariat, might be combined to set up a Central Statistical Administration as suggested by A.E. Ezhov, Deputy Chief of the USSR Central Statistical Board and Chairman of its Scientific and Methodological Council. This organisation would work in close collaboration with the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, the Planning Commission, different departments of the Government of India, the State Governments and agencies in the private sector. Regarding recruitment of high quality statistical personnel, Pant wrote that it had already been decided to set up a Statistical Service.
3. For Nehru's comments on Ezhov's note, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 221-222.
4. P.C. Mahalanobis was Director, Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta and Member, Planning Commission.

11. To Vichitra Narayan Sharma¹

New Delhi
April 14, 1958

My dear Vichitra,²

Your letter of April 10th/11th, 1958.

I am glad to know that the work and activities of the Gandhi Ashram have been increasing. I have looked through the various statements of accounts that

1. JN Collection.
2. General Secretary of Shri Gandhi Ashram, Lucknow and a Minister in the UP Government.

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you have sent. I am afraid they are much too complicated for me to grasp with ease. I see that you have received large sums as subsidy from the All India Khadi and Village Industries Commission. This sum amounts to over rupees eleven lakhs. You then show a net profit of about rupees three and a half lakhs. It is rather odd to show a profit based on a heavy subsidy.

Then you have received rupees nine and a half lakhs from Government for the Ambar Charkha, and the loans from the All India Khadi and Village Industries Commission which amount to over rupees one crore twenty-two lakhs, and from the UP Government rupees three crores thirty-seven lakhs.

I was looking at these figures in order to try to understand the economics of this work. This is by no means clear to me.

In spite of all this, you pay your workers very moderately.

About the proposal of the auditors to have the provident fund account invested in government securities or the bank, I think they are completely right and it is not proper to use this provident fund account for your normal purposes. This is not only very unbusinesslike but unfair to your workers. I do not see why you should cast the burden of decision on the poor workers about this matter.

You refer in your letter to the human aspect of the problem. Indeed, this is important, and there is great danger of our mental growth, and possibly even spiritual in the wider sense of the word, stopping. But I have no patent remedy for this. I sometimes begin to fear that because of my manifold activities, my own mental growth is stopping, and the capacity for creative thinking is gradually disappearing. I am much worried about this but it is of the utmost importance, in this rapidly changing world, for the mind to be fresh and inquisitive, and not to get stuck up anywhere. Also, of course, to keep in touch with the rapidly changing pattern of life because of amazing scientific discoveries.

I shall gladly find time for a meeting of the Trustees if this is held in Delhi.

I do not understand if you want me to keep the various balance-sheets that you have sent or to return them to you. In any event, please do not ask me to sign these complicated balance-sheets.

I confess that I feel unhappy at being kept on as a Trustee of the Gandhi Ashram. I would naturally like to help it, but I think a Prime Minister should not be a Trustee of any organisation of this kind. However, for the present I would not press you in this matter.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. To Dinesh Singh¹

New Delhi
April 15, 1958

My dear Dinesh,²

Your letter of April 15th. It is important, of course, to do everything in our power to check and to put an end to corruption in public life. But I do not understand how a National Commission can do it. In fact, I think such an approach is not helpful at all. The Commission will wander about for years all over India and then present a huge report. It will take some more years to be considered. Probably the biggest source of corruption is the Railways. We had a Commission or a Committee presided by Acharya Kripalani on this very subject.³ They made many suggestions. Some of them have been given effect to.

As a matter of fact, many steps we have taken in the Central Government have had a very salutary effect on corruption and this machinery is getting better and better from day to day.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Banda in Uttar Pradesh.
3. The Railway Corruption Enquiry Committee under the Ministry of Railways was appointed on 9 September 1953. It dealt with the extent and causes of corruption among the Railway employees and suggested remedial measures.

13. To K.C. Reddy¹

New Delhi
April 15, 1958

My dear Reddy,²

It seems to me that your Ministry has fixed such a very high rent for the use of Vigyan Bhawan hall or different committee rooms that very few people can afford to use them. I gather that you demand Rs 2,000 a day for the main hall. This may be justified from the point of view of the expenditure involved in that building. But if you charge too much, you simply do not get it except on rare occasions. Thus Vigyan Bhawan is used chiefly for official functions.

1. File No. 28(21)/56-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Union Minister for Works, Housing and Supply.

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I think, therefore, that you should revise these rates so that Vigyan Bhawan may be used more and your income from it might also be more.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. External Funding of Indian Trade Unions¹

I should like the Home Minister to be good enough to see these papers and advise.²

If we accept the principle of international contacts between trade unions and the affiliation of our trade unions with international organisations, as in fact we do, then it becomes a little difficult to say that the international organisation cannot contribute to the funds of the national organisation. In fact, the national organisation contributes to some extent to the international one in the shape of affiliation and annual fees.

If contributions are permitted, I should like them, as suggested by FS, to be earmarked for special purposes and not to be used for political work.³ But again it is no easy matter to draw a hard and fast line.

On the other hand, if we permit money to come from abroad, very large sums of money may come from Communist sources. Perhaps, in the balance, the proposal made by FS, might be acceptable.

I should like to have the definite views of the Home Minister and the Labour Minister.⁴

1. Note to G.B. Pant, the Union Minister of Home Affairs, New Delhi, 17 April 1958. S. Dutt Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. This was regarding a proposal for financial assistance from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) to industrial trade unions affiliated to the INTUC and the HMS for legitimate trade union activities.
3. After discussing the matter with the DIB and the Ministry of Economic Affairs, S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, suggested on 16 April 1958 that India might let foreign assistance come in for specific purposes such as the training of trade union workers or for welfare centres for labour. He also suggested that provision be made for proper audit of the accounts of the parent body such as the INTUC or the AITUC. There would then be some check on the diversion of such funds for purely political work.
4. In response to a query made by Home Minister Pant and Home Secretary B.N. Jha, DIB B.N. Mullik noted on 15 April that on principle he was opposed to "any such move", but cited instances of many foreign trade unions sending subscriptions to the All India Trade Union Congress for specific purposes.

15. Greater Freedom for Non-Governmental Institutions¹

I have no strong views about this question of audit. But behind this question comes up the bigger question of the relationship of Government to non-governmental institutions. I am inclined to think that the greater the freedom we allow to non-governmental institutions in the manner of doing the work, the better. It is clear that government method of doing work almost inevitably involves delay. This particularly applies to any kind of scientific work which must not be shackled by the usual government regulations. A scientific organisation should be helped by government if it is considered worthy of such help and then give freedom to function. If it does not function properly, Government could stop the help.

The Indian Statistical Institute has grown remarkably during the last few years and is today acknowledged to be one of the world's best. If this Institute gets tied up with our normal procedures, I am sure its work will suffer. I do not mean to say that the audit ties it up in this way. But, as I said, I am looking at the broader question.

I have, therefore, come to the conclusion that we should drop this Bill² and treat the Indian Statistical Institute as a private or non-official organisation to which we give help when we so feel like.

In this connection I might mention some other questions that have arisen, although they are not related to this matter. A great deal of work is being done by our statistical organisation, numerous working papers are produced and statistical data. Under the government rules, however, these must be printed and processed through official agencies. The result has been that owing to excess of work in the official presses, these are not printed for a long time. Sometimes, the requisite quality of paper is lacking and long correspondence takes place to get paper. All this takes away from the value of the work done which is meant for a larger circle than just a few persons. I see no difficulty whatever in allowing these papers to be printed privately or preferably in the very up-to-date press of the Indian Statistical Institute. Figure printing is always a little difficult and

1. Note to M.K. Vellodi, the Cabinet Secretary, 17 April 1958. JN Collection.
2. The reference probably is to an earlier version of the Bill for the Indian Statistical Institute Act, 1959 which declared the ISI to be an institute of national importance. The Act further empowered the Institute to hold examinations and grant degrees and diplomas in subjects like statistics, mathematics, quantitative economics, computer science, etc., and made it incumbent upon the government to pay the Institute a certain sum of money every year by way of grant or loan. At the same time, the Act provided for the periodic auditing of the accounts of the Institute.

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ordinary presses are not too good at it. The ISI press specialises in this and does it rapidly. I think therefore that the Indian Statistical Organisation should be allowed to get its papers printed in the ISI press.³

Then also, under government rules, papers cannot be printed unless they are passed through several agencies and released for publication. This rule is good enough in regard to some documents and reports but it need not apply to purely scientific material. The value of many of these reports and statistical data lessens greatly by delay in presentation.

Cabinet Secretary might look into the two matters referred to above. As regards the Bill for the Institute, I think that the best course is to drop it.

3. Regarding ISI, Nehru also wrote (not printed) to Hiren Mukerjee on 15 May 1958 in reply to his letter of the same date that it was difficult for him to assess accurately the work of the ISI. He added: "I have visited it from time to time and have been much impressed by it. A very large number of eminent foreign scientists go there and stay there for weeks and months at a time. Many of them come to me afterwards and they have all, without exception, spoken highly of it. That, of course, does not necessarily mean that all is well there. Statisticians, like other experts, are often jealous of each other, and Mahalanobis sometimes rubs others up in the wrong way."

16. In Defence of Freedom of Expression¹

It is not necessary to do anything further in this matter and I agree with the Punjab Government that there is no occasion for the author of the book to express any public apology.² As a matter of fact he has expressed his regret at having hurt the feelings of some people in the community and in fact some passages are being taken out.

I do not at all admire the sensitiveness though I can understand it. It has become practically impossible for any author to write frankly lest someone or some community might dislike it. There can be no true writing or criticism on this basis.

1. Note to K. Ram, the Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 29 April 1958. JN Collection.
2. Bawa Harnam Singh, an MLA of Punjab, had protested against certain remarks made about the Labana community by M.S. Randhawa in his book *Out of the Ashes*.

17. To A.V. Pai¹

New Delhi
April 30, 1958

My dear Pai,²

I have just been looking through the programme for the President's visit to Simla. I am alarmed at seeing the list of persons going. On a rough computation, they are 210, including a vast number of *jamadars*, peons, *khalasis*, *khidmatgars*, *masalchis*, sweepers, washermen, tennis boys, etc. I wonder what the public reaction would be if this list was published by some paper. This kind of thing may have been done when the Viceroys were here, though, as far as I remember, Lord Mountbatten³ did not take such a crowd. Surely, it is totally inappropriate for this huge circus to go with the President.

And why tennis boys? The President does not play tennis. Are they merely to attend on the ADCs in leisure hours?

Surely, we must pull ourselves up. I would have spoken to the President about this myself, but I do not wish to trouble him about this matter. I should like you to discuss it with General Harnarain Singh.⁴ This list approaches something in the nature of a scandal. I can understand that the big house requires cleaning up and all that, but nowhere in the world is this large crowd needed for that. Our President is a simple person. The only conclusion one arrives at is that the Secretaries and ADCs require all these people to look after their comforts.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Secretary to the President of India.
3. Last Viceroy and the first Governor-General of free India.
4. Military Secretary to the President of India.

18. Voluntary Surrender of a Part of His Salary¹

I, Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, hereby declare that out of my salary of Rs 2,250 p.m. I have voluntarily surrendered, in the public interest, a sum of Rs 225 p.m. with effect from the salary for the month of June, 1957.

1. Declaration by Nehru on 2 May 1958. File No. 14/31/57-Public-I, MHA.

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19. To A.V. Pai¹

New Delhi
May 5, 1958

My dear Pai,

Some days ago, I saw your note about the President's party going to Simla. I can well understand that it was too late at the last moment to make any major changes in the list. But I find it difficult to accept the explanation given in your note about the necessity of the numbers. It is easy to justify any number. This depends on the premise or the general approach to this question.

I have long felt that the party accompanying the President on his tours is usually much too big. The Governors or others, who have to make arrangements for these, are greatly embarrassed by these numbers. In fact, they have told me so privately. But the main thing is that we should not and cannot follow the old Viceregal standards. In any event, that should not be so. As a matter of fact, a Viceroy or Governor-General like Lord Mountbatten functioned in a variety of ways, both administratively and socially, which are no longer necessary.

I might mention that many of my colleagues in the Cabinet agree with me wholly in this matter, and I know that the President agrees also. Why, then, should we thrust this burden on him? We have, therefore, to think entirely in new terms and reduce these parties very greatly. It is not a question of merely a dozen persons being left out. I hope this matter will be given due thought.

I do not wish to do anything, of course, contrary to the wishes of the President but, as I know that the President also feels this way, I think that we should take effective steps to this end.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

20. To Joachim Alva¹

New Delhi
May 7, 1958

My dear Alva,²

Your letter of the 6th May.

The case against Dr Gaitonde³ is most unfortunate and I have been much

1. JN Collection.

2. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Kanara, Mysore.

3. This was a case of alleged negligence during surgery.

distressed by it. I have the highest opinion of Dr Gaitonde⁴ not only for his capacity as a surgeon but as a man. What the exact facts may be in the case, I cannot say. But I am quite sure in my mind that Dr Gaitonde cannot consciously do a wrong thing or even be guilty of real negligence. So far as I can find out, the case against him is not a strong one.

I do not think that the Police have any special grouse against him. In fact, they hardly knew him. Nor do I think that his fellow-physicians or nurses have any complaint against him or wish to harass him. This is just a very unfortunate set of circumstances, which have got him into some trouble. Some of the best surgeons in England and elsewhere have faced such charges.

Because of my faith in Dr Gaitonde, I am anxious to help him in so far as I can. But I cannot do anything which might be considered improper according to our rules and conventions. I met Dr Gaitonde the other day and I told him not to worry. What has happened is certainly unfortunate, but it will not improve by his worrying. He must take it in his stride. I am sure that nothing much will come out of it and the case will collapse some time or other.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. P. D. Gaitonde, a freedom fighter from Goa and a surgeon, was an Honorary Senior Surgeon at Irwin Hospital, New Delhi.

21. To B. Gopala Reddy¹

New Delhi
May 8, 1958

My dear Gopala Reddy,²

I am writing to you about a trivial matter. I understand that you have expressed a wish to have the services of a peon who is now in the Andhra Government. Normally such a minor matter should be decided in accordance with your wishes. But, I would prefer our Cabinet decision in regard to peons to be adhered to strictly.³ If we ourselves ask for relaxation of the ban, then it is difficult to apply it in other cases.

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of State for Finance.

3. In this regard, see also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 37, p. 310.

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I should like you to consider this aspect. If, however, you feel that because of language or other difficulty, you particularly would like to have him here, then I leave it to you to decide.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

22. The Case of Dr Plentl¹

I find that the original letter from the Pasteur Institute of Southern India² is dated 29th August, 1957.³ The Deputy Secretary dealing with it records a note on the 30th April, 1958. He expresses his regret that he had kept this file for some time because he had misplaced some letter. In Dr Veeraraghavan's⁴ letter, it was stated that Dr Plentl⁵ had already arrived and that all arrangements at the technical level were complete. Only a formal clearance by the Government of India was needed. Thus, this was an urgent matter, requiring a very early reply. Actually, it took exactly eight months for the Deputy Secretary to record a note on it. If this is the way the Health Ministry staff works, there is something very wrong about it. It is not enough for the Deputy Secretary to express rather casually his regret, and I want an enquiry into this particular matter and a report sent to me on the subject. If anything could have required urgent consideration,

1. Note to D.P. Karmarkar, Union Minister of State for Health and S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 9 May 1958. File No. 50(38)-AMS/57, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Started as the Pasteur Institute of South India at Coonoor on 6 April 1907, the Pasteur Institute of India later became a public sector unit engaged in the production of antirabies vaccine and DTP vaccines.
3. In 1957 September, the Indian Embassy in Washington forwarded a copy of a letter from the Vice-President in charge of Medical Affairs, University of Columbia, USA, to the Indian Ambassador, regarding the visit of Professor Albert A. Plentl to work at the Nutrition Research Laboratories at Coonoor, South India and requested the permission of the Indian Council of Medical Research and the Indian Council of Scientific Research for the same. The Embassy later stated that Dr Plentl proposed to visit India in January-February 1958, for a period of three months and that he held an entry visa to India. The Ministry of Home Affairs had no objection to Dr Plentl's visit to India from the security point of view.
4. Dr N. Veeraraghavan, Director of the Pasteur Institute, Coonoor.
5. Albert Adolphe Plentl, Professor of Obstetrics and Gynaecology, Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York City.

it was this matter. I got the impression that the Deputy Secretary deals with his work casually and has no sense of importance or urgency. This is not good enough for an officer of Government.

2. Secondly, it surprises me that Dr Plentl should have actually arrived in India⁶ and completed all arrangements at the technical level before we are informed or any kind of permission is taken. For any kind of work in India by a foreign scientist, permission has to be taken, and this permission has to be not only on the technical level, but on the political level. How Dr Plentl managed to come here without such permission, is more than I can understand. He should not have moved from the United States or indeed taken any step towards coming to India before he had referred that matter officially to our Government and got their permission. This matter also requires enquiry. Did he approach anyone, for instance, our Embassy in Washington or any other Indian authority? As he was apparently in India in August last, what has he been doing since then? I want this matter to be cleared up and to be informed.

3. So far as the question of giving him permission to carry on his research work is concerned, I am quite clear that this permission cannot be given.⁷ Even if there had been no other valid reasons, I would not have given this permission because he has come here in a casual way, without previously asking us. But, there are other and very valid reasons why permission should not be given. Many of these are mentioned in the letter from Dr Veeraraghavan of the Pasteur Institute. There are other reasons also. Wherever radio-active material is used, quite extraordinary precautions have to be taken, as indeed they are taken in our Laboratories at Trombay. It is obvious that no such arrangements are contemplated at the Pasteur Institute. Also, it would be highly improper for radio-active experiments to be made in a place where all kinds of other work is being done.

6. On 1 July 1958, Harishwar Dayal, Minister in the Indian Embassy in Washington, clarified in a letter to Leilamani Naidu, Director, AMS Division, MEA, that though Dr Plentl presented his application for a visa to the Consulate-General at New York, he travelled to India via Stockholm. The Ministry of Home Affairs, in their telegram dated 8 August 1957, instructed the Indian Embassy at Stockholm to grant him a visa valid for two entries within twelve months, limiting the duration of stay to three months on each occasion.
7. Dr Albert Adolphe Plentl wished to undertake research in India on pregnant rhesus monkeys to investigate the development of the foetus and for connected studies in embryology and reproduction. He told the Consulate-General that this was a new line of research in the field of embryology and reproduction and that because of radiation hazards inherent in the administration of radio-active isotopes in human beings, experiments had necessarily to be conducted on animals among which the rhesus monkey was the best option for such experiments. He added that a grant had been offered by the Rockefeller Foundation for continued research on this project in India extending over a period of a year or two.

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There would be great danger to other animals as well as human beings there. We cannot take that risk, whatever the precautions.

4. Anyhow, it should be made quite clear that we cannot give this permission.

5. This note should be seen by Foreign Secretary and then passed on to the Minister of Health.

23. Syed Shahabuddin's Appointment¹

I agree with SS. I have gone through all these papers and I do not think that the previous record of students' activities justifies us to rule out Shahabuddin² from Service. Those students' activities in Bihar in 1955 were undoubtedly undesirable.³ But, it must be remembered that, owing to an unfortunate series of events which led to police firing and the death of some students, practically all the students of Bihar were greatly agitated. There was a Commission of Inquiry. It would be wrong for us to make all this a reason for banning Shahabuddin from Service.⁴

2. I think it would be desirable that some responsible person should talk to Shahabuddin. It is not much good asking some official in Bihar to do so. As

1. Note to B.N. Chakravarty, the Special Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 10 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. Syed Shahabuddin (b. 1935); taught physics at Patna University, 1956-58; joined Indian Foreign Service, 1958; served in Indian Missions in New York, Rangoon, Jeddah; Ambassador to Algeria and Mauritania, 1973-75; Joint Secretary, MEA, 1975-78; resigned from IFS in November 1978; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1979-84; General Secretary, Janata Party, 1980-86; Member, Lok Sabha, 1985-89 and 1991-96; Convener, Babri Masjid Movement Coordination Committee, since 1986; founded Insaf Party, 1989; editor, *Muslim India*.
3. During the students' agitation in Bihar in 1955 [see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 29, pp. 47 and 71], Shahabuddin was the convenor of Patna University Students' Action Committee in August 1955 and the General Secretary of Bihar State Students Council of Action in December 1955.
4. In a note to N.R. Pillai, the Secretary General, MEA, on 9 May 1958, Nehru asked whether the External Affairs Ministry had rejected Shahabuddin "because of some police reports from Bihar...? If so, then we have acted wrongly. I do not want our Ministry to act on police reports unless there is some very substantial ground for them. I have seen enough police reports which are not remarkable for intelligence or knowledge of current events. More particularly, reports from Bihar have this peculiar lack of quality."

it is proposed to take him into the IFS, someone in the External Affairs Ministry, preferably the Foreign Secretary or the Special Secretary, should have a frank talk with him. He should be told that it is not to his interest or to our interest for him to enter our Foreign Service if his views in regard to important political and like problems do not fit in with Government's views. It would be unfair for him and for us to engage him now, and then to find out that he does not fit into our Service. If, however, his views are broadly in line with our policies and he thinks that he will fit in, then we are prepared to consider taking him into our Foreign Service. He should further be told that in the Foreign Service, he will necessarily have to deal with representatives of foreign countries and, therefore, it is even more necessary than in the Home Service that he should clearly understand, appreciate and fit in with our views, and that we should have a feeling that we can rely upon his word and his integrity.

24. Difficulty of Getting Visas at Karachi¹

Raja Mahendra Pratap,² MP, has repeatedly mentioned in Parliament about the difficulty of people getting visas in Karachi for India and their having to pay money for the purpose. I asked him to send me some definite information which we could follow up.³ Now he has written a letter which is by no means definite. However, the point he makes is that people stand in front of our Visa Offices making money this way. You might write to our High Commissioner⁴ about it.

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 12 May 1958.
2. Independent Member of the Lok Sabha from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh.
3. On 8 May 1958 Nehru wrote to Raja Mahendra Pratap that it was rather difficult to make an enquiry about such vague charges and that it was possible that some undesirable persons must be trying to make money from gullible people. Nehru also asked him to find out whether any member of the Indian staff indulged in this highly objectionable practice.
4. C.C. Desai.

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25. To Asoke K. Sen¹

New Delhi
May 13, 1958

My dear Asoke,²

I am enclosing some papers that H.V.R. Iengar, Governor of the Reserve Bank, has sent me.

I agree with Iengar that Patel³ has no right to demand all kinds of private papers from the Reserve Bank. Indeed, I think we have been too lavish with our supply of papers to him.⁴

You know that our Intelligence Department has been carrying on an enquiry about the LIC matter. They have collected some facts.⁵ I told the DIB, Mullik, that he should supply these facts to the Government counsel, Sanyal,⁶ so that he may place them before the Commission.⁷ It is right that we should help the Commission to find out all the facts. Pantji also advised me to this effect.

I think that you might take a little interest in this enquiry and see that Sanyal is properly briefed. We do not want our counsel to go there without adequate preparation and briefing.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Law.
3. H.M. Patel, Principal Secretary, Ministry of Finance.
4. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 419-420.
5. In his memoirs *My Years with Nehru*, B.N. Mullik, Director, Intelligence Bureau, states that he had reported to Nehru that neither T.T. Krishnamachari nor any other Minister was in any way directly involved in the LIC-Mundhra deal. But, he added, Krishnamachari had not resisted the proposed deal when it was put up to him twice earlier, the reason being that he thought that the British India Corporation Limited, Kanpur, must be kept going, which could be done only by helping Mundhra financially. He also felt that Mundhra's trouble was caused by the levying of extra excise duties and taxes in 1956 and 1957, and the economic depression that followed it.
6. S.N. Sanyal, Solicitor with the Department of Legal Affairs under the Ministry of Law.
7. The Vivian Bose Enquiry Board was looking into the role of H.M. Patel, G.R. Kamat and L.S. Vaidyanathan in the LIC deal. For details, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 415-416.

26. To Humayun Kabir¹

New Delhi
May 13, 1958

My dear Humayun,

I have just, near mid-night, read your letter of the 13th May. It has astonished me very greatly. During the past ten years since I became Prime Minister, I have not had any such letter previously. I can only imagine that you have written it in some sudden mood and not after careful thought. It is a curious letter to write to a person to whom you pledge your cooperation and loyalty. I really do not understand where any lack of confidence in you comes in. Certainly, I have not felt that way, and I have had an increasing appreciation of your work and ability. Whether the division of Maulana's Ministry into two parts was wise or not,² may be a matter on which opinions differ. That was done some time ago and I suppose, in such matters, the judgement of the Prime Minister has to prevail. What exactly has happened since this was done, which has induced you to write to me, is not at all clear to me. In any event, I am sorry to find that you are taking a very personal view of a matter which should be considered from a broader viewpoint, and certainly you have not shown much kindness to me in writing as you have done.³

I hope you will think again.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. For the bifurcation of the Union Ministry of Education and Scientific Research, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 267-269.
3. In another letter (not printed) to Humayun Kabir on 14 May 1958, Nehru wrote: "I think you have needlessly worried yourself about what you refer to as 'recent events'. Nor do I see at all how your effectiveness or public positions are affected in the slightest. You will give me credit for some judgement about these matters."

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

27. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
May 15, 1958

My dear Krishna Menon,²

I have your letter of today's date.³ I need not tell you that I do not propose to treat it seriously even though you might have meant it as such. You are only remotely connected with this matter. If it is anybody's fault, most of us are involved.⁴

Anyhow, we have got to find a way out. We had a talk today. I suggested to Asoke Sen⁵ that he might meet you and find out from you not only some facts which were not quite clear to us, but generally your appraisal of the situation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Defence.
3. Krishna Menon wrote that he had been informed by N.R. Pillai, the Secretary-General, MEA, that the Jeep Case was to be considered by the Cabinet on 15 May 1958. He added that he had informed Pillai that he did not consider it proper to attend the meeting to enable Nehru to feel free from any embarrassment which might exist when a colleague was a party to the case. He also thought it fit to "place my office at your [Nehru's] disposal and your discretion."
4. For Nehru's reply to the debate in Parliament on 10 April 1951, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 16 Pt. I, pp. 263-265.
5. Union Minister of Law.

28. To Gulzarilal Nanda¹

New Delhi
May 15, 1958

My dear Gulzarilal,²

Dange³ has sent me a copy of his letter addressed to you, dated the 15th. In this, objection is taken to the invitation to representatives of the UK and USA Embassies to the Nainital Labour Conference.⁴

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Labour, Employment and Planning.
3. S.A. Dange, CPI leader and Member of the Lok Sabha from Bombay Central.
4. The Sixteenth Indian Labour Conference was held at Nainital on 19 and 20 May 1958.

I am surprised to learn that any Embassy is invited to send representatives. I think that Embassies should have nothing to do with such matters and should not be invited. If there is a question of invitation, then it is very difficult to distinguish and discriminate. I do not know when this practice started, but I hope it will be discontinued.

I suppose it is too late to do anything now. I see that Dange threatens to walk out.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

29. To L. Achaw Singh¹

New Delhi
May 16, 1958

Dear Shri Achaw Singh,²

Your letter of the 15th May has reached me. It consists of thirteen closely typed foolscap pages and deals not only with a number of individual cases but with practically all the rules, regulations, activities, etc., of the External Affairs Ministry. You also express your disapproval of my previous reply to you, with which I had sent a long note. I am sorry to merit your disapproval. But I am afraid that your idea of what I am supposed to do and what a Minister is supposed to do in regard to the detailed working of our Ministries and Departments differs from mine.

There are Committees of Parliament which examine the working of our Ministries at some length and with considerable care. You have been good enough to undertake all this work yourself and have no doubt taken a lot of trouble over it. Evidently some disgruntled persons gave you their own version of some facts and you base your judgement of the entire working of various Departments on that evidence.

In your previous letter, you referred to certain cases. Now, you have written about almost every Department. I do not quite know how you expect me or my Ministry to deal with the kind of communication that you have sent me. We are always glad to examine any case where there is a legitimate grievance or some

1. JN Collection.

2. Socialist Member of the Lok Sabha from Inner Manipur.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

mistake has occurred. But it is hardly possible for us to overhaul the whole Ministry because someone does not approve of its working.

I am forwarding your letter to our Ministry.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

30. Citizenship for William Broome¹

I agree to these proposals except for the proposed appointment of a senior District and Sessions Judge. I agree that such a Judge should be appointed. But it is stated that the first on the list, Shri William Broome,² is not eligible because he is not an Indian citizen. The second does not come up to the standard required and, therefore, the third, that is, Shri D.S. Mathur,³ should be appointed. There appears to be considerable difference of opinion about the relative merits of some of the persons considered.

2. It is obvious that the most competent person as well as the seniormost is Shri William Broome. He has a good record of service. The only thing against him is said to be his not being an Indian citizen. That is not his fault. He has been trying hard to become an Indian citizen. In actual fact, he is as near an Indian citizen as anyone can be. He married long ago an Indian lady, his children have Indian names; in fact, he is completely domiciled in India. His attempts at acquiring Indian citizenship have not met with success because of some legal quibble, that he is in fact a British citizen; and he cannot become an Indian citizen just because of that fact. This seems to me very odd indeed.

3. Some little time ago, a separate file came up before me in regard to this question of Shri William Broome becoming an Indian citizen. As far as I

1. Note to Home Ministry, New Delhi, 16 May 1958. File No. 34(9)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. For Broome's case, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 470-471.
3. Dhatri Saran Mathur (b. 1912); Joint Magistrate and Civil and Sessions Judge, UP, 1936-44; District and Sessions Judge, Aligarh, 1944-47; Registrar, Allahabad High Court, 1947-50; District and Sessions Judge, 1951-55; Chairman, Election Tribunal, 1952, 1953 and 1957; Judicial Commissioner, Bhopal, 1955-56; appointed Judge, Allahabad High Court, 1959; headed Commission of Inquiry, Aligarh communal riots, 1971-72; Chief Justice of Allahabad High Court, 1973-74.

remember, it was stated there that if he renounced his British citizenship, he could immediately be entitled to become an Indian citizen. I do not know what has happened since in regard to that matter. Surely, that can be expedited and he can easily become an Indian citizen in the course of a few days.

4. I would, therefore, recommend that this appointment of an additional Judge of the High Court for which post Shri D.S. Mathur has been recommended, be not made at present, and we should facilitate Shri William Broome to acquire his citizenship and choose him for this appointment, as he is the senior most and the best qualified.

31. Training of Personnel for Foreign Missions¹

It seems to me that every person who goes to any of our Foreign Missions, whatever grade he might belong to, should be given some special training and orientation before he is sent. This may not be necessary in the case of some of our experienced members of the Foreign Service who have been abroad. Even in their case, it might be worthwhile to have talks or discussions at suitable intervals.

2. In the case of junior members or newcomers, or clerks and others, this kind of orientation is essential. I am not thinking merely of the political aspect, but rather of our helping them to adapt themselves to foreign ways and customs and, at the same time, to understand how they are to represent India abroad.

3. Indeed, I think that the wives of the persons who go abroad, also require some help in this matter. It is not fair suddenly to launch these people in foreign countries without some helpful advice. I should like you to consider how all this can be organised. Some relatively senior members of the Service could deal with groups and give talks to them.

4. I should like, in so far as this is possible for me, to meet officers and others who are being sent abroad or who come back after their term abroad.

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, the Secretary General, MEA, S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary and B.N. Chakravarty, the Special Secretary, New Delhi, 17 May 1958. JN Collection.

32. To V.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
May 18, 1958

My dear V.T.²

K.C. Reddy³ has written to me about the allocation for slum clearance. He tells me that it is proposed to reduce this from Rs 120.00 crores to Rs 84.30 crores. This means that housing will be affected very considerably.

In view of our difficulties in regard to internal resources, I suppose it is inevitable for us to cut down allocations. But I feel more and more that some social services are highly important in our present context, and we should stretch ourselves as much as we can in this respect. Housing and slum clearance are certainly very important.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission.
3. Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply.

33. Enquiry into LIC Investments¹

I have read all these notes. I am anxious that the enquiry should start as soon as possible. It is important, of course, that we should be ready for it before it starts. From the Home Minister's note, it appears that all the DIB papers will be ready in a day or two. Therefore, there does not appear to be any need for a postponement beyond 1st June.

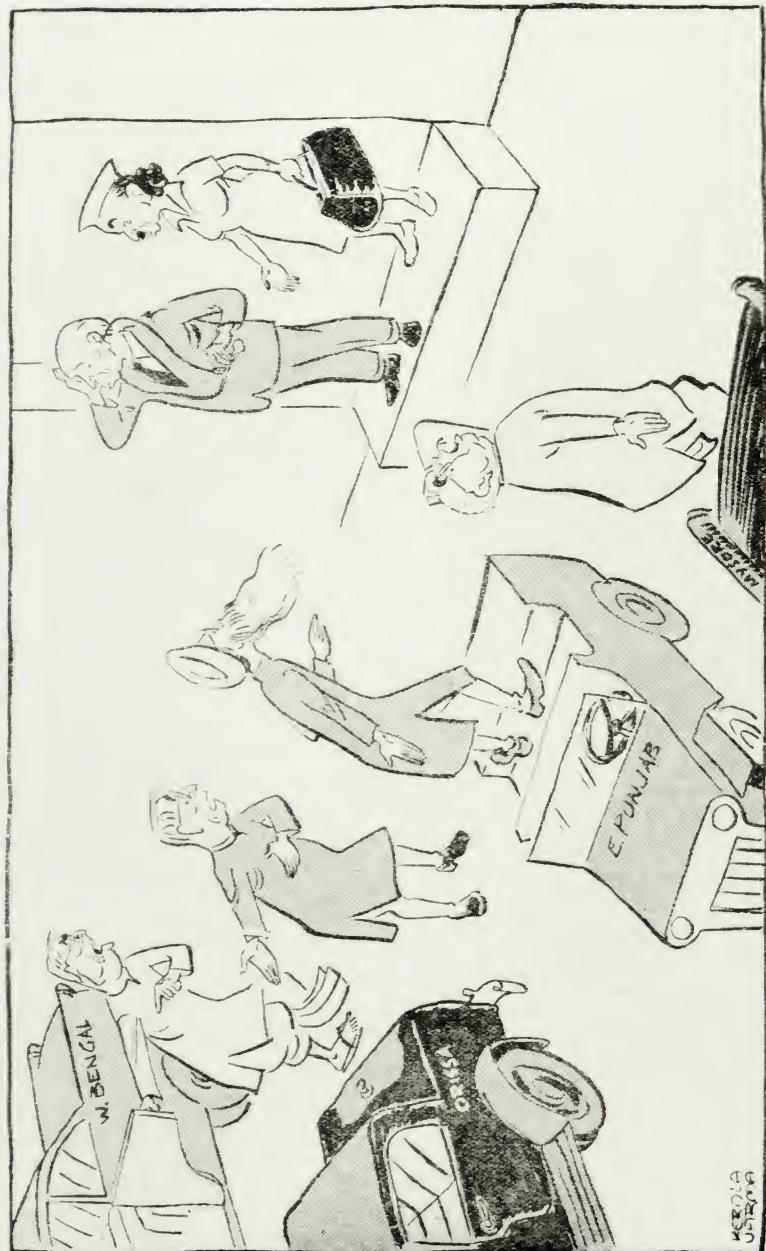
Government's position in this matter is that all relevant information should be placed before the Bose Commission.² We are not functioning as prosecutors or for the defence. We are naturally interested in a fair enquiry and justice being done. We have already informed Parliament that the results of the police enquiry will be placed before the Commission. This should be done as far as it is feasible.

1. Note to Asoke K. Sen, the Union Minister of Law, 18 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. The reference is to the Vivian Bose Enquiry Board which was enquiring into the conduct of certain officials in the LIC investment case.



ADDRESSING THE THIRD DEFENCE SCIENCE CONFERENCE, NEW DELHI, 3 APRIL 1958

Doctor's Dilemma



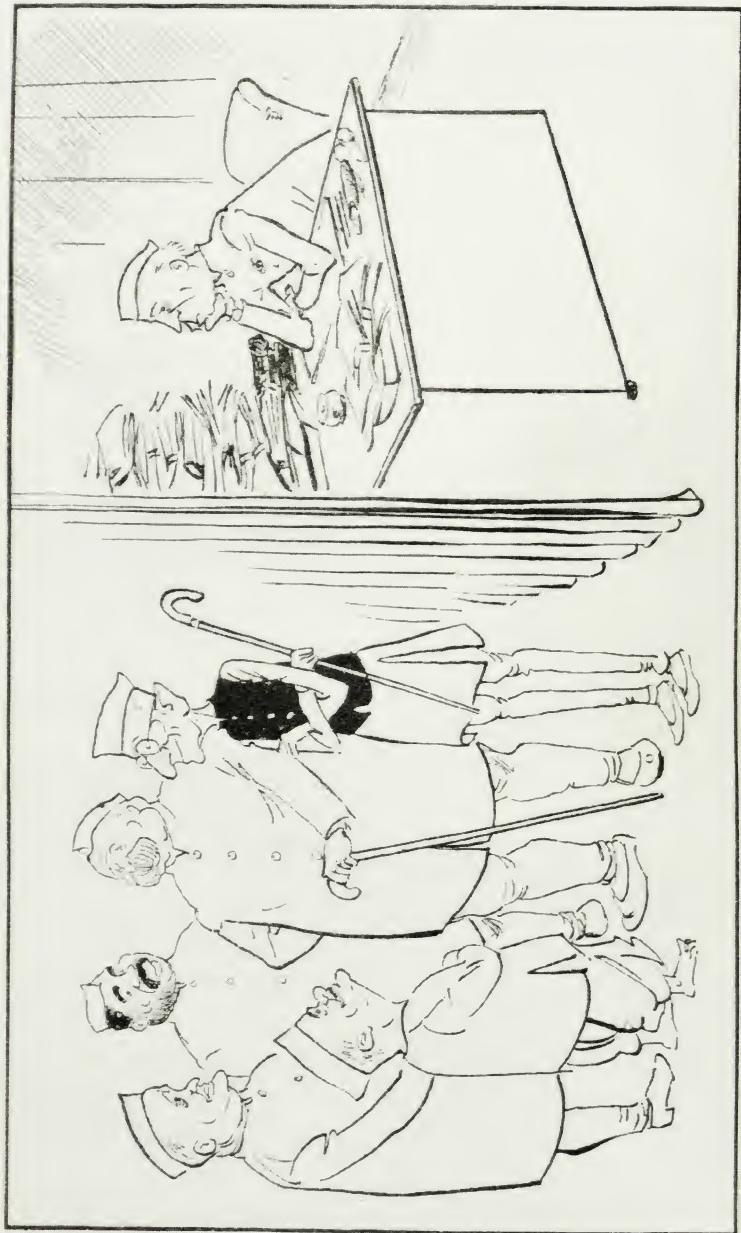
Ministerial crises have been reported from several States.

A CARTOON FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 6 APRIL 1958



WITH INDIRA GANDHI AND LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI AT OKHLA INDUSTRIAL ESTATE, DELHI, 12 APRIL 1958

"WHAT DOES HE MEAN?"



Pandit Nehru said he was feeling "flat and stale".

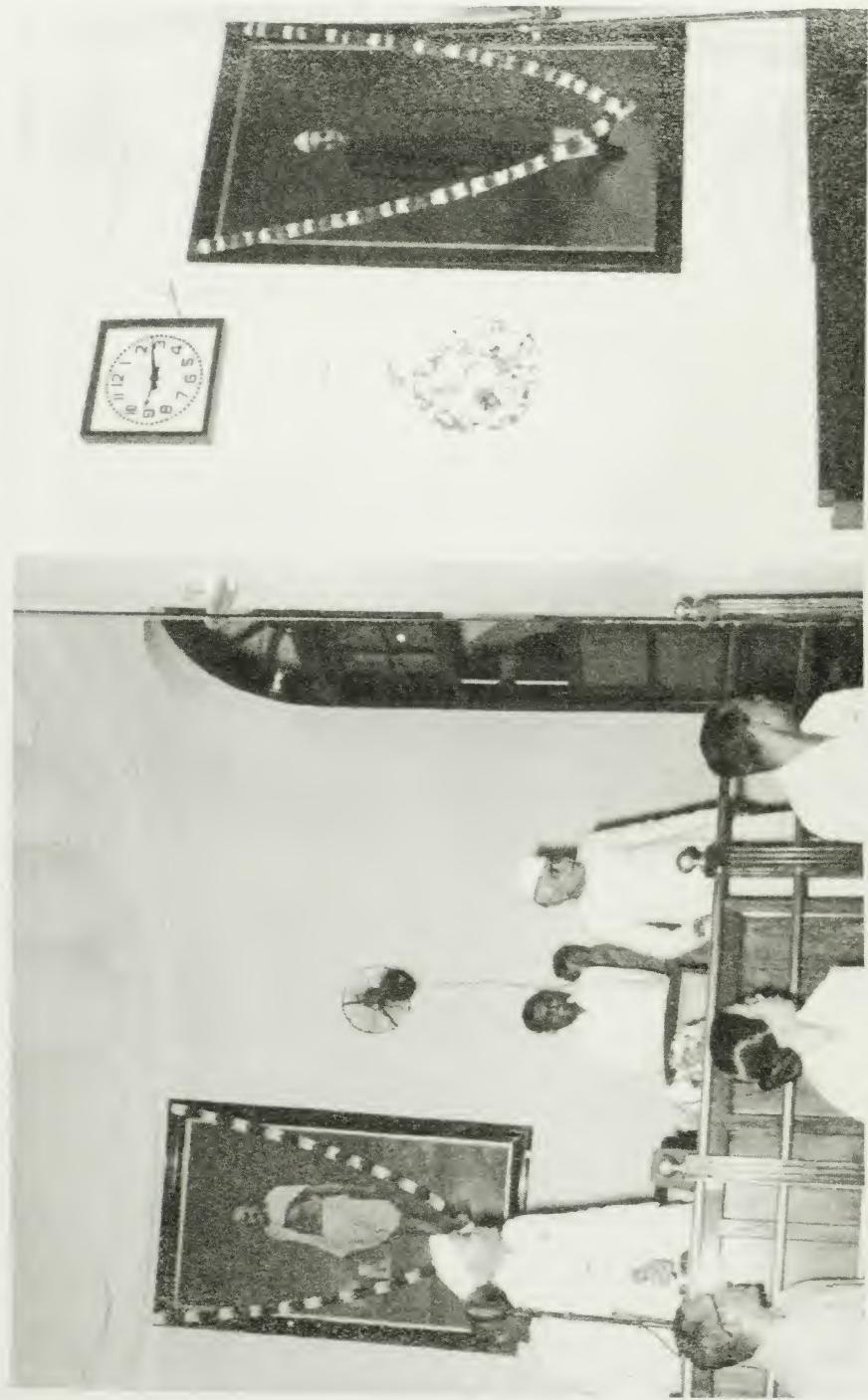
The hopefuls are Lal Bahadur Shastri, S.K. Patil, Jagannath Karanji, Govind Ballabh Pant and Moraji Desai.

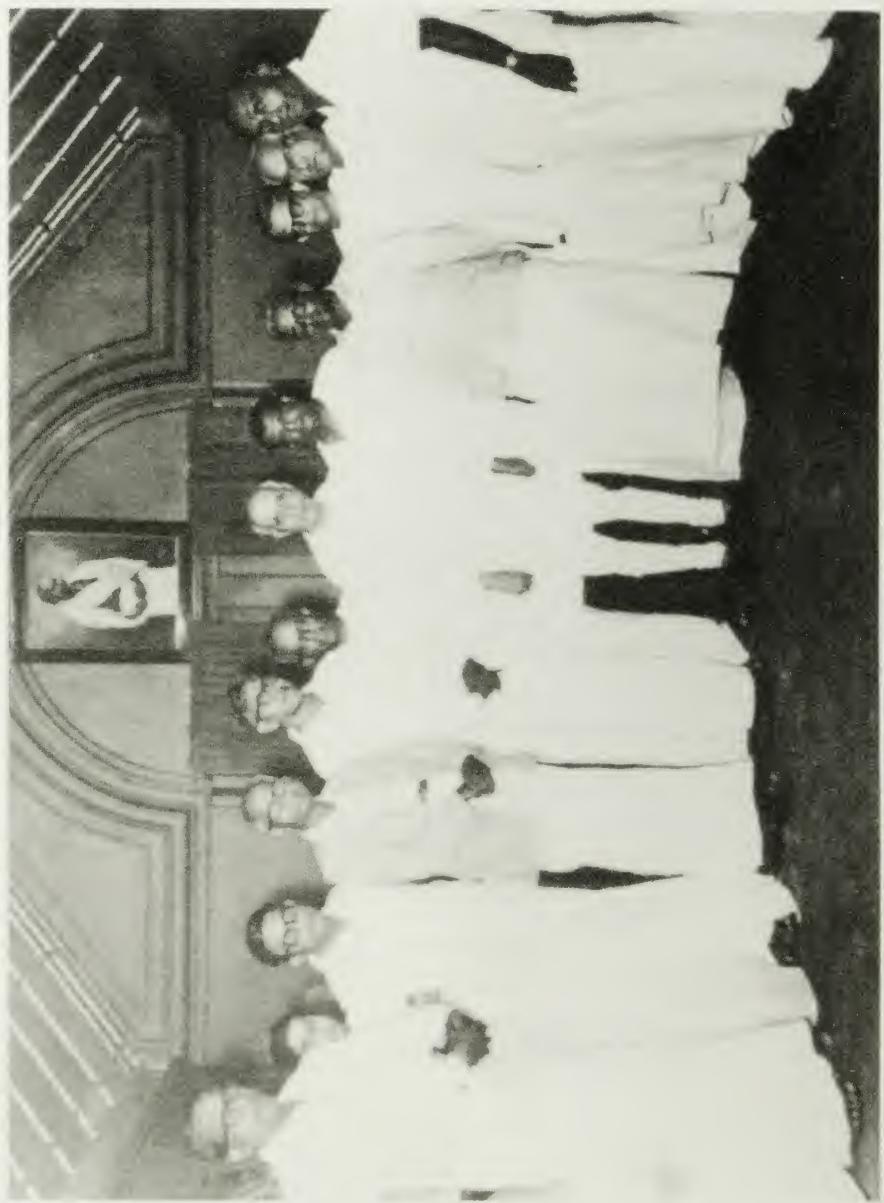
A CARTOON FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 13 APRIL 1958



INAUGURATING MAHATMA GANDHI COLLEGE, TRIVANDRUM, 24 APRIL 1958

UNVEILING THE PORTRAIT OF PRESIDENT RAJENDRA PRASAD
AT THE KERALA LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY CHAMBER, TRIVANDRUM, 25 APRIL 1958





WITH CHIEF MINISTER NAMBOODIRIPAD AND HIS CABINET, TRIVANDRUM, 25 APRIL 1958



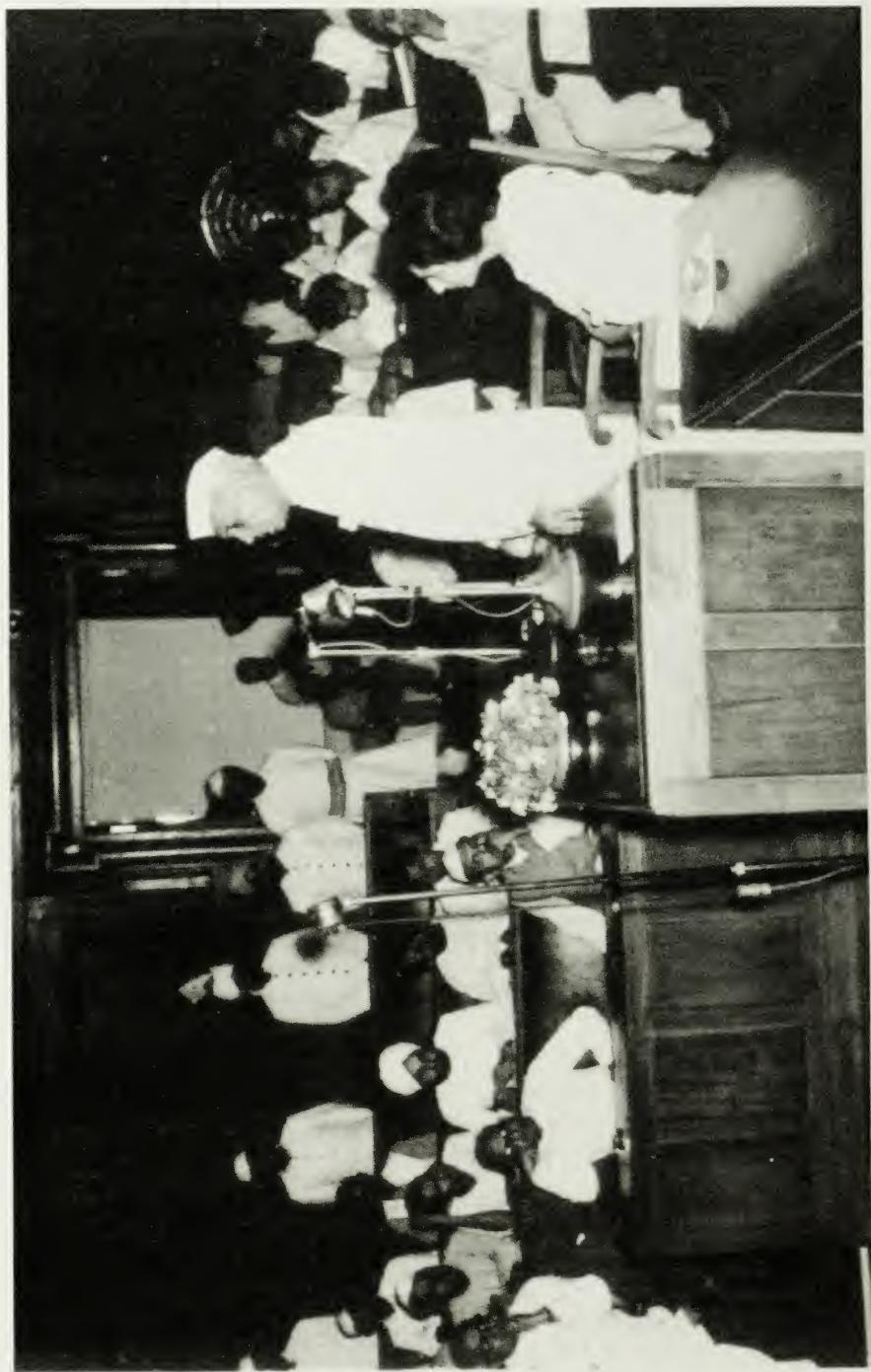
RECEIVING THE SALUTE AT INS VENDURUTHY, NAVAL BASE, COCHIN, 26 APRIL 1958



LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE FOR AN ENGINEERING COLLEGE, TRICHUR, 26 APRIL 1958



WITH G.B. PANT AND TURKISH PRIME MINISTER ADNAN MENDERES
AT A LUNCHEON, NEW DELHI, 2 MAY 1958



ADDRESSING THE DELHI MUNICIPAL CORPORATION, DELHI, 2 MAY 1958



AT THE AICC SESSION, NEW DELHI, 10 MAY 1958

It will be for the lawyers to determine what should be placed before the Commission.

I have suggested to DIB that they might supply to the Law Minister and Shri Sanyal a full note of their enquiry into this matter. This is apart from the actual papers which might be placed before the Commission. Shri Sanyal should have a connected account of the enquiry which will no doubt help him to understand the various implications of the case.³

There is no reason why any proceeding should be held up because of my absence from Delhi. I would naturally like to be kept informed, but my presence is not needed for any step to be taken.

I agree with the Finance Minister and the Home Minister about the salary and allowance to be paid to the officers concerned during the pendency of the enquiry.

3. See *ante*, p. 312.

34. Appointment of Ex-Princes¹

As the President has already approved of the appointment of Raja Rana of Jubbal² as an Honorary ADC and desires that an honorary rank in the army be given to him, there is no particular point in my expressing an opinion in this matter. The reason for the resignation of Raja Rana of Jubbal from the Indian Foreign Service was certainly personal, but the whole episode did not leave a good impression on me.

2. I do not personally like the idea of a large number of ex-princes and the like being appointed honorary ADCs to the President. But that is a matter entirely for the President to decide.

3. The Defence Minister has already agreed to the honorary rank being given and I have no objection. So the matter may be submitted to the President.

1. Note to V.K. Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister, Manali, 25 May 1958. JN Collection.
 2. Raja Rana Digvijay Chand of Jubbal (now in Himachal Pradesh) (1913-1966); ascended the throne in 1946; state acceded to Indian Union on 15 April 1948; Honorary ADC to the President of India, 1957-60; held the honorary rank of Major in the Brigade of Guards.

35. To L. Achaw Singh¹

Manali, Kulu Valley
29th May 1958

Dear Shri Achaw Singh,

This is in continuation of my letter No. 1252-PMH/58, dated the 16th May, 1958.² You have questioned the legality of the procedure followed in recruiting people to the IFS (B). I have examined this aspect of the question and I find that the IFS (B) Initial Constitution Rules were drafted in consultation with the Ministries of Home Affairs, Finance, Law, Commerce and Industry and Works, Housing and Supply. The Rules were thereafter sent to the Union Public Service Commission which suggested certain amendments. These amendments were incorporated and the Rules were then finalised. You will, therefore, see that the provisions of Article 320(3) of the Constitution have been complied with.³

Our Constitution provides for the setting up of an independent body like the UPSC to advise Government on such matters. Since the Rules were framed in consultation with the UPSC as well as the Ministries of Law and Home Affairs, the legality of the procedure cannot be questioned. I may add that the UPSC is not required to recruit public servants only by the method of competitive examinations. Selection after proper advertisement is also a recognised method of recruitment. Such a procedure was indeed followed by the UPSC for selection of overaged recruits from the open market to the IAS and the IFS.

The initial recruitment to the IFS (B) was confined to persons who are already in government service. No person not already in government service could apply or be appointed to the IFS (B). The initial recruitment is thus a transfer from one service or post to another. Future recruitment to the IFS (B) would be governed by separate rules which are now being drafted. These statutory rules would be promulgated only after due consultation with the Ministries of Home Affairs and Law as well as the UPSC. These rules will provide for recruitment through open competitive examinations conducted by the UPSC.

As I told you in my last letter, we are always prepared to examine any case where there is a legitimate grievance or where some mistake may have taken place. Any person who feels that a decision has adversely affected him, may be

1. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, pp. 315-316.

3. Article 320(3) of the Constitution stipulates that in all matters pertaining to the recruitment, promotions, transfers, etc., of Central and State Government employees, the Union Public Service Commission or the State Public Service Commissions concerned should be consulted.

advised to make representations to the appropriate authorities for relief. Each case can then be gone into in detail and decided on its own merits.

The two letters attached to your letter under reference are returned herewith.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

36. Message to the Mayors' Conference¹

I send my good wishes to the Conference of Mayors to be held in Hyderabad.² I hope that this Conference will pay particular attention to the problem of planning of cities so as to avoid unregulated growth. Every city should have a long-term plan which should be kept in view all the time so that every development fits in with it.

I hope further that the question of slum clearance, which is of vital importance, will also be considered from a practical point of view. I realise that this problem is a very big one, but we should not postpone its consideration because it is too big. A beginning should be made and persevered with.

1. New Delhi, 31 May 1958. File No. F-9/2/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. On 6 and 7 June 1958.

37. Cabinet Sanction for Visits Abroad¹

I must say that I am surprised that in a matter of this kind, we should be asked to give sanction after a large number of persons have already left India. This is a kind of proposal which should anyhow have been considered fully before sanction is given by the Cabinet, more particularly when we are trying to avoid every expenditure of foreign exchange unless it is considered inescapable. I do not consider this expenditure inescapable.

2. Further, it is by no means clear to me why we should send a number of our senior educationalists to the United States to learn from them the method of evaluation. The United States is undoubtedly an advanced country in these matters, but conditions in the United States and India differ greatly.

1. Note to M.K. Vellodi, the Cabinet Secretary, New Delhi, 31 May 1958. JN Collection.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

3. It is also not clear to me why such a large number of persons should be sent abroad.

4. In the circumstances, there is nothing to be done except to circulate this note to Members of the Cabinet, together with my present note.

5. I hope that in future there will be no case when ex-post-facto sanction of the Cabinet is asked for. Further, that all Ministries should remember that sanction will not be given for visits abroad except in urgent and inescapable cases.

6. A copy of this note should be sent to the Education Ministry.

38. To K.L. Shrimali¹

New Delhi

June 6, 1958

My dear Shrimali,²

Your letter of June 5th about Saiyidain.³ The other day, when you spoke to me about him, we agreed that in all the circumstances, we should for the present give him an extension of a year. When later you wrote to me that he wanted at least a three-year extension, I replied to you that we should adhere to our previous decision and offer him one year's extension with of course the possibility of further extension later.

It is true, what Saiyidain has written to you, that the question of age has no great relevance in this connection. Most of our Education Secretaries have been above the normal retirement age. Even the retirement age is now being gradually extended. You were present the other day at the Cabinet Meeting when this was being discussed. Therefore, the question of age really is not important. It is other factors that count.

You told me about various things that had happened which you did not like and which seemed to me too rather odd. On the other hand, as you pointed out, it would be not good to terminate Saiyidain's appointment after Maulana Sahib's death. It would almost indicate that now that Maulana Sahib's influence was removed, such changes were taking place.

About Saiyidain's general ability and educational experience, I suppose there is little doubt. He is an able educationist and is thought of fairly well in Indian circles as well as abroad. He is frequently invited to go abroad. The real thing, therefore, that comes somewhat in his way are certain personal habits and traits.

I had a talk with Dr Radhakrishnan about him a few days ago and he was of opinion also that for the present it would be desirable to keep him.

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of State for Education.

3. K.G. Saiyidain was the Education Secretary in the Government of India, 1956-60.

In the Cabinet the other day, we were considering the case of servicemen and we decided that so far as scientists and technical persons were concerned, they should invariably be given extensions almost without limit, subject to health, etc. In regard to other servicemen, it was decided to give an extension of two years to begin with and then one year more. This would be without any particular difficulty. If any further extension was thought of, this should be a special case which should go up to the Appointments Committee of the Cabinet.

Saiyidain is not directly governed by this decision because he was on contract service and is not a normal Government official. Nevertheless, it would be proper, I think, to apply that principle to him also, that is to say, to offer him an extension of two years at present. That would be in keeping with the general policy we have laid down now.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

39. Deportation of Syed Shamsul Hasan to Pakistan¹

I am sending you a representation about Shri Syed Shamsul Hasan. This particular representation has been given to me by Mr Mazhar Ali Azhar,² a Pakistani citizen from Lahore, who has been here for the last few weeks.³

1. Note to M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 7 June 1958. JN Collection.
2. (b. 1895); started practising law at Lahore, 1918; joined Khilafat movement, 1919; imprisoned in 1919 and 1920; Member, Punjab Legislative Council, 1924-26 and 1934-37; participated in Civil Disobedience Movement and was imprisoned for six years; Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1937-45; worked for Muslim-Sikh harmony; joined All India Forward Bloc, 1946; migrated to Pakistan after Partition and practised law at the Lahore High Court; works include *Shia's Tawarikh-i-Masjid Shahidganj, Judagana intekhab se Pakistan tak: hamare firqa varana faisla ka istidraj*.
3. Mazhar Ali Azhar, in his representation dated 7 June 1958, appealed to Nehru for grant of permanent resident status to Syed Shamsul Hasan, originally a resident of Bijnor, UP. According to Azhar, Hasan was a religious leader who often visited Pakistan before and after Partition to deliver religious lectures. During one such trip in 1948, he was detained in Pakistan for want of a permit as was required then. However, after obtaining a temporary permit for three months from the Indian Deputy High Commissioner in Lahore, he reached India and applied for a permanent residential permit in India. Hasan's request was turned down by the Government and the case reached Allahabad High Court. Meanwhile, Hasan was issued an Indian passport in 1954, which was renewed annually till 1958. However, on 4 April 1958 he was deported to Pakistan where he was sued for entering it without a passport or visa. Citing the trauma Hasan and his family were undergoing, Ali Azhar requested Nehru to do the needful.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

2. The representation states certain facts about this case. I do not know how far this statement is correct, but we have the solid fact of the actual issue of the passport to Syed Shamsul Hasan on the 4th December 1954. This had been renewed annually and, in fact, it does not expire till December 1958. The passport has been used on several occasions to visit Pakistan, apparently for religious discourses.

3. I cannot understand how a holder of an Indian passport and consequently a citizen of India can be bundled out and deported from India. There appears to be no explanation of this except some kind of mistaken identity. If a mistake has occurred, our Government may well be liable to pay damages. Anyhow, it is a highly regrettable mistake which suddenly lands one of our citizens in another country, which country starts proceedings against him immediately for having come without a passport or visa.

4. This is a very extraordinary situation and I should like you to enquire immediately from the Home Ministry and the UP Government about it. You might meanwhile inform our High Commission in Karachi or our office in Lahore about this case.

5. I am having a letter sent to the District Magistrate of Bijnor asking him to report to us as to why this man was suddenly deported without giving him even an opportunity of producing his passport.

6. Copies of the representation are attached.

40. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi
June 7, 1958

My dear Morarji,²

I am passing on to you a report that I have received. I have no means of knowing how far it may be correct or reliable. The report is to the effect that the Maharaja of Jaipur³ has made a gross under declaration of his wealth and assets. This report in fact applies to the returns submitted by both the Maharaja and the Maharani.⁴ I am further told that the Income Tax Officer, Jaipur,

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Finance.
3. Sawai Man Singh II.
4. Maharani Gayatri Devi (1919-2009); daughter of Maharaja of Cooch Behar; married to Maharaja of Jaipur, 1940; Member of the Lok Sabha, 1962-77; wrote her autobiography, *A Princess Remembers*.

is not at all satisfied with the returns that he has received and does not consider them to be correct.

I do not know if you can do anything about this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

41. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi
June 8, 1958

My dear Morarji,

I mentioned to you that I would like to have a talk with you about some matters pending between the External Affairs Ministry and the Finance Ministry. I hope to have this talk later. But, as perhaps I may not have the time before I go to Manali again, I am noting down some points for your consideration. Should you so wish it, we can discuss these matters on my return from Manali.

2. I find that two questions have been raised. One is in regard to the number of Joint Secretaries which External Affairs Ministry has. The other is about certain allowances, etc., which were sanctioned some two years back and are in force now. These allowances relate to children's education and children's holiday passages.

3. I have gone into these matters to some extent and discussed them with our senior officers. I have not discussed them with any Finance Ministry officials, as I had hoped to talk to you about them. Therefore, what I write now are my personal reactions.

4. So far as the Joint Secretaries are concerned, I find that there are three permanent posts in External Affairs. Three other temporary posts of Joint Secretaries were created, the first with effect from the 7th April, 1952, the second from 24th August 1953, and the third from the 24th February, 1954. Thus, ever since February 1954, that is, four years ago, there have been six Joint Secretaries. In addition, two posts of Foreign Service Inspectors of Joint Secretary status were created with effect from the 1st March, 1954. One post of Inspector was abolished in 1956 and, since then, we have had only one Foreign Service Inspector.

1. JN Collection.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

5. There are four types of work in our Ministry, requiring an officer of the status of Joint Secretary. There is what might be called the political work, which is the main function of External Affairs. This work is divided up territorially, and at present, there are three Joint Secretaries doing political work, in charge of separate territories. Then, there is the Protocol Department, which is supposed to have an officer of the status of Joint Secretary, as he has to deal with Heads of Foreign Missions. Thirdly, there are the Foreign Service Inspectors, and fourthly, the internal administration, passport and publicity work.

6. Compared to other important countries, our staff is by no means big. Indeed, it is rather small on the political side. We have had to deal with very heavy exceptional work, which normally would not come our way. Thus, our work in connection with the four Indo-China States has been very heavy indeed, because our Chairmen of Commissions function there and constant references are being made to us. Then, there is our Expeditionary Force on the Egyptian-Israel border. All these are special activities, which are not normally the functions of our Ministry. I think that real efficiency might well require an addition to the political side of our work, more specialisation in regard to territories. At present, vast areas of the world are put under one Joint Secretary, which is not good enough. However, in view of the present circumstances, I do not think we should add to the number of Joint Secretaries on the political side. We shall try to carry on to the best of our ability. It is difficult to judge this work by the number of receipts in a particular Department or Division. Much of the work is not routine at all, and requires very careful thinking and drafting. I have not mentioned above an additional charge on the External Affairs Ministry, and a difficult one, that is, NEFA, and the new Tuensang-Naga Hills area. Also, the Assam Rifles.

7. The Protocol Department inevitably has to exist, and a Joint Secretary is in charge of it. It is possible, of course, that that Joint Secretary can do some other work also and normally he does so. But, that depends on variable factors, such as visits of Heads of Governments and other VIPs to India.

8. Then, there are the Inspectors, or rather one Inspector now. I suppose that an Inspector is necessary, and we cannot go below one. In this matter, however, I am inclined to think that the type of inspection we have been carrying out, is not worthwhile, and adds to our general work greatly. This inspection goes into details of expenditure on meals, etc., at our Missions abroad, looks at menus, and so on. The result is a great deal of labour for the Inspector, for the Mission abroad, and for the administrative side here at headquarters. It is better to take some risks in this matter and not go into meticulous details of expenditure on petty items. This would save a great deal of work. Perhaps, it was desirable to begin with to have some idea of how our Missions were functioning. But, we should end this now, and the Inspector should be called upon to look at the major aspects of the functioning of our Missions abroad.

9. Internal administration has to be done. But, that administration itself becomes more and more involved in unnecessary details because of some of our rules. I have referred to some of these things above in regard to inspection. I think that administration should be simplified. It is true that we have been in the process of building up our Foreign Service, first the Foreign Service A and, lately, the Foreign Service B, and this has involved a great deal of trouble. Once this is done, it should be easier to work. In fact, the administrative work became terribly heavy during the past two years or so, and we were compelled to have a Special Secretary² mainly for this purpose. He is still deeply involved in it, and I know he works very hard. I am inclined to think that we create work for ourselves by our general line of approach to administrative problems, and that we could simplify it. The object of the O & M Division is to simplify it, and the new development of having some kind of Work Study groups, is the right approach to the problem. Such problems in a new Service are of a complicated personal nature, which are not easy to deal, but I hope this will become more normalised soon. It may be that it might not be necessary to have a Special Secretary for this purpose later. For the present, he is quite essential, and it would not be possible for our other Secretaries who are very heavily worked, to undertake additional tasks.

10. I am anxious, however, that a Joint Secretary should be reduced, that is, the person who is doing this administrative work under the Special Secretary. I rather doubt if this can be done in the very near future, without an upsetting of work and considerable delays. I understand that a Special Reorganisation Unit of the Finance Ministry, working along the method of Work Study, is going to examine the working of the External Affairs Ministry. This is a right move, and I should like this to be undertaken as rapidly as possible. We would then be in a better position to judge of what improvements or reductions we can bring about. The problem really is of simplifying our administrative procedures and thereby reducing work. Our tendency, all over the Government of India, has been to make this work more and more complex and thus inevitably to add to the staff. As we appoint one person, others have to be appointed with him; that is Parkinson's Law at work. However, I hope that the Special Reorganisation Unit will be able to tackle this problem and simplify administrative procedures, enabling us to reduce staff, wherever possible.

11. So far as the question of the temporary sixth Joint Secretary is concerned, I would suggest that this might be dealt with, together with other administrative matters, by the Special Reorganisation Unit. This Unit should be asked to undertake this work as rapidly as possible, and we can come to decisions as soon as its recommendations are received.

2. B.N. Chakravarty.

12. I shall now deal with certain allowances for education, etc., which we have been paying for some time. Before I deal with this particular matter, I should like to tell you of the many difficulties we are having in recruiting for the Foreign Service. To begin with, when the Foreign Service was started, the best of our young men were attracted to it. No doubt, they thought in terms of high status of diplomatic appointments and going to great cities abroad. Gradually, they realised that most of the posts abroad are not attractive, and that, in any event, it is one thing to visit a place for a short while, and quite another to have to spend one's life in odd places away from one's country. We think of diplomatic appointments in terms of Ambassadors and Heads of Missions, but the large numbers of appointments are, of course, in junior grades, and I know for a fact that most of these people on the staff of our Embassies have a hard life in most foreign countries where everything is expensive. The poor wife of a junior member of the staff has to do the cleaning and cooking herself as well as the marketing, even though she does not know the language of that place. Children are a great financial burden. The result has been twofold. There is continuing dissatisfaction among the junior ranks and grades of our service, and difficulty in recruiting good people. When we were recruiting for IFS (B), about half the number of Central Secretariat Service officers, who had served in the External Affairs Ministry for a number of years, opted out of the Foreign Service because of its disadvantages compared to home service. This is a serious matter, and I do not know how to face it. Among the chief disadvantages are children, that is, the difficulty of educating them or keeping in touch with them, if they have to be separated.

13. There is a general impression that our Heads of Missions are heavily paid. This may be true of a few, though in every case, they are paid much less than the Heads of Missions of other countries. But, apart from a small number at the top, a great majority of others are certainly not heavily paid, and have some difficulty in carrying on. I have gone into the rules and regulations of other Foreign Services and, broadly speaking, we pay our people much less than others do.

14. Indians as a rule are not keen to go abroad, except on a brief visit. The average Foreign Service employee has to spend about three-fourth of his service life in foreign countries. Apart from being cut off from their families, the real difficulty arises about children. Because of this, other foreign countries have made special provisions for children's education allowance as well as holiday passages, etc. In the United Kingdom, education allowance is paid at the rate of £150 for the first child, £175 for the second child and £200 for the third and subsequent children. There are travelling allowances for the children. All these are very heavy from our standards. But, it is quite clear to me that we have to make some such provision in our Foreign Service. This is both fair and, indeed, if we do not do so, it will be difficult to keep the Foreign Service going.

15. Orders were issued by us for children's education allowances in 1955 to begin with. A little later, children's holiday passages were provided for. Certain changes were made in between, but the present rate of the education allowance is a flat rate of Rs 80 per month per child. The allowances are limited to a maximum of two children.

16. This rate may be a little more than is quite necessary in some cases. In other cases, it is definitely less than might be necessary. I think it is far better to have a flat rate than to have different rates, and to set up an administrative machinery to decide in each case what the rate should be. Further, that it is better to have the same rate for India and abroad. We should like people to leave their children in India, firstly because they get some kind of national education here and are not cut off from their own country, and, secondly, because more has to be spent on house rent and other expenses if they live abroad with their parents. On the other hand, if they live with their parents, the question of holiday passages does not arise.

17. In the balance, I think it is better to have a flat rate for both, which we have now. Perhaps, after careful consideration, we might be able to fix some other rate slightly different from the present one. But, I am looking at this in the context of other aspects of this problem and the present strong disinclination of people to go abroad. If we change and reduce the present rate now, this will be another inducement for people not to join the Foreign Service. We have difficulties enough at present, and I would not like to add to them and have a Service which is difficult to recruit and which is discontented.

18. I might add that most of the people affected by these allowances, etc., are the lower paid employees.

19. I would suggest to you, therefore, that we should not touch at present these allowances that have been sanctioned for the last two years or so.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

42. Report of the First General Elections in Spiti Valley¹

I am sending you a report of the first general elections in Spiti Valley last year.² This has been written by one of the leaders of the election parties who is a professor³ at a college in Dharamsala.

2. The report is a fascinating account of what we had to do in these remote areas during election time.⁴ I am, however, specially sending it to you because it indicates that our election range went right up to the Shipki La or rather to the last village six miles on this side of the Pass (see page 6 of the report, paragraph 3).

3. This fact might be useful to us in possible future discussions with the Chinese Government.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, Manali, 18 June 1958. File No. 16(18)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Spiti Valley in the Lahaul and Spiti district of Himachal Pradesh lies between Tibet, Ladakh, Kinnaur, Lahaul and Kulu. In June 1957, the 2,500 voters of Spiti Valley exercised their franchise for the first time to elect two Members each to the Punjab Legislative Assembly, Lok Sabha and Punjab Tribes Advisory Council at five polling stations for which five polling parties were constituted.
3. Parmananda Sharma.
4. Sharma wrote about his incredible journey from 27 May to 19 July 1957 through metalled to *kutcha* roads and subsequently on foot to the Spiti Valley. He gave a fascinating account of the complex electoral process for the people of Spiti totally unfamiliar with it and its wider implications in the area. This report was published by Asia Publishing House in 1960 under the title *Men and Mules on a Mission of Democracy*.

43. Publicity for the Spiti Valley Elections¹

I enclose two copies of a report on the first general elections in the Spiti Valley, 1957. I think this is a fascinating report of great interest, both to people in India and in other countries. The writer of the report was one of the leaders of the election parties. He is a Professor in the Government College at Dharamsala.

1. Note to K. Ram, the Principal Private Secretary, Manali, 18 June 1958. File No. 16(18)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. I am sending a copy of this report to the Minister of Information and Broadcasting and suggesting to him to have it published in a pamphlet form. I think, however, that in addition we should arrange to send copies to various newspapers in India as well as foreign correspondents. This brings out a significant and fascinating aspect of our elections.

3. I suggest that you might get in touch with the Election Commissioner and tell him of this. You may even send him a copy of this report. Tell him that I have asked you to arrange to send copies of this report to various newspapers and that I have further asked the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting to issue a pamphlet on it. I take it that he has no objection.

4. Then ask Shri A.R. Vyas, DPIO, to circulate copies among newspapers and foreign correspondents. Perhaps the PTI could do this.

5. I am attaching an additional copy which may be sent to the Election Commissioner.

44. Scarcity of Salt in Kangra District¹

At various places near Mandi, notably at Goma and Drang, salt is produced. In the days before integration, this salt, I am told, found its way to the neighbouring hill areas.² It was cheaper than the other salt and it was preferred by the hillmen. I believe it is called 'black salt' or *kala namak*.

2. Since integration,³ the old routes of supply have apparently dried up. These salt producing areas are directly under the Central Government and presumably the Salt Commissioner deals with them and allocates the salt to various areas. How this is done, I do not know. Probably a certain quantity is allotted to the Punjab and some to Himachal Pradesh. The result anyhow is that many of these hill areas do not get the quantity of salt that they used to. The people suffer to some extent because of this, but even more so the cattle suffer. Parts of Himachal Pradesh and the Kangra district in the Punjab are so mixed up that normal ways of distribution have probably been interfered with as two State authorities deal with the matter.

1. Note to Central Salt Commissioner, Manali, Kulu Valley, 22 June 1958. JN Collection.
2. Nehru also wrote to Partap Singh Kairon, the Chief Minister of Punjab, on the same day about this problem. See *post*, pp. 455-456.
3. Punjab and PEPSU were integrated in 1956.

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3. Anyway, I have found that there is a great deal of complaint in these areas of Kangra district, especially in the villages in the upper hills round about, which suffer most. I am told that the Deputy Commissioner of Kangra district has drawn the attention of the Punjab Government to this but presumably the matter has to be dealt with by the Central authority. I hope that attention will be paid to this by the Salt Commissioner or by the Ministry concerned at the Centre, because we should try to relieve the distress of these hill folk in Kangra district who used to get, according to them, a greater supply of salt from the Mandi areas before integration.

45. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

Manali, Kulu Valley
22nd June 1958

My dear Pantji,

I have found in the hills round about here a complaint about salt which does not reach some of the villages on the hill-sides in the quantity they were used to previously. Cattle suffer specially. Salt is produced not far from here in the Mandi area but its distribution now is apparently different from what it used to be. I have sent a note which will be forwarded to the Ministry dealing with salt or to the Salt Commissioner.² I enclose a copy of that note for your information.

As you know, Himachal Pradesh and the Kangra District jut into each other at a number of places. In fact, if one goes by road, one has to pass both these areas alternatively. This to some extent interferences with natural distribution.

Thus I was told that some water sources near the borders of the two areas are not properly utilised for both as they should be. There is a fair amount of water round about these hills, but it is not put to good use.

There may be many other matters too which would yield better result if used cooperatively.³ Would it be possible for the north Zonal Council to look

1. JN Collection.
2. See the preceding item.
3. In his reply to Nehru on 26 June 1958, Pant wrote that the Northern Zonal Council would have in its jurisdiction only that portion of the hill areas which covered Kangra district of Punjab and Himachal Pradesh. He further wrote that it would be useful if the Planning Commission set up a sub-committee to make a special study of the developmental problems of the hill regions where conditions were so dissimilar from those found in other parts of the country.

into these matters and perhaps to appoint a small committee which could bring about greater cooperation and better use of natural and other resources on either side of the border between the two areas.⁴

There is a certain feeling here and in parts of the Kangra District that Himachal Pradesh gets plenty of money for development from the Centre while the Kangra District is not so favoured. I suppose there must be some truth in this and probably the Uttar Pradesh hill areas, Garhwal, etc., may have the same feeling of being rather neglected. It is not surprising that Himachal Pradesh wants to remain a separate entity because it profits by it from Central generosity.⁵

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Conveying this suggestion of Pant to V.T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Nehru wrote to him on 27 June (not printed): "I think it would be a good thing if we could pay some attention to these areas." V.T. Krishnamachari in his reply of 3 July wrote that he was asking the Programme Advisers in charge of Punjab and Uttar Pradesh to make a special study of the working of the hill area programme under the Plan in order to have discussions with the Members of Parliament from Punjab and Uttar Pradesh.
5. Pant also wrote on 26 June that it was true that Himachal Pradesh being a Union Territory had been able to secure much more attention and financial aid from the Central Government than its neighbouring hill districts had from their State Governments. That undoubtedly accounted to a large extent for Himachal Pradesh being resistant to any change in its status, he stated.

46. To Krishna Kripalani¹

Manali, Kulu Valley
22nd June 1958

My dear Krishna,

During my stay here at Manali, I received a letter from one Parmananda Sharma² who is a teacher or professor of English in Government College, Dharamsala. He sent me a copy of a report he had written last year about the general elections

1. File No. 16(18)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Parmananda Sharma (b.1923); Professor of English; deputy leader of the team of polling officials sent to Spiti Valley to conduct elections in 1957; works include *Mitti Ka Diya*, *Ekla Chalo*, *Porus*, *Men and Mules on a Mission of Democracy*; awarded silver medal by the Election Commission for the election related work in the Spiti Valley.

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in Spiti. He was one of the persons put in charge of the election teams that were sent to Spiti.³

Spiti as perhaps you know is a high table land the lower valleys of which are about 12,000 feet or over. Some of the villages are at nearly 14,000 feet or so. It is difficult enough for people to go to these areas on trekking expeditions. To organise elections there was a brave effort which on the whole succeeded. The election parties had many adventures and faced numerous risks.

Parmananda Sharma's fairly brief account of this I found very interesting and on the whole well written. I was sorry that this had not been given publicity because it was not only a story of an exciting adventure but it showed to what lengths we went to organise our elections and succeeded. The report was not very long and I have now sent it to the Information and Broadcasting Ministry to publish it as a small pamphlet. It is in English. I have also suggested that it might be sent to some newspapers. I am sure foreign newspapers and magazines will like such a thing.

Subsequently he came here from Dharamsala to see me and I learnt a little more about him. He has written a number of books in Hindi, mostly poems and a play. One of his Hindi poems got a prize from the UP Government a few years ago. The UP Government would not have given a prize in Hindi to a Punjabi unless they felt sure to it. He has written Urdu Gazals also and I believe something in Punjabi Gurmukhi.

He is thus a person of varied accomplishments linguistically and has at the same time a spirit of adventure which took him to the Spiti mountains. He is fairly young.

He showed me a fuller account of his Spiti election adventure, probably running into a hundred pages or a little more. I have told him to revise this, put a map and perhaps more pictures in it. It would make an interesting booklet. I am sure we can get some Indian publisher to take it up. As it is, he finds it difficult to get anything published. I think he should be encouraged. I do not quite know how we can do that, but I thought I might write to you so that you might keep his name in your Sahitya Akademi records. His address is: Government College, Dharamsala (Punjab). He is a teacher or a professor of English in that College.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See also *ante*, p. 330.

47. To K.M. Cariappa¹

New Delhi
June 24, 1958

My dear Cariappa.

Thank you for your letter of the 23rd June.

You refer in this to some report that you have apparently seen somewhere about the appointment of Bhonsle.²

I might inform you that I know nothing about it or, at any rate, this has not been mentioned to me. It is normally a Home Ministry matter. But, before any appointment is made, I am normally informed.

You have raised a question in a particular context. You had mentioned this to me previously. I was rather put out and told you that I had a very high opinion of Bhonsle. This has little to do with his previous career. But he has been functioning in the past as a junior Minister and has done his work well. If he had not lost his seat in the elections, he would no doubt have been a member of the Council of Ministers now. He was not appointed as a Deputy Minister on political grounds, but because of his other qualities and capacity. Whether he did right or not, when he joined the INA under very peculiar circumstances in Malaya, is a subject on which there may be differences of opinion. Few people, I take it, will disagree with you when you say that the army should keep away from politics. You know that we have not criticised our present army officers or men because they served the then British Government in India loyally. We have spoken highly of our army. But it is another matter for us to condemn for ever a person who, in a peculiar set of circumstances, thought it his duty to serve his country in another way. I do not know what I would have done if I had been in such a position. The British army officers functioned with neither ability nor courage in Malaya. Ultimately, they meekly surrendered having made a mess of things. In India, conditions were very peculiar, and the country generally was opposed to the British. If a young Indian was affected by this widespread sentiment in India, I certainly am not prepared to blame him.

But the question now is not of what happened in the past, but the present. Am I to go on punishing people because they did something 13 or 14 years ago under stress of a certain feeling or emotion? That I think would be grossly unfair, apart from being completely opposed to the sentiment of our people.

1. JN Collection.
2. General Cariappa, the first Indian Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, had expressed unhappiness over the report regarding the appointment of J.K. Bhonsle who had been a member of the INA, as the Lieutenant-Governor of Himachal Pradesh. Cariappa had written that Bhonsle, by serving in the INA, had shown disloyalty to the then Government and had also been disloyal to the traditions of the army.

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You refer to nominating some ex-officers or JCOs to our various legislatures. People are not nominated to our Parliament except a very small number by the President or the Governors. If you look at the people nominated by the President, you will see that they are normally selected from among those who have distinguished themselves in science or literature or medicine, etc. There is not much room for others there. There may be sometimes a possibility or an opportunity. If so, I hope it will be taken.

As for the function at Rajghat on the 30th January, there was a great deal of discussion amongst us whether we should have a military guard firing a "feu-de-joie".³ We ultimately decided that we should have it.

I am not quite sure if I shall be here in Delhi when you come next. But if I am here, I shall be glad to see you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Bhonsle had also been Deputy Minister for Rehabilitation from 1952 to 1957. Cariappa expressed his disagreement with the "Military guard firing a 'feu-de-joie', sounding of the 'Last Post' on bugles and so on, as is done at Military funerals," at Rajghat, the *samadhi* of Mahatma Gandhi, on 30 January. He found it "out of place" in that atmosphere of "sanctity, purity and solemnity".

48. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
June 24, 1958

My dear Pantji,

Just before I went to Manali, General Cariappa came to see me. He was rather exercised over a report he said he had seen in the newspapers about the appointment of Bhonsle as Lieut-Governor of Himachal Pradesh. Bhonsle, being an old INA man, was wholly persona non grata to him. He had shown disloyalty to the traditions of the army, which should be loyal to a Government, whatever this Government may be. Cariappa said that many officers were deeply disturbed at this news because, as Head of the State, the Lieut-Governor would take parades, etc.

I knew nothing about this report or rumour that Bhonsle might be appointed. But I was a little angry with Cariappa and told him that I did not appreciate this

1. JN Collection.

attitude at all and that Bhonsle was not only a good man, but better than many in the regular army. I am afraid I spoke rather harshly to Cariappa.

He has now written to me pegging away at the same subject. So, I thought that I might bring this to your notice, as evidently he and some others in the army feel strongly about it.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

49. To K.C. Reddy¹

New Delhi
June 24, 1958

My dear Reddy,²

Your letter of June 24th about architects and engineers and their responsibility in putting up structures. The question of architects really comes up in regard to major buildings.

Whatever the theory might be, the main objective surely should be putting up of structures inexpensively and quickly. It is here that the Public Works Department fails to shine.

As you know, I have been in Manali recently. I came across various rest houses and the like put up by the Forest Department and some by the Punjab PWD. They were much the same. But invariably the Forest Department rest houses were much cheaper and were put up much more speedily.

An instance came to my notice when the roof of a school building had partly collapsed. It became dangerous for children to remain inside the building. The matter was referred to the Punjab PWD. They functioned in a leisurely way when the work could have been done with considerable speed. The result was that the school building could not be used at all for a fairly lengthy period.

In a part of the hills in the Kulu Valley there was considerable distress because of lack of water. There was in fact plenty of water a little higher up the hill. All that was necessary was to put up a pipe and bring it to the village or to the fields round about it. When I enquired about it I was told that the PWD was drawing up a scheme. While they drew up the scheme in a leisurely fashion, the people suffered and the fields dried up.

1. File No. 40(127)/57-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply.

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I have received your letter about the site for a Martyrs' Memorial in Delhi. I shall look into this and then we shall have to consult some of our colleagues and, maybe, some of the Delhi people.

Where do we stand about the monument for the Buddha Jayanti³ on the ridge?⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The Buddha Jayanti Smarak Park, situated in the southern part of the Delhi ridge, was built to commemorate the 2500th anniversary of Gautama Buddha's enlightenment. A sapling of the Bodhi Tree was planted and a statue of Gautama Buddha was placed in the park. Buddha Jayanti festival is celebrated here every year in May.
4. Nehru wrote in a note to his Private Secretary on 23 June 1938: "...I regret it is true that no active steps for the construction of the monument in commemoration of Buddha Jayanti have yet been taken. Plans have been approved and the first step is proposed to be the lay-out of the park on the ridge. Difficulties arose about the putting up of the tower like structure because of the objections of Aviation. Further difficulties have been about the present financial condition. It is hoped to take up the park first."

50. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi
June 27, 1958

My dear Morarji,

Thank you for your letter of the 24th June about some matters under discussion between the External Affairs Ministry and the Finance Ministry. I gave your letter to our Secretary General² and the Special Secretary.³ The Special Secretary has given a note dated 27th June which is attached to this file. I have also discussed these matters with our senior officers in External Affairs.

I would have preferred having a talk with you about these questions instead of writing another letter. But as you are not likely to return for a few days and we might not be able to meet soon enough, I am writing this to you. Another reason is that sanction for the sixth post of Joint Secretary apparently elapses at the end of this month. Whatever the fate of this post might be in future,⁴ it is clear that it cannot suddenly be ended in the course of the next few days without

1. JN Collection.

2. N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA.

3. B.N. Chakravarty.

4. See also *ante*, pp. 325-329.

considerable dislocation of work. For the present, therefore, this post should anyhow continue.

As I wrote to you previously, I am at least as anxious as you are to reduce the staff in our Ministry as well as indeed in all other Ministries to the greatest extent possible. I am convinced that such reduction is both necessary and possible. More particularly, I think that the reduction is necessary in the lower grades. During the last ten years I have noticed with dismay how our administrative services have gone on increasing. We have made repeated efforts to meet this difficulty without great success. This may be due to a number of causes but essentially I think it is due to our methods of administration. Appleby in his several reports pointed this out and laid special stress on delegation of authority.⁵ There are far too many people doing the same piece of work again and again. Sometimes a responsible officer's recommendation goes back and is examined afresh in the lower grades of a Ministry. There is a tremendous deal of noting and references with the result that both more money and more time are consumed and efficiency suffers. What we require are more compact offices with some high-level officers and smaller staff, and devolution of responsibility.

We have delegated to some extent financial powers. I think it is equally necessary to examine the delegation of administrative powers afresh. There is always a risk in delegation that some mistakes might be made. That risk is inevitable whatever the procedures we may adopt. But it is clear that that risk is even greater when responsibilities spread out all over and in addition there is delay which is costly. Also the administrative staffs grow. The so-called Parkinson's Law points out how work grows because of wrong methods employed and each new person increases work which requires additional staff to cope with.

I have seen this happening in the External Affairs Ministry. This Ministry deals in many ways with an entirely different type of work which comes to the other Ministries of the Government of India. We have to deal with scores of Missions abroad and hundreds or even thousands of people serving in them. We have built up big services for which we are directly responsible. I find that all kinds of petty references are constantly coming and they go from one man to another with the result that enormous amount of work accumulates and has to be dealt with. I feel sure that this is not necessary. An ambassador, who is presumed to be a senior and experienced officer, makes a recommendation. This has to be examined at all grades of our Ministry and then may have to go to the Finance Ministry where again various grades examine it. Then, we have recently

5. For details of the first report submitted by Paul H. Appleby in 1953, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 24, pp. 338-343. For details of the second report which was tabled in Parliament on 13 August 1956, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 33, p. 247.

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undertaken to go into the personal expenditure of the vast number of people serving us abroad.

All these services are functioning in an entirely different context from our home services. For the home services, we have in course of time evolved certain rules and regulations. These rules and regulations have no great application to people serving abroad. I am afraid we have not yet been able to evolve any very fixed and clear rules, in regard to them. The sooner we do, the better but, inevitably, they have to be based on experience. We have tried to profit by the experience of Foreign Services in other countries. These as a rule are on a much more lavish scale than ours and we cannot, therefore, copy them.

The way to proceed, therefore, is for us to decide more clearly what the delegation of administrative and financial authority should be and reduce work and staff accordingly. Merely to attempt to reduce staff without reducing the quantum of unnecessary work is likely to create confusion.

During the last session of Parliament, my senior officers and to some extent myself had to give a great deal of time to demands made by MPs, in questions or in personal letters, in regard to service matters. Repeatedly, we had to write long notes about individual cases because I did not think it right to ignore any inquiry. I know for a fact that our senior officers have been very hard worked and even I have to share in that to a greater extent than is really necessary. Therefore, the real approach must be to revise to some extent our system of administration by greater delegation of administrative powers.

You have pointed out that some of our junior staff abroad have made large remittances in relation to their salaries.⁶ We are profiting by this information supplied by our inspectors and where necessary changes will be made. But it is difficult to come to any conclusion about these matters without inquiring further into them. That is to say, a person serving abroad may have all manner of dependents here. Some of the members of our staff abroad stint themselves greatly so as to help their dependents in India. It is a fact, as I wrote to you, that it is becoming increasingly difficult to get a person to agree to go abroad for a junior post. But all this should be considered fully and changes made wherever they are necessary.

So far as children's allowances are concerned, this matter should also be looked at from this larger point of view. You are quite right in saying that a child's education should not cost Rs 80 a month as a rule. We can go into that. But it is not merely a question of school fees but sometimes of having some kind of a separate establishment in India. Even though children are left with some relatives, it is not easy to cast the burden on the relative.

6. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 767-776.

I am quite agreeable to your suggestion that actual expenses should be paid but this would involve much more work for our Ministry as well as our Missions abroad. We shall have to keep detailed accounts for all these hundreds or thousands of people. It was for this reason that a flat rate was considered simpler. Some people profit by it, others may lose by it.

As for holiday passages, we can certainly adopt the rule which the UK has. In fact our present rule works more or less in the same way.

I am sending you the other papers in the file too so that you may have them for easy reference.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

51. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
June 28, 1958

My dear Pantji,²

The Auditor General³ came to see me the other day and gave me a number of notes. As a result, I have written to Chaliha⁴ about two matters, copies enclosed.

He also gave me a note on the regulation of travelling allowances of Ministers. In this he has quoted at length from a note you wrote on this subject. I agree with that note of yours, but I fear that some of our Ministers are not careful about these matters, more especially in the States. I do not know what we can do about it. The other day I mentioned a habit of Ministers going to Kashmir with their families and expecting the State to treat the whole family as its guests and to provide cars, etc.

Also I feel that we should try to restrict travelling by railway saloons as far as possible. I can understand a saloon being used when considered necessary for work. But, apart from this, it seems to me an unnecessary and undesirable display of pomp.

Why is it necessary for all Ministers to carry about "gunmen" wherever they go? It is not done in other countries. Where necessary this might be done. But this business of gunmen and liveried orderlies is in bad form and irritating.

1. File No. 14/48/58-Public-I, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Home Affairs.

3. A.K. Chanda, Comptroller and Auditor General.

4. B.P. Chaliha, Chief Minister of Assam.

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I am enclosing one of the notes that the Auditor General gave me. This is in regard to the travelling allowances of Ministers and this contains a quotation from your own note. He has given me another note about salaries of Ministers, Deputy Ministers, etc., which vary so much in different States. I do not know if we can do very much in this matter and so I am not for the moment forwarding this to you. We may perhaps consider this question later.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

52. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
June 28, 1958

My dear Pantji,

I have been approached on several occasions on behalf of people in our services called Assistants. These Assistants are appointed as a result of an Assistants' Grade Examination. There appears to be a ban on them from appearing in the Combined Central Services Examination, such as the IAS, IFS, etc. The ban was originally imposed in respect of the examination held in 1956, and has now been extended to the examination to be held in 1958.

It has been stated by the Home Ministry that the restriction has been imposed in consonance with normal practice regarding the management of the services as well as the special needs of the Assistants' cadre. It is further stated by the Home Ministry that persons who hold substantive appointments or who are assured of such appointments, should not normally be permitted to apply for posts outside their line, but should be afforded avenues of promotion within the hierarchy to which they belong. The reason apparently for this is that if such persons are allowed to engage themselves in preparation for competitive examinations for other posts, there would be great distraction from their normal work. These restrictions apply not only to Assistants but also to members of other services like the Railway Service, the Police Service, etc. It is stated, however, that there is a special relaxation in the case of members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

1. JN Collection.

As a matter of fact, I imagine that few of these Assistants would be able to appear for the Combined Central Services Examination because of age considerations and the like, and fewer still would have much chance of getting through. Actually, therefore, not many people will be directly affected.

I feel, however, that such a ban is wrong in principle. It is a ban on an attempt at self-education and self-improvement, which should never be encouraged. Further, it tends to promote casteism in the services, which is definitely bad.

In industries, it should be our constant endeavour to give opportunities for training so that people in the lowest of mechanical or other grades can rise to superior levels if they are competent enough to do so. Indeed, in modern industry, special effort is made by providing night schools and the rest for special technical education. In the United States of America, great play is made of the fact that these people are given opportunities to rise, and some indeed from the lowest worker grade have risen to be heads of major plants. Naturally, very few do so in practice. But, two results follow. One is that a really competent and eager person gets through to higher responsibilities and does well at them. Secondly, there is a feeling among all of them that the door is open to ability. This has a certain psychological effect which is good, and it removes the feeling of a kind of service casteism or impenetrable grades which the British established here.

I do not see at all why this principle should not be applied to the administrative services. From the psychological point of view, it is important that no door should be closed to ability, and no service should consider itself a closed one even to ability. From the practical point of view, any such ban also kills initiative and encourages people to remain where they are, without any attempt at self-improvement.

As I have said above, in reality this will apply to very few persons. But I think it is of high importance that we should not lay down a principle which seems to be wrong and which is against modern approach to such subjects.

I hope, therefore, that you will be good enough to reconsider this matter. All that we are asked for is to give people an opportunity to prove their worth. It does not cost us anything and does not come in the way of our work.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

53. To Governors of States¹

New Delhi
June 28, 1958

My dear Governor,

I hope you will forgive me for writing to you on a subject which has rather a personal aspect. I am sending this letter to all the Governors, and not to any particular one only.

I have always believed, and still believe, that in our Constitution, Governors play a very important part. A good and effective Governor can make a great difference to the running of a State, even though responsibility and executive power rest with the Ministry, and the Governor is only a constitutional head. In some cases in the past, I was unhappy at the fact that a Governor was not playing his full part and hardly saw the State papers.

The functions of a Governor today are obviously very different from those of British days. In the British period, he had a great deal of power and authority, and, at the same time, the whole British apparatus of government necessitated his keeping up the pomp and circumstance of a foreign ruling power. Today circumstances are completely different. And yet old habits and conventions cling to us, and we have imitated to a very large extent the pomp and circumstance of the old representatives of the Imperial power.

I believe in Governors, as Heads of States, maintaining a certain dignity in their establishments. But I have often wondered whether we have not overdone this in following the old traditions. These old traditions are not in keeping with circumstances today or the spirit of the age. The ADCs lay down the protocol and march stiffly before and behind the Governor whenever he or she ventures out. This kind of thing is hardly seen in other countries even in regard to the Head of the State. Kings of the Scandinavian countries live and function much more simply than many of our Governors.

There is perhaps a misapprehension of the fact that we have to follow this protocol and procedure as a matter of constitutional propriety. This, of course, is not correct. There is nothing in the Constitution to encourage it. We really have become slaves of our ADCs who lay down the law on this subject.

I should like you, therefore, to give consideration to this matter and to simplify this pomp and ceremony. On special occasions, like the opening of a legislative session, a certain ceremony is necessary. But, surely, it is not necessary for a Governor to function like a wooden figure preceded by other wooden

1. File No. 3/28/58-Public-I, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

This letter was sent to all the State Governors (except to the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir) as well as to the Lieutenant-Governor of Himachal Pradesh.

figures on other occasions. It would be good for the Governor as well as for the public if he functioned more like normal human beings do.

Then, again, when a Governor goes out, I am surprised to find that the streets are lined with policemen, as in the old viceregal and imperial days. In addition, his journeys in a car constitute a regular procession, with probably an escort car in front, a jeep full of police behind, a spare car, etc. One might almost think that he is going to a battle. Is all this necessary or even desirable? Security should certainly be provided for. But I doubt if all this is required for purposes of security. If it was, then surely there is something wrong about us, and Governors are a superior class apart from other human beings. What we want is that Governors should mix with the people much more and make them feel that they are one of them. I know that many Governors do this in spite of the pomp and ceremony. Why then have that pomp and ceremony?

In particular, I think, it is objectionable to line the roads with police or security men, or for traffic to be held up because a Governor or a Minister is passing.

I am writing this letter to all the Governors. To some it may apply more than to others. I know that the Governors themselves are not responsible for this and they would much prefer to lead a simpler and a more normal existence. But they appear to be under a misapprehension that law or convention requires them to do this. I want to remove that misapprehension.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

54. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
June 28, 1958

My dear Rajendra Babu,²

You will forgive me for writing to you on a very small matter. The Defence Ministry presented to you on your birthday in December 1956 certain articles, including a bren gun. Audit have asked us whether these fire-arms were meant for your personal use or for the official residence of the President. I told them that President was hardly likely to go about with a bren gun or any other fire-

1. JN Collection.

2. The President of India.

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arm and these articles must be presumed, therefore, to belong to the official residence.

I take it that I was correct in this reply.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

55. Circulation of Cabinet Papers¹

Do you send Cabinet papers, agenda, etc., to Ministers of State? At one time, these used to be sent. Then I think they were stopped because we limited circulation. Later again a point arose that they should be kept in touch with these.

2. I think that some method should be devised for keeping Ministers of State, who are in full charge of Ministries, in touch with Cabinet developments and the general activities of the Government of India. Otherwise they become quite isolated. Only when a special subject relating to them comes up do they appear at Cabinet meetings.

3. The Ministers of State who are functioning in a Ministry under a Cabinet Minister are not affected in this way.

4. The Ministers of State who are in full charge of Ministries are:

1. Shri Satya Narayan Sinha, Parliamentary Affairs.
2. Dr B.V. Keskar, Information and Broadcasting.
3. Shri D.P. Karmarkar, Health.
4. Dr K.L. Shrimali, Education
5. Shri Humayun Kabir, Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.
6. Shri Mehr Chand Khanna, Rehabilitation.
7. Shri S.K. Dey, Community Development.

Of these Shri Mehr Chand Khanna's subject of Rehabilitation is rather an isolated one and he functions normally from Calcutta. I should not like papers to be sent to Calcutta.

5. I would, therefore, like you to send Cabinet papers and agenda to all the above-named Ministers of State in charge of Ministries so that they may keep in touch with the work of the Cabinet. Further, they should be told that if they wish to attend any meeting of the Cabinet, they are welcome to do so. In such a case they might inform the Cabinet Secretary previously.

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, the Cabinet Secretary, New Delhi, 29 June 1958. JN Collection.

56. To A.K. Chanda¹

New Delhi
29th June, 1958

My dear Asok,²

Among the papers you gave me yesterday there was an aide memoire about the presentation to the President of India by the Defence Ministry of some articles including a bren gun. You enquired whether these presents were personal to him or meant for the official residence of the President.

I was inclined to write to the President on the subject, but it occurred to me that this would be quite absurd and even improper.³ It was quite right, I think for the Defence Ministry to present to the President some of the new articles that were being made in India. Do we expect the Ministry to tell the President that this is not for him personally but for his house, even though they might be for the house?

But even if they are to be treated on the personal basis, which normally they are not, I see nothing wrong about this. We cannot apply the rules applicable to our officials and others to the President. We have to leave these things to his discretion. He receives a large number of gifts from foreign heads of States or other VIPs visiting India. These normally go to the President's House or may go to a museum. If some of them are treated as personal gifts, as they are sometimes meant to be, nobody has a right to object. The discretion of the President in this matter must be absolute.

This is the normal practice in other countries with Presidents and Kings. There is enough respect for the head of the State not to tie him up with petty rules of this kind.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 37(90)/59-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Comptroller and Auditor General of India.

3. Nehru, however, did write to the President about it. See *ante*, pp. 345-346.

57. On Foreign ‘Experts’¹

We have received help from foreign organisations, more especially from the United States, in regard to technical experts coming to India or our own students going abroad for studies. We are grateful for this help. I have noticed, however, that many of the people who come from abroad as experts are seldom of the first quality. Indeed, sometimes they are very second-rate or even third-rate.² They are often young men fresh from the universities abroad and they are in no way superior to persons we can find in India.

2. Some time ago one such TCM³ expert came to me and confessed that he was surprised on coming to India because many people here knew more about the subject than he did. He added that a number of his other TCM colleagues were also very young and inexperienced. Apparently, we are induced to invite these so-called experts because we do not pay for them directly and we accept the gift thankfully. I think this matter should be examined and only people who are first-rate and really necessary should be invited to come here from abroad in relatively small numbers.

3. I have never been of opinion that we should be so narrowly nationalistic as to put barriers in the way of foreigners of worth coming here for educational or like purposes. But when I see people who have no special worth or quality being dumped down upon us simply because we do not have to pay for them, I do not like it. I suggest, therefore, that we should examine much more carefully the question of foreign “experts” coming here on behalf of some organisation. The primary consideration should be whether they really are first-rate and needed for a special purpose.

4. I have been surprised sometimes as to the purpose for which people come here from abroad. They are supposed to come often for some educational purpose or to tell us how to build houses or to teach us social service methods and the like. I do not doubt that we can learn a great deal from abroad and we should do so. But conditions in India are very different from those in Europe or America. Social service in America is obviously of a different type than it normally is in India. So also in regard to other matters.

5. Then there is the question of our young men and women going abroad on scholarships given by these organisations. Again, I welcome opportunities

1. Note to Union Ministers, 30 June 1958. File No. 17(325)/58-59-PMS.

2. Nehru wrote in a similar vein to Savitri Nigam on 6 June 1958. See *ante*, pp. 265-266.

3. Technical Cooperation Mission of the US.

for specialised training abroad. But that training must have some relation to our conditions and our needs. Otherwise, the person sent abroad comes back and is extremely unhappy at the lack of equipment or facilities to which he has been accustomed in a foreign country. I think, therefore, that here also particular care should be taken to select people for such specialised studies which are not available in India and which are particularly needed. The mere fact of a scholarship or a free passage is not enough for us to accept such a proposition.

6. May I request you to give consideration to these matters and direct your Ministries or departments accordingly?

(ii) All India Institute of Medical Sciences

1. To D.P. Karmarkar¹

New Delhi
April 6, 1958

My dear Karmarkar,²

I see that you have got into difficulties again with the All India Institute of Medical Sciences. Dr Jivraj Mehta³ has sent me a copy of his letter to you of the 5th April. He has also written to the Finance Minister⁴ and sent me a copy of that letter. Much that he says in his letters appears to me to be reasonable as well as feasible.

Only recently this matter was discussed by me with the Prime Minister of New Zealand and I gave him some assurances. I am worried about these assurances not being carried out.

It is obvious that, some time or other, the All India Institute must have its hospital. Such a big institute without a hospital can hardly be considered. During my talks with you, I had suggested that, because of our financial difficulties, we may begin with only part of the hospital building, that is, we may go slow on it, but that we should begin with this project and carry it out.

1. File No. 40(134)/57-58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of State for Health.

3. Finance Minister in Bombay Government and Member of the Governing Body of AIIMS.

4. Morarji Desai.

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It now appears from the papers sent to me by Dr Jivraj Mehta that there is no provision at all for the hospital. It is also not clear to me why such a heavy provision should be made for the Safdarjung Hospital at the cost, it appears, of the Institute hospital.

I think I wrote to you some time ago about the rules regarding the Selection and Appointment Committees for the All India Institute.⁵ I also had a talk with you and I thought we agreed that the changes suggested by Dr Jivraj Mehta might be accepted. I am now told that the rules have been published without any further reference to the Governing Body of the Institute. I have not myself seen these rules, but, in any event, we should not override the Governing Body of the Institute and even where we disagree, we should have further talks with them.

The Institute is meant to be an autonomous one and the less we interfere with it, the better.

The All India Institute of Medical Sciences has either to be a first-class Institute or it is not much good. We are all agreed that it must be a first-class Institute. That is not only our desire, but it follows from the assurances given to the New Zealand Government who contributed a considerable sum for it and who are prepared even to contribute more if necessary. We must, therefore, be clear in our minds that such a first-class Institute is taking shape and it is being helped by us. I do not want the idea to spread that we are obstructing the growth of this Institute. Apparently that is the idea which the Governing Body has got.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, p. 211 and Vol. 41, pp. 462-463.

2. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi
April 6, 1958

My dear Morarji,

Jivraj Mehta has sent me a copy of his letter to you dated 5th April about the All India Institute of Medical Sciences. I have written on this subject to Karmarkar, copy enclosed.

It seems to me that there is some evil fate pursuing us in regard to this All India Institute. I have almost a continuous headache about it because of constant

1. File No. 40(134)/57-58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

difficulties arising and a tug of war between the Institute and the Health Ministry. As soon as I help in resolving one matter, a number of other difficulties arise.

I have not liked the approach of the Governing Body of the Institute in some matters and Amrit Kaur² has often been difficult. But the fact remains that the Institute has been created by us, with the help of the New Zealand Government, to serve as the outstanding institution for training, etc., in medical sciences for the whole of India. It is and it should be an autonomous institution. If so, we should give it scope and freedom to function, within broad limits of policy. So far as I know, similar institutes in other countries have this full freedom. It is possible that that freedom may be exercised sometimes not in a right way. That applies to every autonomous institute. Not to give it freedom means that nobody is fully responsible and the Institute suffers.

The major question is that of a hospital. It is obvious that a hospital is essential for the Institute. Our real difficulty was in regard to finances. When I pointed out this difficulty to the Governing Body, they appreciated my remarks and said that they would go slow and try to reduce the expenditure. Jivraj Mehta has made some suggestions which, *prima facie*, appear to be reasonable. They do not involve, as far as I can see, much additional expenditure. They do involve some transfers of allocations and, in particular, that the Safdarjung Hospital need not be expanded in the big way intended.

I do hope you will be good enough to look into this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Member, Rajya Sabha; Union Minister of Health, 1947-57; President of the Governing Body of AIIMS.

3. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi
May 11, 1958

My dear Amrit,

I have been so busy for the last two weeks that some letters relating to the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences have remained without reply. Among these

1. JN Collection.

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is a letter I received from V.T. Krishnamachari, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission.² In this letter, he gives the views of the Planning Commission in regard to the hospital for the All-India Medical Institute. At the end of the letter, he says that the Ministry of Health are agreeable to the proposals made and that Jivraj Mehta also thought that they were suitable. I am sending you a copy of this letter. Also, a copy of another brief letter which V.T. Krishnamachari has sent me. I might add that Jivraj has sent me a copy of a letter he sent to V.T. Krishnamachari about the cost of constructing the hospital giving some details and saying that it was not quite so expensive as made out.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

2. V.T. Krishnamachari in his letter to Nehru on 25 April 1958 noted that the "progress made in carrying out the programme of All India Medical Institute is not satisfactory," with only one phase of the five-phase construction activities nearing completion. He also cited the preference of the governing body of the AIIMS for a hospital of its own and "full control" over Safdarjung Hospital if it was to be used as the hospital of the Institute, to which the Ministry of Health objected. Krishnamachari wrote that finally decisions were arrived at granting "complete control" of teaching staff of AIIMS over the wards of the Safdarjung Hospital allotted to them. It was also decided to give preference to the construction of the AIIMS hospital over others and further assistance for it might be considered in the Third Plan. Finally, a Joint Technical Coordinating Committee of AIIMS and Safdarjung Hospital administration was to be established for ensuring cooperation between the two institutions.

4. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi
May 16, 1958

My dear Amrit,

Thank you for your letter of May 14th.

I shall gladly meet the staff of the All India Institute. Indeed, I have been wanting to see the Institute buildings for some time. I am afraid, however, this will have to wait till July at least.

I have now read the letter which Col. Amir Chand² addressed to you. I had not previously seen it. It is very good of him to offer some kind of an endowment

1. File No. 40(134)/57-58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Amir Chand (1889-1970); first Indian to occupy the Chair of Medicine at King Edward Medical College, Lahore, 1936; President, Association of Physicians in India, 1947; elected President of the Indian Medical Association, 1948; founded Indian Society of Gastroenterology and was elected as its first President, 1960.

for the Institute. But he wants to make this conditional on my giving him various assurances. An assurance from me that the Institute will develop and grow is not a demand to make. Obviously I am interested in the growth of the Institute as planned, as I have often stated, and in the autonomy of the Institute, but surely I do not give assurances to anybody about anything in order to get endowment. I am asked about the hospital. I have been trying my best to get this hospital started, and I hope it will be. Then I am asked to give an assurance that "the temporary appointment of Col. Rao will be terminated on the expiry of two years, if not earlier, and that his appointment would not be treated as a precedent". Do you not think that this kind of demand made from me is, to say the least of it, rather discourteous? Am I to go about making assurances about the future because of the hope of getting some money for the Institute?

Part of Col. Amir Chand's letter deals with Col. M.S. Rao.³ I am not an expert to give an opinion on Col. Rao's suitability as Professor of Clinical Medicine, but I know something about human beings, and I react rather strongly to the type of personal approach that Col. Amir Chand has made in his letter to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, pp. 209-210 and Vol. 41, p. 459.

5. To D.P. Karmarkar¹

New Delhi
May 31, 1958

My dear Karmarkar,

I see that there has been some correspondence with the Planning Commission about the hospital for the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences. I thought that we had finally decided that there must be such a hospital, though it may begin in a relatively small way and be enlarged later. I am firmly of this opinion. Not to begin with it soon, will not only create difficulties, but will not be keeping to our promise to the New Zealand Prime Minister.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(134)/57-58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

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6. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi
June 1, 1958

My dear Morarji,

You will remember that some little time ago you and I had a talk with Karmarkar about the hospital for the All India Institute of Medical Sciences. My impression was that we had agreed that a beginning should be made on this hospital. Jivraj Mehta had already pointed out that some savings could be made in the other programme of the Institute and it was also suggested that the new Safdarjung Hospital need not be quite big as was proposed.

On enquiry from Karmarkar as to what the position was now, he writes to me that you had said that you would have the matter examined by Wanchoo² and that he is now waiting for the Finance Ministry to report.

I hope you will expedite this matter. I am convinced that the Institute should have a separate hospital. We need not build the whole hospital at one and the same time, but such a huge Institute must have a hospital to itself. This is not only necessary, but, in a sense, it is keeping our word with the New Zealand Government.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. N.N. Wanchoo, Secretary, Ministry of Finance.

7. To K.C. Reddy¹

New Delhi
June 10, 1958

My dear Reddy,

I enclose a copy of a letter from Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.² I am inclined to think that there will be no harm in our permitting the All India Institute to have this

1. File No. 40(127)/57-61-PMS.
2. Amrit Kaur wrote that the Expenditure Finance Committee had agreed to allow the Institute to spend Rs 40 lakhs in the Second Five Year Plan period towards the construction of a hospital building for 250 beds to start with. As the PWD was always overworked, she wrote that Tirath Ram who built the Ashoka Hotel in record time and Mahendru who had just put up an excellent hospital in Delhi, could be contacted in order to expedite the building. She suggested that Shastri, the PWD Architect and Adviser for buildings attached to the Health Ministry, could be the adviser and in that way the Government would be in close touch with the building operations all the time.

hospital built directly through some contractors, provided the PWD architect and adviser supervise it. This will save time and, possibly, money.

I am writing a similar letter to the Finance Minister also.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi
June 30, 1958

My dear Amrit,

I have already sent you a copy of a letter from Morarji Desai about the construction of the All-India Medical Institute Hospital building.² I now enclose a copy of a letter from K.C. Reddy, the Minister for Works, Housing and Supply.

I am anxious, as you are, to expedite this hospital building, and I am glad that it has been decided not to go through the normal PWD processes. But I hope that care will be taken in giving any contract. It would be desirable, I think, to call for tenders. The matter might well be raised in Parliament, and it is often a risky procedure to give a contract privately to a particular firm.

In any event, I hope you will take advantage of Reddy's offer for general advice and supervision.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Morarji Desai on 27 June wrote that the CPWD would be ready to assist by way of general advice. He wrote that Rajkumari Amrit Kaur had mentioned the name of certain contractors, but thought that it would be better if the Institute invited tenders from a few contractors, who were considered to be competent enough for the work so that competition was ensured and the cheapest selected. He wrote that if the Prime Minister agreed with him, he might inform Amrit Kaur accordingly.

(iii) Rehabilitation

1. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
April 14, 1958

My dear Bidhan,²

I need not tell you how concerned all of us are about various developments in Bengal, more particularly on the refugee rehabilitation front. A day or two ago I saw in the newspapers a statement purported to have been made by you to the effect that no displaced person would be sent out of Bengal except with his or her consent and that relief or doles would continue to be paid even though he or she refuses to go out of Bengal for rehabilitation.³ This statement surprised me because it was opposed to what we had been saying up till now. Also it has far-reaching consequences. It also naturally affects the Central Government and we have to supply monies for this relief in the shape of doles.

This means an indefinite continuation of the dole system. This obviously is bad not only from the point of view of unproductive expenditure, but even more so from the social point of view. These people getting doles deteriorate in every way and are constantly frustrated and dissatisfied and a prey to all kinds of bad influences.

Today we had a meeting of our Rehabilitation Committee of the Cabinet where this matter was referred to at some length, and our Committee was much disturbed at the trend of events. We want, of course, to help in every way in the rehabilitation of the displaced persons, but, if instead of rehabilitation, we have to face this kind of running sore, then the problem becomes somewhat different, and we have to think again on how to approach it.

It seems that a scrutiny of the people receiving doles in camps revealed that many of them were not entitled to that according to our rules. This matter also has to be looked into. I am quite clear that the only policy we can pursue is to

1. JN Collection.

2. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal.

3. According to reports published in newspapers, including the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, on 12 April 1958, B.C. Roy assured leaders of the PSP-led Sara Bangla Bastuhara Sammelan that "no refugee unwilling to go outside West Bengal would be forced to do so and that the cash doles of the refugees which were stopped on their unwillingness to go outside would be restored."

put an end to these camps as rapidly as possible.⁴ I realise the difficulties that you are facing and we want to help you to the best of our ability, but the difficulties are not likely to grow less by our accepting unreasonable demands.

The controversy today appears hardly to be in the Council Chamber but is rather in the streets.⁵ That, of course, is a bad development. But whatever it may be, we have to face the situation in a way to enable us to find a solution.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. At a conference of the Rehabilitation Ministers, held at Darjeeling on 30 and 31 October 1957 to consider the problem of rehabilitation of the displaced persons from East Pakistan, the discussion focused on speedy liquidation of camps and on the course of action to be taken with regard to future migrants from East Pakistan. A request from the West Bengal Government was also placed before the conference to shift at least half of the camp population to other States as the economy of West Bengal had been practically shattered. Mehr Chand Khanna, the Rehabilitation Minister, reported this to Nehru in a letter dated 3 November 1957.
5. Hundreds of refugees were arrested for participating in a State-wide movement against the West Bengal Government's proposal to resettle them outside West Bengal.

2. To Mehr Chand Khanna¹

New Delhi
April 15, 1958

My dear Mehr Chand,²

Your letter of the 15th April about Faridabad.

I do not myself see why the Central PWD should not make a special effort to allot work to the Faridabad Development Board at scheduled rates. I take it that they can do this work. It is a matter of calculation as to whether it is profitable to give this by tender and separately try to support these unemployed people. I should imagine that the Faridabad Board ought to be able to compete even with the rich building contractors, because they save much on overheads. Even if tenders are invited, in considering them some favour might be shown to the Faridabad Board. That is to say that unless there is a big difference between the two, the Faridabad Board should be preferred. Perhaps you can have a talk with Reddy³ on this subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of State for Rehabilitation and Minority Affairs.

3. K.C. Reddy, Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply.

3. To Mehr Chand Khanna¹

New Delhi
15 April 1958

My dear Mehr Chand,

Your letter of the 14th April and other papers. I have read all these.

I agree with you that it is necessary for you to make a statement in the House.²

The draft statement you have sent appears to me to be all right. But perhaps one point might be further clarified. The charge is that you and your sons had received Rs 8,000 as compensation in cash as priority claims. In regard to this you say that you have so far neither purchased any property nor received a "statement of account". Further, that you are not entitled to any cash compensation.

I take it that this means that your sons also have not received any property or cash compensation. If so, this should be clearly brought out. In other words, it should be clearly stated that neither you nor your sons have thus far purchased any property or received any cash compensation.

I was not aware of all these developments and complications till I read your letter yesterday as well as your letters to Maulana Saheb.³ When I received early last year some rather scandalous charges against you, I did not even read them properly and sent them on to you.

Now I see from your letters to Maulana Saheb that you had repeatedly discussed these matters with him and that ultimately, on his advice, you had decided to take your chance at an auction. I do not know if you actually did this later or not, presumably not because of what you say in your draft statement.

I wish you had mentioned these matters to me more fully at an earlier stage. I would then have even informed our Cabinet about it. Whatever precautions one may take in such matters, the fact that a Minister is dealing with matters which concern his own Ministry is likely to produce a difficult and

1. JN Collection.

2. This related to allegations made in the *New Age* of 13 April 1958 that Khanna had accepted inflated valuation of his claims to his ancestral property in Pakistan by appointing a Special Officer to verify them, and that he and his sons had deliberately filed separate claims and received Rs 8,000 along with his mother by interpreting the rule differently. Khanna made a statement in the Lok Sabha on 17 April 1958 to the effect that his claim was verified in 1952, long before he became a Minister and said that neither he nor his sons had received any cash compensation and refuted the other allegations also.

3. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was the Union Minister of Education till his death on 22 February 1958.

rather embarrassing situation. However, this question does not arise as you did not actually take a step to bid at an auction or purchase any property or get any kind of compensation. A Minister's position is a very peculiar and difficult one in such matters.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Mehr Chand Khanna¹

New Delhi
30th April, 1958

My dear Mehr Chand,

Your letter of April 28th about the Ahmadiyas.² I met their deputation also today.³ I have asked them to see you.

To some extent I was connected with this Qadian matter in 1947 and 1948.⁴ During the disturbances most of the people living at Qadian left the place in a hurry and there was a fair amount of looting there of those houses. It is true that those who went away took away some belongings with them, but there is no doubt that there was some looting also. As far as I can remember not much actual damage was done to the houses, though some damage might have been done.

When this was reported to me I took special steps to protect them. Apart from general reasons, there was a particular importance attached to Qadian as the headquarters of a worldwide religious community and I had received numerous telegrams from various parts of the world. I specially asked General Thimayya⁵ to go there and protect the place with troops. I think that such protection was given to Qadian for nearly two years. Qadianis living round about were moved

1. JN Collection.
2. Ahmadiyas are members of an Islamic religious movement founded in 1889 by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. However, Ahmadiya views on certain beliefs in Islam have been controversial and opposed by mainstream Muslims since the movement's birth.
3. A delegation of Ahmadiyas comprising members from Bihar, Hyderabad, Delhi and Qadian (East Punjab) met Nehru on 30 April 1958 to register their protest against the measures of the Punjab Government which, according to them, disrupted the functioning of their institutions.
4. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 4, pp.18-19,120 and 173.
5. Chief of Army Staff.

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to that particular circle of buildings in Qadian proper. We assured them that they would be protected and could live there in peace.

At that time no question arose of evacuee property, etc. So far as the so-called sacred buildings were concerned, they were presumed to be Trust property. The other houses round about were not Trust property, but were somehow associated with them.

About that time the question of Qadian was raised by Zafrullah Khan⁶ in the Security Council in the course of the debate on Kashmir and he painted a lurid picture of what India had done to Qadianis.⁷ Much of what Zafrullah said was completely untrue and we contradicted it.⁸ In fact, we actually circulated pictures of Qadian in the Security Council.

Since then the matter has not come up before me in any way till now. The position now appears to be that the property of the Anjuman, i.e., the so-called sacred places in Qadian, remains with them. An attempt was made to declare this property and the Anjuman as evacuees, but this was withdrawn later. So far as the round about houses are concerned, I am told that they have never been formally declared as evacuee property, though they could have been so declared because their owners had gone away to Pakistan. If they have not been so declared, it is not quite clear to me how you can treat them as evacuee property till such declaration is made and how you can ask for rent for them. This is a strictly legal matter, the outcome of which will depend on the facts.

As for the present position, it is clear to me that we should treat this area, including those surrounding houses, as a place to be reserved for Qadianis. This means that we should not auction these houses and thus permit non-Qadianis to settle themselves there. That will undoubtedly lead to continuing friction and trouble and the whole Qadiani community all the world over will be much disturbed and agitated.

Accepting this fact, the question remains how to achieve this. It is not clear to me now as to who owns these surrounding houses. The Anjuman does not legally own them and other people have apparently come and gone. I think that the only proper course would be for the Anjuman to acquire them. They can then deal with them as they like. This means that some arrangement should be arrived at with them so that they can acquire them at some reserve price.

6. An Ahmadiya and the Permanent Representative of Pakistan at the United Nations.
7. Zafrullah Khan, in his speech in the Security Council on 15 January 1948, alleged that the Ahmadiya headquarters and his house in Qadian had been destroyed.
8. Qadian in East Punjab was the operational base of the Ahmadiyas who crossed over to non-Muslim areas of West Punjab. Indian military authorities searched Qadian, and recovered arms and ammunition. For Nehru's comments on this, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 5, pp. 195-196.

I have no idea of the value of the property, but apparently it is not much. The really important buildings are part of the Qadiani Trust which is already exempt [from taxes]. I am told that the Anjuman has spent about a lakh of rupees for repairs to these houses. A small part of this was probably due to repairs after the disturbances. Much of it, however, was due to repairs following big damage caused by floods some two or three years ago.

The matter thus might be dealt with in this way and having regard to the broad value of the property some reserve price might be fixed as a whole for it, i.e., for these houses. Consideration might be given to the amount spent for repairs, etc., and the Anjuman could acquire these houses then on payment of the reserve price. If it is considered necessary, they might be given some time to pay in instalments. The Anjuman in India is not a rich body, though the Ahmadiyas generally are quite rich.

You mention that some Ahmadiyas who did not migrate to Pakistan but who left their old houses and moved to the special zone have applied for the restoration of their old property under Section 16 of the Evacuee Property Act. Perhaps, this might be set off for the houses in the special zone. I do not know if this can be done easily.

Anyhow, my main point is that we must not auction these houses to anybody and everybody and thus permit non-Qadianis to come there and, secondly, that it is better for us to deal with the Anjuman and come to an agreement with them about the reserve price which they should pay, either in lump sum or in some instalments.

You might see this deputation of the Ahmadiya community and discuss this matter with them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To Mehr Chand Khanna¹

New Delhi
May 2, 1958

My dear Mehr Chand,

Your letter of May 1st. In this you suggest that a meeting of the Chief Ministers of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa should be held to consider the Dandakaranya

1. JN Collection.

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scheme.² Certainly you can hold such a meeting though I do not quite know how I shall find the time to attend it in the course of the next two or three days. You might find out from the Chief Ministers how long they are here and suggest some time for a meeting and then inform me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Dandakaranya project was meant for the resettlement of displaced persons from the erstwhile East Pakistan in an area of about 30,000 square miles carved out of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. This was to be done, by September 1958, keeping in view the integrated development of the area with particular regard to the promotion of the interests of the local tribal population.

6. To Sukumar Roy¹

New Delhi
May 9, 1958

Dear Shri Roy,²

I have your letter of the 8th May.

I understand from Dr B.C. Roy that he has already received a large number of applications from displaced persons who wish to go to Dandakaranya. We are anxious to expedite this, but this is not merely a question of clearing up the jungle, building roads, etc. There are human beings living there involved and it is of the utmost importance that we should not ignore their rights. I suppose that where necessary earth-moving machinery will be available, though it is not quite correct to say that every State has got a surplus of it. Such machinery is in great demand owing to our big river valley schemes.

I do not know how far it is feasible to employ the army in an odd way for this work. As our army is situated today and in view of the present situation, it would probably not be possible to move it in any large numbers. To a small extent it might be possible. But it seems to me that the proper approach to this question is for the displaced persons themselves, under adequate guidance and with necessary equipment, to do this work. They will thus not only earn in this process but will also have a deeper attachment to the place they had built up themselves.

However, I am sending your letter to our Ministry dealing with Dandakaranya.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. A resident of Calcutta.

7. To Mehr Chand Khanna¹

New Delhi
June 7, 1958

My dear Mehr Chand,

Your letter of June 6th about sending particulars of claims to Pakistan. I agree with the procedure you have suggested.

The other day, I had a deputation from the Frontier people who have so long been in a camp in Amritsar. We had decided that this camp should be closed and each family should be given Rs 2,000 as a parting gift. This was no doubt a right decision, and we must pursue it. But, the people who came to see me, appeared to me a pretty helpless lot, rather oldish in age. Although our responsibility for them will in a sense cease, I think we should try to help them in some way. I am not referring to any monetary help, but rather some way of establishing them in some petty industry, if not land. Thus, for instance, a few of them could club together with the money they have received and start that small industry.

My point is that we should try to be helpful to them in such ways as are open to us without in any way undertaking any further responsibility.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

(iv) Relations with Press

1. Ease Restrictions on Press Photographers¹

I have always had the feeling that we are needlessly strict with these Press photographers. I do not see any reason why they should be completely excluded. The reason given is lack of room. Surely, this would lead to a limited number being allowed to come, and not to a complete ban. As a matter of fact, when a VIP comes to see me, he usually brings a crowd of photographers himself.

1. Note to M.O. Mathai, the Personal Secretary, K. Ram, the Principal Private Secretary, and S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 12 April 1958. JN Collection.

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2. So far as the Prime Minister's House is concerned, I have no objection to a number of these photographers, even ten, being allowed to remain down below in the verandah. They will have to take their chance. In my room in External Affairs, this number appears to be too big. But four or five might come.

3. As a matter of fact, we are expecting no big dignitary for some time to come now.

2. To K.C. Reddy¹

New Delhi

May 15, 1958

My dear Reddy,²

Keskar³ tells me that Shankar, the cartoonist and journalist,⁴ is in danger of having to leave his house and becoming homeless.⁵ This is most unfortunate, and I do hope you will help him to get proper accommodation.⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 45(9)/58-PMS.
2. Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply.
3. B.V. Keskar was the Union Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting.
4. K. Shankar Pillai.
5. Shankar was staying at Bengali market, New Delhi, in 1958 when his house was declared 'evacuee property' and put on auction. The person who bought the house initially assured Shankar that he could stay on but later started harassing him.
6. The Housing Ministry allotted Shankar a house on Purana Qila Road, New Delhi.

3. Facilities for News Cameramen¹

I received a deputation from the News Cameramen's Association today, and they gave me the attached memorandum.

2. I do not understand why these cameramen should not be treated on a par with other journalists and why their Association is not recognised by the Government of India.

3. So far as my house is concerned, I have no objection to any number of them coming there, and I have told them so. Of course, entry inside the house

1. Note to B.V. Keskar, the Union Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting, 16 May 1958. File No. 43(122)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

has to be limited for the sake of convenience, but I have no objection to their coming to the porch or outside the house.

4. In my office conditions are a little more restricted, but there need be no rigidity.

5. There appears to be something in their request that the Press Information Bureau should not supply photographs free to the richer newspapers. These newspapers pay for photographs from others, then why should we make free gifts to them?

6. I cannot offer any comments on the other points they have raised, except to say that in the other countries that I have visited, I have found news cameramen given all kinds of facilities.

4. To Edatata Narayanan¹

New Delhi
June 9, 1958

Dear Narayanan,²

I have received your letter of June 9th and have read it with interest.³ I agree with you that there is an unfortunate moral and intellectual deterioration in our political parties, barring none. And yet, I wonder if this is entirely a new phase. Reading through old papers and letters, which I have been doing during the last two weeks, I came across the same complaint throughout the thirties and later in the forties. There was one difference, however, in those days we had periodically some active movement which pulled us up, even though it did not help in

1. File No. 9/2/59-PMS.
2. Editor, *Patriot*, New Delhi.
3. Edatata Narayanan wrote that he concerned himself at the time with the Kashmir propaganda and had frequent consultations with the Defence Minister and the Commonwealth Secretary. He stated that the policies of the Praja Socialist Party and the Communist Party in regard to Kashmir had been influenced by the views of their representatives on Kashmir Committees, particularly in Delhi and Bombay. Apart from the activities of these Committees themselves, many individuals had been persuaded to speak, write and broadcast on issues connected with the national solidarity aspect of the Kashmir problem. He suggested that a few carefully selected businessmen, academics and professionals could be encouraged to travel abroad for improving the quality of information in foreign countries on our Kashmir policy and general foreign policy. "Knowing only the trade of journalism", he wrote that he had persuaded friends like Aruna Asaf Ali and others to help him in a venture called the United India Periodicals. The aim was to publish magazines and pamphlets in English, the first of these being a weekly magazine in English, *Link*.

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clarifying our thinking. Now that kind of thing is lacking. Also we seem to be passing through a phase of some kind of disillusion, a malaise of the mind and spirit.

This malaise is not peculiar to India. It is almost a common feature of our times everywhere, and when I say everywhere, I include both the Communist and the non-Communist worlds, though the reactions are different.

I am interested to know that you are starting a weekly news magazine in English. I think this is a good idea, provided always that you can keep it up and maintain some standards. Also that the general line adopted is constructive and not merely of running down parties and peoples, which is far too common in this country. Any attempt to make people think is worthwhile. Anything that takes us out of this unfortunate rut of mind that afflicts most of us is desirable.

You ask me to write what you call a "thesis" for the first issue. That, I am afraid is not possible for two reasons. One is that I am not in the habit of writing "thesis". The second is that I do not think it would be desirable, for a variety of reasons, to associate myself intimately with your news magazine. That will not be good for me or for the magazine. I should like to see some numbers of this magazine. I should like to see some numbers of this magazine and then I might be in a better position to say something about it. For me to launch out in the first issue would make people think that I am at the back of this venture and have adopted this rather indirect way of pushing my ideas, such as they are. That might well be embarrassing for me, but it will be equally embarrassing for you.

So, while I wish you well in your venture, I should like to see it develop a little before I can express myself more clearly about it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To Shriman Narayan¹

Manali, Kulu Valley
16th June, 1958

My dear Shriman,²

I enclose a letter which I have received today from a correspondent of *The Hindustan Times*.³

1. Shriman Narayan (ed.), *Letters from Gandhi Nehru Vinoba*, 1968, pp. 83-84.
2. General Secretary of the Congress and Member of the Planning Commission.
3. The correspondent regretted the error in reporting Nehru's meeting with a Congress leader of Punjab.

Having informed *The Hindustan Times* people about the misreporting of this person (whom I do not know), I do not think we need pursue this matter any further or try to harm him in his profession.

I suggest that you might send for him and tell him that we do not wish to cause him any injury, but that we had to bring this matter to the notice of the Chief Editor of *The Hindustan Times*.⁴ This is not merely a question of mistaken reporting, but of tendentious account being given which had little element of truth in it. However, having brought the matter to the notice of the Chief Editor, we do not wish to pursue it any further.

You might perhaps also inform the Chief Editor on the same lines.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Durga Das.
5. Shriman Narayan replied on 23 June 1958 that he had spoken to the Chief Editor of *The Hindustan Times*. Narayan wrote that the correspondent concerned was on leave and no particular action had been taken against him. He added that some other correspondent would now deal with Congress affairs.

6. To Mohanlal Sukhadia¹

New Delhi
June 24, 1958

My dear Sukhadia,²

My attention has been drawn to a series of articles appearing in a Hindi Weekly published in Ajmer, called *Nyaya*. These articles are entitled "The Rise and Fall of Nehru". I must say that I have seldom come across language which is more vulgar and disgusting than in these articles. I am not writing to you to ask you to take any action against this wretched paper, but I should like to know who runs it and who is behind it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

II. STATES AND UNION TERRITORIES

(i) The Andaman and Nicobar Islands

1. To Savitri Nigam¹

New Delhi
May 31, 1958

My dear Savitri,²

In March last you sent me your report on your visit to the Andamans in which you had made various proposals. I sent this on to the Home Ministry who have given careful consideration to your proposals. As a result, a number of your suggestions have been accepted.³

The transport and communications facilities have been increased very considerably. The question of constructing an air field is still being examined.

Your suggestion that ships going to Burma and Singapore should stop at the Andamans is not feasible.

Arrangements for livestock being sent there are being made. So also about construction materials.

Steps are being taken to provide incentives for service in the Islands.

You mentioned that the Forest Department was running at a considerable loss and that the loss was Rs 22 lakhs per month. Your information does not appear to be correct. The Andamans Forest Department is already being worked on commercial lines. In 1953-54 there was a profit of Rs 3.47 lakhs. In 1954-55 the profit was Rs 4.93 lakhs. In 1955-56 there was a loss of Rs 2.06 lakhs. The loss in the last mentioned year was due to the fact that substantial royalties payable by the lessees are outstanding. If they are realised there will be a net profit.

The Home Minister has already appointed a Consultative Committee of Members of Parliament to deal with the Andamans. There is also an Advisory

1. File No. 17(250)/57-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Congress Member of the Rajya Sabha from Uttar Pradesh.
3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, p. 483.

Council to assist the Chief Commissioner⁴ in matters of local administration and to implement the Five Year Plan.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. T.G.N. Ayyar.

(ii) Andhra Pradesh

1. To N. Sanjiva Reddy¹

New Delhi
16th April 1958

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,²

A. Narayan Reddi from Hyderabad has come to see me. He is a man who helped us at the time of the Razakar rising and afterwards unearthed some arms, etc., which the Razakars had hidden.³ He has thus a good past record in this matter.

He now tells me that there are still plenty of old arms hidden away round about Hyderabad. These are the remains of the stuff that Cotton⁴ brought from Pakistan and handed over to the Razakars. If wrong people get hold of these dumps, they can misuse them. In January last I believe there was a bomb outrage in Hyderabad.

As you have told me yourself, you are having some trouble with certain Razakar elements in Hyderabad now. You have taken some action too. It would be highly advisable to get hold of these arms dumps and take out these arms or

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.
3. The Razakars, the private army of the Ittihad-ul-Muslimeen, were organised under the leadership of Kasim Razvi, with the slogan that 'Azad Hyderabad' was a Muslim empire. There were daily raids into Indian territory and attacks within Hyderabad on non-Muslims and Muslims opposed to the Razakars. In September 1948, the Indian Army led by General J.N. Chaudhuri crushed the Razakars and Hyderabad was integrated with the Indian Union.
4. Sydney Cotton, an Australian gunrunner.

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bombs, whatever they are. I would suggest to you, therefore, to take the help of A. Narayan Reddi for this purpose.

In this matter some secrecy should be observed because obviously this kind of thing is not done in public, nor should junior police officers be brought into the picture. Some senior official should be put in charge and he should be asked to do it secretly with the help of A. Narayan Reddi.

Some time ago A. Narayan Reddi had mentioned this matter to Lal Bahadur Shastri who passed it to the Home Ministry and who passed it to somebody and ultimately it went down to minor officials and nothing was done. That was a wrong approach. I am, therefore, writing to you on this subject. Please see A. Narayan Reddi and take the necessary steps.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To Bhimsen Sachar¹

Forest Rest House
Manali
25 May, 1958

My dear Sachar,²

You will remember my writing to you on the 16th April about a person named A. Narayan Reddi who said that he could give information about arms dumps, etc., which were now being used by dacoits and the like. I told Narayan Reddi to see the Chief Minister, Sanjiva Reddy. I have now received a letter from him which I enclose in original.

I have no knowledge as to who Narayan Reddi is and I cannot guarantee his bona fides. But if his account of the interview with Sanjiva Reddy is correct, I am sorry at the way he was treated, more especially when I had taken the trouble to write to Sanjiva Reddy about him.³

Will you please ask Sanjiva Reddy about this matter? I would not suggest your bypassing Sanjiva Reddy. Nevertheless, I think that you might send for Narayan Reddi and give him some time to explain what he has to say about these arms dumps.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Governor of Andhra Pradesh.

3. See the preceding item.

3. To N. Sanjiva Reddy¹

New Delhi
June 25, 1958

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,

You will remember my writing to you² about the criticism of your Estimates Committee about the way work had been done at the Cuddapah-Kurnool Canal.³ Our Minister for Irrigation and Power, Shri Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, deputed one of our experts, Ripudaman Singh, Chief Engineer, Central Water and Power Commission, to make an 'on the spot' study. This has been done, and I take it that a copy of his report has been sent to you. If not, it will be sent.

As you will yourself see the report, I need not say much about it. This report justifies some of the criticisms made and shows that some of your engineers did not function properly and have thus caused considerable loss to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(294)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 483-484.
3. Sanjiva Reddy had informed Nehru on 9 June 1958 that the Estimates Committee's report was based on a somewhat incorrect appreciation of facts. He explained that the remodelling of the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal was taken up for improving the carrying capacity of the canal to 3,000 cusecs and for eliminating the enormous losses through seepage. He added that the flow in the canal proved that these objectives had been achieved.

(iii) Bihar

1. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
April 1, 1958

My dear Sri Babu,²

As you perhaps know, I have been laying great and repeated stress on the development of the cooperative movement. My idea of a cooperative movement

1. File No. 17(263)/57-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Bihar.

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is that it should be non-official, and officialised cooperative movement is, in my thinking, a contradiction in terms. Again and again, I have written about this in my Fortnightly letters and spoken about it. Only in my last Fortnightly I again referred to the importance of having small village cooperatives free from official control.³

I find, however, that in Bihar the cooperative movement is very much under official control. Whether this is a relic of the past or a new development I do not know. For my part, I think it is an utter waste of time and of the nation's resources to spend them on officialised cooperatives.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, p. 822.

2. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
April 12, 1958

My dear Sri Babu,

Your letter of April 5th about the Thai Government's proposal to construct a monastery at Bodh Gaya.² I am referring this matter immediately to the External Affairs Ministry.

I am glad that you have agreed to give up your claim for compensation from Thailand.

I entirely agree with you that we should be very careful about any building that has to be put up round about the Bodh Gaya temple. This must not in any way be such as not to fit in with the surroundings. In particular, it seems to me quite wrong for a building to be put up nearby which is higher than the Bodh Gaya temple. We should be very careful about all these buildings round about.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, p. 485.

3. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
April 16, 1958

My dear Sri Babu,

I understand that the Congress President has written to you about Shri Shyama Prasad Singh, Chairman of the Bihar Legislative Council. I remember the numerous complaints that I had received about him some years ago and which I forwarded to you. These complaints began, I think, in 1953, and I believe I wrote to you repeatedly on this subject,² sending you copies of these complaints. You were good enough to acknowledge them, but I do not think I ever had any explanation in regard to them. Some of the complaints were serious.

I have now had further complaints about his general behaviour which seems to me totally unbecoming the Chairman of the Council or, indeed, of a Congress man. While no final decision should be arrived at in regard to a complaint without receiving an explanation, the mere fact that so many complaints have come repeatedly in the course of years, and no explanation has been forthcoming, is itself a very relevant consideration. A Speaker or a Chairman has to be judged by rather strict standards. So, even apart from any enquiry into these complaints, I feel that it would not be proper at all to appoint Shri Shyama Prasad Singh for a further term as Chairman of the Bihar Legislative Council. Indeed, if his term was not expiring soon, the question would arise whether the matter should not be taken up publicly as to whether he should continue or not in that post.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. The allegation of misuse of official funds were levelled by Nayeema Khatoon Haider, a Member of Bihar Legislative Assembly. For Nehru's views on this subject, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 31, p. 223.

4. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
June 9, 1958

My dear Sri Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 7th June.

I am well aware of the fact that there are a group of persons who are bent on maligning you and placing difficulties in your way. I do not think we attach much importance to what they say.

I wrote to you about the marriage ceremony at Mahesh Babu's² house because I was rather distressed at the pomp and display. I know that unfortunately this is an Indian habit in classes of people. None the less I think it is a fundamentally bad habit and a rather vulgar one.

You have written about Sharma,³ the editor of *The Searchlight*. I have a pretty long acquaintance with Sharma as round about 1919 or 1920 he was employed in *The Independent* newspaper of Allahabad in some junior capacity. I did not think much of him then and I have seen no reason to change my opinion ever since. Indeed, the original opinion has been confirmed.

You refer to Hardeo Singh. I have no recollection of who he is and what he wrote to me.

If I sent you any complaint received by me, you must not feel hurt and must not think that necessarily I attach importance to it. It is a normal practice with me to forward such complaints to the people concerned. I do that even in regard to obviously false complaints because it is as well for those to be known by the persons against whom the complaints have been made.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Mahesh Prasad Sinha, a Minister in Bihar Government and Chairman, Bihar State Khadi and Village Industries Board.
3. M.S.M. Sharma (1897-1960); sub-editor, *The Independent*, 1919-21; worked with Reuters and API, 1922-28; Calcutta special representative, *The Hindu*, 1933-35; editor, *Kaiser-i-Hind*, 1937-39, *The Daily Gazette*, 1939-48, and *The Searchlight*, 1950-60; author of *In Dead Earnest*, *Peeps into Pakistan*, *Pilgrimage to Sringeri*, *Bhaktimuktavali*, *Gurupaduka Puja Vidhi* (the last two in Sanskrit).

5. To Sri Krishna Sinha¹

New Delhi
June 10, 1958

My dear Sri Babu,

I am distressed to learn of the drought conditions in Bihar and the suffering caused thereby.² I enclose a cheque for Rs 25,000 from the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund. Unfortunately, this Fund is very low now. I cannot at present send you much more. This sum will be spent on relief at your discretion. I would suggest that children should be especially cared for.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. In 1957-58, Bihar suffered drought causing heavy damage to crops. The entire State was affected in varying degrees. The total short-fall in the yield of the *rabi* crops of 1958-59, as compared to the annual average production of the 5-year period ending 1956-57, was 222,278 tons. The total expenditure incurred by the State Government on various relief operations was Rs 30,050,526 during 1957-58 and Rs 64,977,148 up to 19th November 1958.

(iv) Bombay

1. Kanjibhai's Case¹

Since my return from Kerala,² I have been unable to keep up with my correspondence. It was, therefore, only today that I saw these two letters from Shri Satyasevak Gadre.³ I also received a telegram from Bombay about Shri Gadre's fast.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 4 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. Nehru visited Kerala from 24 to 28 April 1958.
3. A sarvodaya worker of Wardha.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

2. The principal reason for his fast appears to be that a person named Kanjibhai, who was old and paralysed and in urgent need of treatment, was brought to the Daman border to be taken presumably to Bombay for treatment. This was done after the papers had announced that there was relaxation in regard to movements. This man was brought on a stretcher, but he was stopped at the border checkpost and not allowed to come through. Thereafter, it appears that Shri Gadre wrote to the Chief Minister of Bombay, pointing out how bad and inhuman this treatment was, and adding that he would have to go on hunger strike if this man was not permitted to cross. Apparently, he received no reply, and he went on hunger strike and is now in a bad way.

3. Shri Gadre also refers to someone, probably a policeman, carrying a bomb or something like it, which burst in his hands and injured him very much. He expresses his great indignation at this kind of thing.

4. I am sending him a letter in reply, expressing my regret for what has happened and saying that I am immediately enquiring about Kanjibhai's case from the Bombay Government. Further, that we are entirely opposed to any violence.

5. I should like you to telephone to the Chief Secretary of Bombay and ask him about this Kanjibhai's case. You should tell him to issue orders immediately to permit Kanjibhai to be brought to India for treatment or any other purpose. Further, you might ask the Chief Secretary to have a message from me conveyed to Shri Gadre, who is fasting near the Daman border at Post Chala via Vapi, district Surat. This message should be to the following effect:

Jawaharlalji has only just received your two letters and he is distressed to learn of the difficulties experienced in Kanjibhai being brought to India for treatment. He is immediately enquiring into this matter as well as the other matters mentioned by you in your letters to him. Meanwhile, he requests you to give up your fast and he hopes that you will agree to his request.⁴

6. I should like to speak to you about this matter later.

4. Nehru again wrote (not printed) to Gadre on 7 May that there was no restriction on the people's movement at the Daman border so far as the Indian Government was concerned. However, those who were involved in smuggling, etc., besides those indulging in pro-Portuguese and anti-Indian activities were not allowed to enter the Indian territory without the government's permission. On enquiry, it was found that Kanjibhai's and his sons' names were also among them. Nehru clarified that Kanjibhai was allowed to come to India at the instance of Satyasevak Gadre but, if he indulged in any improper activities, he would have to go back.

2. To Y.B. Chavan¹

New Delhi
9th June 1958

My dear Chavan,²

You might remember the case of Baburao Laxman Kochare who marched on me with an open dagger in Nagpur, as I was going from the airport to my place of residence.³ He was arrested, tried and sentenced to, I think, six years. He has thus been in prison now for more than three years. I am told he is in Yeravada Central Jail at Poona.

I was rather unhappy that he was sentenced for this long term imprisonment, because I have always thought that he was rather off his head. No sane man could have behaved as he did. However, I could not do anything about it. This matter has been vaguely present in my mind for a long time. Last month, I wrote to our Home Minister, Pantji, about Baburao and suggested to him that he might now be discharged, having served a good part of his sentence.⁴ I should like to make the same suggestion to you. There is no virtue in making him undergo the full sentence. Probably he is not a very satisfactory prisoner for the simple reason that he is cranky.

Could you please consider this matter?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Bombay State.

3. This incident happened in Nagpur on 12 March 1955 when Nehru was going from the Sonegaon aerodrome to the city. For Nehru's account of the incident, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 28, pp. 14-15.

4. In a note dated 22 May 1958, Nehru wrote to G.B. Pant that he had no objection to the sentence of Baburao Kochare being reduced considerably or his being released. Nehru added that he was not concerned with Socialist leader Rammanohar Lohia's reported plan to pressure the Prime Minister, by mobilising public opinion, to remit the remaining period of Kochare's sentence.

1. New Quarters for Sweepers¹

In view of what Shri Mukharji² says, I shall not take up, for the present, the question of permanent improvement of the Bhangi Colony area. But, as it is proposed by the NDMC to construct quarters for sweepers, etc., on the Ring Road, I should like to have some specifications or charts about these quarters. Often when such quarters for sweepers are made, they are so constructed that they turn into slums very easily. This must be avoided, and decent quarters should be provided, with plenty of water, latrines and some open spaces.

2. As for the immediate steps to be taken, this matter should be the immediate responsibility of the NDMC. The fact that people are living there without any authority, should not come in the way. It is entirely a wrong attitude to avoid providing amenities lest this creates further difficulties. This is not merely a matter of providing these amenities to the people living there, but of somehow improving a site that is horrible and most unhealthy.

3. The immediate steps should be:

- (i) providing many more filtered water taps,
- (ii) a sufficient number of latrines and urinals. It really is extraordinary that the Municipal Committee should not even provide latrines and urinals,
- (iii) the filthy pits and ravines should be filled up as soon as possible and certainly before the monsoon,
- (iv) the whole place should be cleaned up,
- (v) if it is possible, some small open spaces should be separated for children to go there,
- (vi) as for schools, I am prepared to make other arrangements for such schools, provided space is available for them.

I want to be kept informed of developments.

4. A copy of this note can be sent to the Chairman of the NDMC as well as to Shri Mukharji.

1. Note to K. Ram, the Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 9 April 1958. JN Collection.
2. G. Mukharji, Secretary, Delhi Development Authority.

2. To Jagjivan Ram¹

New Delhi
April 15, 1958

My dear Jagjivan Ram,²

You wrote to me on the 24th January forwarding a representation from Sohan Lal Bansiwal.³ I have had this matter enquired into.

These people who are occupying this site are squatters without any legal claim. Even so I realise that they cannot be thrown out without being provided for.

It is clear also that the Lahore Hospital Society is putting up a big Hospital and I myself laid the foundation stone of this Hospital.⁴ We cannot spoil this Hospital by allowing people to squat all round. The proposal therefore is for residential accommodation to be provided for squatters in various places. The Improvement Trust authorities have been trying to get them vacate this site, but they have refused to do so. This is a very unreasonable attitude.

Quite apart from the Hospital in the future plan of Delhi, this site cannot be used by the squatters. Thus they will have to go anyhow. I suggest therefore that you might explain the situation to them and tell them that they should take advantage of the offers being made to them for alternative accommodation in the neighbourhood.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Railways.
3. (1920-1982); social worker and politician; participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement; Councillor, Delhi Municipal Corporation; President, Sadar District Congress; joined Janata Party along with Jagjivan Ram, 1977; Member, Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, 1977; joined BJP and was again elected to the Rajasthan Legislative Assembly, 1980.
4. For his speech on the occasion, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 156-157.

3. Tibbia College¹

I should like you to find out from the Home Ministry and the Health Ministry as to what is happening in regard to the Tibbia College in Delhi.² This is a fine property and a fine institution which has gone to pieces. There has been a long litigation over it, and the matter has, I believe, gone to the Supreme Court which has already indicated that they are likely to decide against the Government. They, therefore, suggested that there should be a compromise.

2. Meanwhile, the College is hardly functioning for lack of funds, etc., and nobody is really responsible for it. Is any attempt being made to settle this matter?

1. Note to K. Ram, the Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 8 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. Tibbia College, also known as The Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbia College, was established by Hakim Abdul Majeed in 1882 at Chandni Chowk. The foundation stone of the new building at Karol Bagh was laid by Lord Hardinge in 1916 and the new College building was inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi in 1921.

4. Najafgarh Lake¹

I should like you to enquire from the Home Ministry as well as the Delhi authorities what is being done in regard to the Najafgarh Lake. I visited this Lake some months ago and found that owing to water-logging, etc., great damage was being done there during the rains. There was some proposal to deal with this water-logging and clean up the Najafgarh Lake and arrange for proper drainage. I am told that some work is being done, but it is on a very slow scale and this will not yield adequate results before the rains come.

2. Please enquire from the Home Ministry if they have any papers regarding a certain Trust called the "Shri Banarsidas Chandiwala Sewa Smarak Trust".² (I enclose the memorandum of association of this Trust which was constituted some years ago). Shri Brij Krishen Chandiwala³ came to see me about this. He says

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 8 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. Shri Banarsidas Chandiwala Sewa Smarak Trust was established in 1952 by his son Brij Krishen Chandiwala. The Trust presently runs several hospitals and educational institutions.
3. Convener of the Delhi Branch of the Bharat Sewak Samaj.

that the income of this Trust is about Rs 3,000 a month, of which apparently he takes 1,000 and 2,000 are left over. He wants to hand this over to the Government or to the Delhi Corporation, to be used for a school or for any other public purpose. I should like to know if any steps to this end have been taken or are contemplated.

5. To Amrit Kaur¹

New Delhi
May 10, 1958

My dear Amrit,

Thank you for your letter of May 9th. I have read Bapu's letter with great interest. I shall send it on to the Gandhi Museum people.

Brij Krishen has done very good work in regard to slum areas. It is not correct, however, to say that the local authorities in charge of town planning pay no attention or help in his work. The town planning authorities have approached the question of slums in a big way and as a part of the larger planning of Delhi. Brij Krishen naturally looks at it as a smaller problem of shifting the slum dwellers to other open spaces. If this shifting does not fit in with the larger plan, it would come in the way later.

There is a special Committee on slums under the chairmanship of Asoke Sen, the Law Minister. I think that Brij Krishen is on it, though I am not quite sure. There will be no point in having another Committee. The Bharat Sewak Samaj is already there and Aruna² was connected with that work too. Duplication of Committees will not help. Aruna, of course, should be and I believe is in touch with the planning authority which is still connected with the Health Ministry.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.

2. Aruna Asaf Ali, Mayor of Delhi Municipal Corporation.

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6. To G. Mukharji¹

New Delhi
May 12, 1958

Dear Mukharji,

I think I have told you previously that I should like you to keep in touch with the Bharat Sewak Samaj in Delhi and more especially with Shri Brij Krishen Chandiwala in regard to slum work here. They have done a good deal of work in this respect and have produced quite a useful report on the slums of old Delhi. I understand that this report was sent to you.

It is important to keep in touch with the Bharat Sewak Samaj on this subject not only because they have done this work, but because that is an opening for us to know what public reactions are. We are apt to function in an official groove which sometimes isolates us from the public.

Will you come and see me at 12 on May 16th in my office in External Affairs to inform me of the progress of the work in slum areas and planning generally?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

7. Problems of the Slum Dwellers of Delhi¹

We have at last become conscious of slum areas. That is undoubtedly some gain though, by itself, it does not take us far. The consciousness of this problem has brought the realisation of its urgency and, at the same time, of its magnitude. Looking at these slums and the sub-human conditions in which men and women live there, we feel that immediate action must be taken to change all this. And then the vastness of the problem confronts us and we feel a little overwhelmed.

The problem is not merely of old slums but of the creation of new slums. It is obvious that we shall never solve it unless we stop completely the formation of new slums.

1. Foreword to *Slums of Old Delhi: Report of the Socio-Economic Survey of the Slum Dwellers of Old Delhi City* brought out by Bharat Sewak Samaj, New Delhi, 12 May 1958. JN Collection. Also available in B.K. Chandiwala Papers, NMML.

For the last few years I have been deeply interested in the slums of Delhi. Every time I have visited them, I return with a certain feeling of numbness and an urgent desire to have something done to remove these slums. Action is initiated, but progress is slow because of innumerable difficulties. Vested interests are always hard to dislodge and the law generally appears to favour them. But the real difficulty is the lack of accommodation for those who live in the slum areas at present. We have to provide housing for them before we can ask them to vacate. When we try to do this, those very people whom we seek to benefit raise difficulties and are reluctant to move. This is to some extent understandable, for their lives and work have revolved near that area and to take them far away means to uproot them from their work. Also, whatever new accommodation might be provided is likely to have a higher rent, even though it might be subsidised. The present rents of the slums are very low and those who are used to paying that rent do not like the idea of paying more, even though they might thereby get amenities and healthy surroundings.

The more one has looked at this problem of the slums, the more it becomes something far bigger than the mere building of new houses. It is intimately connected with occupations and work and the general economy of that place. It has to face ingrained habits and a lack of desire as well as a lack of training to use better accommodation. Indeed, unless there is that training and cooperation, the better accommodation tends to revert to a slum condition.

For several years now a good deal of attention has been paid to the slums of Delhi. Also of course to those of other great cities like Calcutta, Bombay and others. But as I have been in touch more with the Delhi area, I write about this. The old municipality was naturally concerned with it. So was the Improvement Trust and various other organisations here. When the Planning Authority was started in Delhi, it had to face this problem. On the people's side the Bharat Sewak Samaj took a special interest and devoted much time and labour to these slum areas of Delhi. Though some progress was made because of all these various activities, this is not striking. But in reality a great deal of hard work has gone into it and one impressive record of this work by the Bharat Sewak Samaj is the present volume on *Slums of Old Delhi*, containing a report of a socio-economic survey, in which the Bharat Sewak Samaj has had the cooperation of the Delhi School of Economics, the Delhi School of Social Work and the Town Planning Organisation. The Central Statistical Organisation has also helped in the presentation of the statistical data. As a result of all this cooperative endeavour, we have now this very useful, impressive and rather distressing volume.

At any rate, this volume tells us about the existing conditions and the nature of the problem we have to face.

Meanwhile, the Delhi Planning Authority, which consists of very eminent planners and experts from abroad as well as our own expert planners, is engaged in drawing up a plan for Greater Delhi. This is a long-term plan and it is right

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that we should view these problems in long perspectives. Patchwork remedies do not fit in with planning or with the solution of any problem. In drawing up that major plan, attention has inevitably to be given to the cleaning of slum areas from Delhi and providing better alternative accommodation for those who live there. I hope that this work of planning will take shape soon so that the implementation of it might begin.

While alternative accommodation will necessarily have to be provided, something has to be done meanwhile to improve slum conditions. The argument that any improvement might lead to their perpetuation is not one that we can accept. Improving them means better water supply, lighting, latrines, drains and generally greater cleanliness. It is clear that this can only be achieved with the cooperation of the people concerned. This means that every attempt should be made to interest these people, to educate them and to rely upon their help. To some extent, the approach has to be on the lines of the community development schemes in rural areas, though inevitably this will have to be adapted to the conditions existing in the city, which are very different.

I congratulate the Bharat Sewak Samaj of Delhi for this work and I should like to thank all those associated with it in producing this volume.

8. To Aruna Asaf Ali¹

New Delhi
May 12, 1958

My dear Aruna,

Your letter.² I am returning the letter of the Mayor of Kyoto.

I am sending you a photograph of mine. It was taken in London about a year ago. This was sent to me as a specimen copy. It is far too expensive for me to buy it. It is amazing what London photographers charge now-a-days.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 7(152)/58-65-PMS.
2. Aruna Asaf Ali, the Mayor of Delhi, had enclosed a "quaintly worded letter from the Mayor of Kyoto City." Referring perhaps to his letter, she wrote: "I wish I did not have to submit to being classified as a 'female'! Years back I was successful in my agitation against the term "Female Jail'." She added that the Corporation was yet to receive Nehru's photograph.

9. Boundary Walls vs Hedges¹

I am told that the Delhi authorities have decided that houses in Delhi should not have any hedges. Presumably, this applies to both New Delhi and old Delhi. Some mention of this was made in the newspapers. I am surprised to learn this because I thought hedges were normally desirable and were far better than boundary walls. In fact, boundary walls are ugly and unsightly, apart from being more expensive. Could you please find out if any such order has been issued?

1. Note to K. Ram, the Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 31 May 1958. JN Collection.

10. To K.C. Reddy¹

New Delhi
26 June, 1958

My dear Reddy,

This is about the proposed Martyrs' Memorial in Delhi. As I wrote to you, we shall have to consult our colleagues about this as also some Delhi people. Indeed, the Corporation should be consulted formally or informally.

I suggest that you might send for the Mayor, Shrimati Aruna Asaf Ali, and the Commissioner, Nayak.² Ask the Mayor to bring some of the leaders of groups of the Corporation. Let them look at these plans and proposals and give their reactions.

I would prefer this informal procedure to a formal reference to the Corporation. You can tell them that you are proceeding informally so as to find out viewpoints before any definite steps are taken.

There is much to be said for the memorial to be built between the Chandni Chowk and the Red Fort. From many points of view that is suitable. But I wish there was much more room available there. I do not like the idea of a cramped memorial. Anyhow, I should like to have a better idea of the place in relation to this proposed memorial. The chart you have sent does not help at all. It shows a big rectangular garden plot, presumably with the memorial, in the middle. I

1. File No. 2(250)/58-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. P.R. Nayak.

have no idea of what the actual memorial would be like, but this rectangular plot irritates me and I think it spoils the approach to Chandni Chowk or the Fort. I should therefore like to have a much better idea of how this memorial will fit in at this particular site, i.e., at the end of Chandni Chowk facing the Red Fort.

I am returning your plans.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. Protocol Ranking of Mayor¹

I have seen your note about the rank of the Mayor of Delhi. This matter was referred to me and decided after such reference.

2. The Mayor is, of course, the first person in the Corporation and, in ceremonials, in the city. But Delhi State is something much bigger than the Corporation of Delhi, and the Chief Commissioner represents the whole State as more or less its head. Roughly speaking, the Chief Commissioner is in the position of a Governor.

3. As a matter of fact, the question of precedence only arises in functions other than those of the Corporation. So far as I know, even this is not formal or rigid, and the Mayor is not being included in the Warrant which concerns officials only.

4. The Chief Commissioner is not the chief official of the Corporation. The chief official is the Municipal Commissioner.

5. On particular occasions where the Mayor functions as Mayor, he or she will have complete precedence over others. Thus, at a reception of a VIP at Palam, it is the Mayor that receives, not the Chief Commissioner.

1. Note to V.K. Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister, New Delhi, 29 June 1958.
JN Collection.

12. To K.C. Reddy¹

New Delhi
30th June 1958

My dear Reddy,²

Your architects have come to me and shown me again the plan for the Buddha Jayanti Park on the Ridge.³ We had of course approved of this general design long ago. I gathered that the matter was held up because I had objected to the estimates having gone up.

I now find that the previous estimates had little to do with the present plan and were based on something entirely different. Anyhow, so far as I am concerned, I should like you to go ahead with this plan now, that is to say, the landscaping part of it should be proceeded with. There has already been a fairly considerable delay in this matter and enquiries come to me from Buddhists about it.

So far as the central column and *parikrama* are concerned, that will not be taken up at present and an estimate for them should be made. I am not quite sure about the height of the central column. However, we could go into that later.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply.
3. See also *ante*, p. 338.

(vi) Kerala

1. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad¹

New Delhi
April 4, 1958

My dear Namboodiripad,²

Your letter of the 2nd April about help and protection being given to the minority

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Kerala.

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communities in India.³ When I wrote to you previously on this subject, I had in my mind more particularly what might be called the religious minorities, that is, Muslims, Christians, etc. The question of linguistic minorities is of course important. This comes up in more or less bilingual areas.

So far as the communities which are called backward are concerned, they present an entirely different type of problem. If we look upon them as economically backward, as we should, then we might say that 80 per cent of the people of India belong to such economically backward communities. The problem becomes one of raising the entire people and not of the community. A few odd posts given to them does not help. In fact, as you say, it might even hinder, as they forget the major issue and attach importance to these few posts. I have always told these people that, while I sympathise with their feelings, I would not advise them to ask for any reservations of posts, etc. Such reservation inevitably brings down the quality and standard of our Services which would be bad. The real way to help them is educationally and to some extent economically by providing occupations in cottage and small-scale industries.

I have read with interest your account of backward communities in your State.⁴ I am unable to advise you about these particular problems in your State, which appear to be complicated, without knowing much more about the state of affairs there. But I do think that the Public Service Commission should not be burdened with every small appointment. It seems to me absurd that even peons and the like should be appointed by the Public Service Commission.⁵ It is true that in regard to these lower appointments the question of qualification does not arise to the same extent as in other cases. Some minimum qualification

3. Namboodiripad had referred to the term "minority communities" mentioned in Nehru's letter dated 26 March 1958 and wondered whether it included linguistic minorities and backward communities. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 336-338.
4. Namboodiripad had written about the agitation of non-caste Hindus and non-Hindus against caste-Hindu domination in the erstwhile States of Travancore and Cochin. Over the years this union of communities demanded their share in the services and educational institutions. This resulted in 40 per cent reservation in government services and 35 per cent in admissions to colleges for backward communities over and above the 10 per cent reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Implementation of this scheme was done through the Public Service Commission.
5. Namboodiripad had stated that, unlike in other States, in Kerala almost all appointments to government services, including those of peons and other "last grade" employees were made by the Public Service Commission. However "during the President's rule in 1956-57", he added, it was decided to exclude a large number of lower posts from the purview of the Commission. This was not liked by the people and the State government had to restore *status quo ante*. Namboodiripad wrote that even among backward communities, job-sharing by the "relatively advanced" amongst them created a feeling of grievance, and so the "principle of sub-rotation", allotting specific percentages to specific communities, was resorted to. But even that had not satisfied everyone.

has to be laid down and the State should endeavour to see that these are fairly distributed.

There is another aspect to this question which has come before us repeatedly in regard to the Public Service Commission. This Commission is very competent to deal with normal administrative appointments. But they have not the same experience for specialised appointments—scientists, technicians and the like. Therefore we have set up special committees and boards to choose for these specialised appointments. As a rule we have one member of the Public Service Commission on such committees or boards, apart from others who are presumed to be experienced for that purpose. This relieves the burden on the Public Service Commission and also ensures to some extent that appointments will be made on merit and not for other reasons.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To V.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
29th April 1958

My dear V.T.,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from the Chief Minister of Kerala.² I have sent copies to Swaran Singh,³ Morarji Desai⁴ and K.D. Malaviya.⁵

I also enclose copy of a memorandum from the Kerala Ministry about developing water resources in Kerala.⁶ I should imagine that this question deserves

1. File No. 17(298)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. This related to the scheme of the Gwalior Rayon Silk Manufacturing Company for establishing a factory for manufacture of rayon grade wood pulp in Kerala.
3. Union Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel.
4. Union Minister of Finance.
5. Union Minister of State for Mines and Oil.
6. The memorandum by V.R. Krishna Iyer, Minister of Irrigation and Power in Kerala, asked for higher allocation of funds for the development of water resources in Kerala. Krishna Iyer wrote that hydroelectric projects were cheaper per Kilo Watt in Kerala than anywhere in India, thanks to the torrential perennial flows of the Western Ghats. Their harnessing would produce enough energy to meet the needs of all the southern States and spare the Neyveli Coal reserves and expensive nuclear energy production. He claimed that the food production in Kerala would level up with the needs of the people "if the plentiful river resources of Kerala were tamed to serve the agriculturists."

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consideration because they may well reduce our liability for supply of rice. But all will depend on the resources position.

Yours sincerely
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad¹

New Delhi
May 13, 1958

My dear Namboodiripad,

Your letter of the 9th May, in which you refer to some Press report to the effect that S.K. Patil² and A.M. Thomas³ were going to Devikulam constituency⁴ for electioneering work.⁵ I have enquired from both of them and I find that they are not going, and the Press report was not correct.

There is, as you say, no legal or constitutional bar to Central Ministers going there, and I should not like to lay down any rule about this for the future. The question, however, does not arise as, so far as I know, no Central Minister is going to this constituency.

You say that you have decided that the Ministers of Kerala would not participate in the electioneering campaign. I am told, however, that before this decision was announced, quite a number of your Ministers did go

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Transport and Communications.
3. (1912-2004); Congressman from Kerala; Member, Cochin Legislative Assembly, 1948; Member, Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly, 1949-52; Speaker, Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly, 1951-52; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-67; Deputy Minister in the Union Ministry of Food and Agriculture, 1957-63; Minister of State for Food and Agriculture, 1963-64 and for Defence Production, 1964-67.
4. In the bye-election held in the Devikulam constituency in Kerala on 16 May 1958, Rosamma Punnoose of the CPI defeated the Congress candidate, B.K. Nair. Earlier, the Supreme Court, acting on the complaint of Congress candidate B.K. Nair that his nomination paper had been rejected on insufficient grounds during the general election, had declared the election of Rosamma Punnoose void and so the bye-election had to be held.
5. Namboodiripad had written that to keep the electioneering tension to the minimum and to set correct standards of behaviour, it was decided that the Ministers of the State Government would not participate in the election campaign for the bye-election in the Devikulam constituency.

there for electioneering work. I am not objecting to that but merely stating what I had heard.

But one thing has seemed to me rather unfortunate. The newspapers announced that your Government had decided to make a grant of rupees one lakh to the schools in the Devikulam constituency. To make this grant to the schools in that particular area, on the eve of an election, inevitably leads people to think that this was done for the purpose of the election.

There is one other matter which has troubled me. It has, I believe, been announced in the newspapers that, at the Amritsar Congress of the Communist Party,⁶ it was stated that the Party had collected Rs 50 lakhs in Kerala during the past year or so. I have not seen this contradicted. If then this is a fact, it is a surprising one. I cannot conceive how such a sum can be collected by any party by normal methods.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Held from 6 to 13 April 1958.

4. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad¹

Forest Rest House
Manali
21st May 1958

My dear Namboodiripad,

Your letter of the 19th May has pursued me and reached me here at Manali. Thank you for it.

You are right in pointing out to me that I made a slip when I mentioned that Rs 50 lakhs had been collected by the Communist Party of Kerala. The figure as appeared in the press was, I believe, Rs 25 lakhs. I was surprised at this figure as, speaking from a good deal of experience of Congress collections, no such figure has ever been reached by even the largest States.

1. JN Collection.

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You have given a process of collection from estimated expenditure in a variety of ways.² It is difficult for me to understand this or to get a grip of it. What various demonstrations against the anti-Education Bill may have cost, I do not know.³ Mostly, the Catholic organisations in the State were concerned with it.

Congress collections are chiefly made in two ways. One is a percentage of the membership fee. The other is purses given to the President or some leading Congressmen when they go on tour. Both of these represent very small collections. So far as I know, it is on the occasion of a general election that an attempt is made for big collections. These have included in the past some large collections. Even so, no Congress State Party in India has succeeded in collecting, even at election time, anywhere near what is claimed to have been collected by the Kerala Communist Party.

It was because of this that I expressed my surprise.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Namboodiripad wrote that the CPI had a large number of whole-time workers. They were maintained by subscriptions and levies from party members and donations from party sympathisers. This amount came to Rs two lakhs per year in Kerala. In addition to this, organisation of meetings, demonstrations, *jathas*, marches, and all India conferences involved heavy expenditure. He cited the example of Amritsar Congress of the CPI, where nearly Rs 27,000 were spent on 94 or 95 delegates from Kerala. He stated that expenses obviously increased at the time of such big campaigns as general elections. However, after April 1957 all forms of activities had been on the increase and Rs 20 to 25 lakhs had been spent since then according to a rough estimate. He clarified that no change had been made in the mode of collection of party funds after April 1957 and those functionaries, who were previously involved in the fund drive, had ceased to do so after becoming Ministers.
3. Namboodiripad wrote that if proper calculations were made, the Congress in Kerala should have spent no less than Rs 50 lakhs considering the series of anti-Education Bill demonstrations.

5. To K.A. Damodara Menon¹

Forest Rest House

Manali

26th May 1958

My dear Damodara Menon,²

Your letter of the 20th May has just reached me here at Manali.³

I was naturally somewhat disappointed at the result of the Devikulam bye-election and I can well understand your feeling in the matter after you had worked so hard. But, surely, we cannot allow ourselves to be dispirited because something that we do not like happens. We have to take these things in our stride. That is the only way to build up success.

There is no question of your taking the blame for this defeat. As a matter of fact, you have done splendid work in Kerala and I am sure all of us have recognised that. I think it would be sad indeed if you left the Presidentship of the Kerala PCC. I hope, therefore, that you will do no such thing. Indeed, for you to resign at this stage would, I think, be more harmful than even the defeat at Devikulam because this would be a confession of defeat while that was something not wholly within our power.

Please, therefore, do not take this matter so seriously and do not say anything which makes others think that way.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. President of the Kerala PCC.

3. Damodara Menon wrote that Devikulam was a bilingual area with a predominantly labour population. The estate labour was divided into four unions of which only one was under the Communists. Menon informed that a joint front of the remaining three unions was made with the help of INTUC President Ramanujam. Tamilnad Congress leaders also campaigned in Devikulam. However, all these combined efforts failed to secure a majority for the Congress candidate. Menon wrote that this defeat might have repercussions not only in Kerala but throughout India for which he should take the blame and resign from the Presidentship of Kerala Congress.

6. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad¹

Above Manali
Kulu Valley
15th June, 1958

My dear Namboodiripad,

I am writing this letter from a remote place far into the interior of the Himalayas. Indeed, I am away from Manali and am at present at the foot of the Rohtang Pass.

Here I am away from the troubles and controversies of the world. But still papers and messages pursue me. Among these papers, I have read reports of the speech you are reported to have delivered somewhere in which you expressed your displeasure at the Congress, the PSP and other non-Communist parties in Kerala desiring the fall of the present Kerala Government and working to that end. You are further reported to have said that if they insist in this business of dividing people into two camps, this would lead to a civil war creating disruption in the country. You asked whether they (presumably the non-Communist parties in Kerala) wanted the history of China to be repeated² and that in that case the Congress would meet the same fate as Chiang Kai-shek.³

This statement of yours has somewhat disturbed the quiet of the Himalayas for me. What exactly do your warnings mean? I should like to have a correct version of the statement before I express myself on it anywhere in public. Probably I shall have to say something about it when I return and questions are put to me.

I see that some other Communist leaders, like Z.A. Ahmed,⁴ have also been holding forth. He is reported to have said at Ghazipur in UP that if the Communist Party once succeeded in gaining power, it could never be ousted from power. The change-over to peaceful methods for achieving socialism did not mean adoption of Gandhism. The adoption of peaceful methods depended upon the conditions prevailing in the country at any particular time.

What Z.A. Ahmed said is not of much particular consequence, except in so far as he might be supposed to help the Communist leadership. But what you

1. JN Collection.
2. At a public meeting in Coimbatore on 31 May 1958, Namboodiripad had criticised the move of the Congress, the PSP and the non-Communist parties in Kerala to divide the people into communist and non-communist camps and urged the working class and common people to put down the disruption and prevent the country from turning in the way Chiang Kai-shek had turned China into communist and non-communist sections.
3. Chiang Kai-shek was President of the Kuomintang Government before the Communist revolution in China.
4. Member, Rajya Sabha and Central Committee of the CPI.

say is much more important. I think that the issues raised by your speech and others require to be cleared up before the public. We have to be frank with the public.

What exactly do you mean when you object to your opposition parties working against the government party? Are you prepared to adopt the same principle in the Central Government or the States where Communists happen to be in the opposition or does that apply only where a Communist Government has come into existence?

Do you imply that if by a democratic process the Communist Party is defeated in election, it will not abide by the result of that election but will indulge in violence and civil war? Is it the policy of the Communist Party to indulge in violence whenever it thinks it necessary? Also, is it Communist policy to hold on to power, as Z.A. Ahmed says, and never allow itself to be ousted by democratic processes?

What exactly do you mean by comparing present conditions in India to conditions prevailing in China when Chiang Kai-shek's government was in power?

I shall be grateful to have your reply so that I can deal with these questions when they arise on my return.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Namboodiripad replied on 23 June 1958, stating that he expected the Congress to do in Kerala "what they expect of us to do at the Centre and in other States." But he emphasised that Nehru, as the foremost national leader, needed to work out, in consultation with other political parties, a code of conduct for the ruling and opposition parties as it was important for the development of democracy along healthy lines. Regarding the question of the CPI holding on to power in the event of an electoral defeat, Namboodiripad commented that the Amritsar resolution of the CPI had clearly envisaged the existence of opposition parties which meant a current ruling party becoming a later-day opposition party, but he would like Congressmen also to abide by the election verdict. As for the comparison between India and Chiang Kai-shek's China, he wrote that he was actually comparing "the policy of dividing the nation into Communists vs the Rest—a policy followed by some friends in Kerala today." He added that his desire for every party to weld the nation into a strong modern nation rather than dividing it into two camps had been interpreted as a threat of civil war.

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7. To Asoke K. Sen¹

New Delhi

June 24, 1958

My dear Asoke,²

I understand that your Ministry is sitting on the Kerala Education Bill, that is, after the Supreme Court gave its opinion on it.³ I have come across criticisms even in foreign papers of the dilatory tactics of the Central Government in regard to Kerala matters and especially the Education Bill. After the Supreme Court has expressed its opinion, surely there is nothing more for us to do except to send it with that opinion to the Kerala Government.

The Governor of Kerala⁴ writing to the President, has mentioned the fact that they are all waiting for this Bill to go back to them with the President's advice. The next session of the Kerala Assembly is going to begin on the 30th June, and if they are to make any changes in this Bill, they should have it soon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Law.
3. The Supreme Court observed on 22 May 1958 that Clause 3(5) of the Kerala Education Bill went against Article 30(1) of the Constitution which granted the minorities the right to establish educational institutions and administer them in their own way. For references to the Kerala Education Bill see also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 488-489.
4. B. Ramakrishna Rao.

8. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad¹

New Delhi

June 30, 1958

My dear Namboodiripad,

I received your letter of the 23rd June a few days ago.² Ever since my return

1. JN Collection.
2. Namboodiripad wrote that Nehru's speeches given in Kerala reminded him of his presidential address at the Lucknow Congress in 1936 [*Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 7, pp. 170-195] in which he had given a call to make a "joint front" against the Government and emphasised the need to subordinate different viewpoints, while recognising their existence and to implement a common programme of national reconstruction on socialist lines.

from Manali I have been trying to catch up with my work. Hence the slight delay in answering your letter.

You lay stress on preserving the unity of India. Surely you realise that I consider the unity of India as of the very first importance. I am constantly talking about it and about what I call the emotional integration of India. You must know also that the whole background and history of the Congress has been based on the unity of India and if I talk about this subject I represent the Congress viewpoint in its fullness. Nationalism, which the Congress claims to represent in India, must necessarily function in terms of that unity and resist every possible attempt at disruption. I do not quite understand your conception of unity and I have a feeling in this matter as in some others that we use words in different senses.

You refer also to the "Joint Front" and mention what I said in 1936. If you are referring to what I said in relation to India, you will remember that I was addressing the Congress which itself has been in many ways a joint front in our struggle for freedom. Because of this there were various viewpoints represented in it which had a common basis and all agreed in the basic approach to the question of independence. In effect, in spite of differences of opinion, they functioned under the leadership of Gandhiji. When the Congress Socialist Party was formed, it was a part of the Congress. When I took three members of the Socialist Party in the Working Committee in 1936 they were all members of the Congress and indeed, I think, of the All India Congress Committee.

The Communist Party in India in those days counted for very little except in some labour disputes. Individual communists were sometimes members of the Congress organisation. They did not fit in often, but little importance was attached to this because they were few and did not make much difference anyhow. It was only after the Communist Party had joined hands with the British Government in the last War and attacked the Congress that the Congress decided to ask its Communist members to leave the organisation.³

You may also remember that in the thirties the Congress Socialist Party tried to cooperate with the Communist Party. This did not succeed and the Socialist Party broke away from the Communist Party of India, not perhaps so much on grounds of economic policy, but because the methods of the Communist Party were not to its liking. Indeed, in Europe, the "Joint Front", which came in some countries with a great deal of enthusiasm, collapsed before long. It appeared that the Communist idea of a joint front was something different from what other people thought of it. In the present context in India I do not quite understand what it means. In so far as it means cooperating fully for our five-year plans and development schemes, obviously this is desirable. Does it mean anything

3. See also *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 14, pp. 523-547.

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more? If it means discussing broad policies in regard to development, etc., I agree. What else does it mean?

The Communist Party represents a certain ideology and a certain policy in internal as well as external matters. There are obviously considerable differences between that policy and that of the Congress. There may be many common points in so far as the working of the five-year plan is concerned. Do you expect the Congress to give up its basic policies?

In regard to foreign affairs, we have often received some support from the Communist Party. But, as a matter of fact, the Communist approach is not that of non-alignment which is the approach of the Congress. The Communist approach is definitely of alignment of India with a particular group and of constant condemnation of the other group. In other words, it is essentially a policy of cold war. We do not agree with that at all.

I cannot in this letter discuss domestic policies as that is a broad subject. In many aspects of them we gladly confer with other parties and indeed in the Planning Commission we do confer. But in certain important matters there are basic differences between the Communist policy and the Congress policy.

From the point of view of policies, probably the Congress and the Praja Socialist Party are not far apart even though we may differ in many matters. And yet in the present structure we oppose each other in elections and in Parliament, etc. I should like to cooperate more with them in the actual working of the five-year plan as I would like to cooperate with every other party. Probably the groups which are farther from the Congress in every point of view are the communal groups. You may say that many Congressmen are sometimes favourably inclined to communal groups. I agree. The Congress is a very large organisation. But the fact remains that as an organisation it is wholly and absolutely opposed to communalism.

In election time some curious combinations and affiliations have sometimes taken place which I have not approved and which I tried to discourage. But these have been on the individual basis. You know well that the Communist Party has made strange alliances too.

The basic point which troubles me goes deeper. What does the Communist Party of India stand for? I suppose it is correct to say that it stands for the declaration made in Moscow in November last.⁴ From that I conclude that the

4. Twelve Communist Parties of the world, meeting in Moscow from 14 to 16 November 1957, made a declaration describing the Soviet Union as the "first and mightiest socialist power", denounced imperialism and called the United States the "centre of world reaction". The declaration also called upon the communist parties in non-communist countries to work for socialist revolution by peaceful means.

first loyalty of the Communist Party of India is to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; that there can be no deviation from the self-evident truths in Marxism and Leninism, as interpreted by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; that according to this the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat must be recognised and worked for; that joint or popular fronts with other parties may be brought about in order to win state power through democratic processes with a view then to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat; that Communists must always remember the possibility of non-peaceful methods becoming necessary to achieve their objective.

All this is in many ways diametrically opposed to Congress policy and indeed to the nationalist approach. Nationalism may advance on the economic or social fronts as far as it likes, but it is never prepared to subordinate itself to any foreign dictation. What it does must come naturally as a development of the country itself.

Your party conducts a campaign against our accepting aid from America and wants us to rely solely on economic assistance from the USSR. Apart from other consequences of this, it can only mean our giving up our policy of non-alignment with the power blocs. I can mention many other matters also on which there is basic difference in approach as well as in objectives. Violence seems to me inherent in the Communist policy and, so far as I understand, there is a complete rejection of the importance of means which are subordinated to ends. You may say of course that I am conditioned by my bourgeois mentality and ethical and moral standards. That may be so, but there it is and it is not a question of my being conditioned but vast numbers of people being so conditioned.

You know that I have always had very friendly feelings towards the Soviet Union, even though I have not agreed with many of their policies, and I have had no animus against communism as a goal. But I have not been able to stomach the methods employed and the lack of moral standards. Even so, it is none of my business to criticise other countries which have to face different problems and have to deal with different conditions. But it is my business to deal with my own problems in India and that is where the Communist Party of India comes in when it applies slogans and policies taken from other countries. The fact is that, policies apart, there is a widespread lack of faith in the bona fides of the Communist Party. I am not referring to individuals and their honesty of purpose, but rather to a basic policy which is governed sometimes by considerations which seem to us to be improper.

I am not discussing these broad policies or what may be called the Marxist-Leninist approach. Personally I think that it does not do much credit to Marx or Lenin to drag their names in under entirely different circumstances and hold them up as our pundits hold up the ancient Shastras. The world is very different today and it seems to me completely ridiculous and rather infantile to go on

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talking as if no great change had occurred. Sometimes I see the *New Age*⁵ and I am astonished at the manner in which it deals with problems. It seems to think, and that is to some extent a characteristic of the Communist Party, that by loud and rather vulgar shouting it can take the place of sense.

There are various elements in India pulling in different directions. India is neither Russia as it was at the time of the First World War, nor China at the time of the Second World War. India has a certain basic strength of its own in which I have faith and which will enable it to overcome its difficulties in its own way. But it is going to be hard task because of reactionary forces which can always exploit the tremendous conservatism and inertia of the people. In this context the Communist Party plays a role which, in spite of its assurances, is a disruptive role. I am convinced that it cannot succeed in achieving its objective. It may succeed in doing considerable harm to the unity and progress of India.

You will remember the history of Germany after the First World War. The Communist Party was a very strong party there, the Social Democratic Party was perhaps even stronger, yet it was the Nazis that came in and destroyed both. I do not mean to say that any such development is likely in India because fortunately the Congress, for all its faults, is strong enough to meet such contingencies. But what I am trying to point out is that these disruptive policies will not and cannot lead to any positive gain even from the point of view of those who disrupt.

You ask me a rather extraordinary question: whether Congressmen will abide by the verdict of the electorate if it goes against them. I do not know if you mean this seriously because we have shown that we do abide by the verdict of the electorate. I cannot speak for odd individuals. Ever since your Government came to power,⁶ there are many things that it has done of which reports have reached us, which have disturbed me. But, generally speaking, I have not thought fit to interfere. Once or twice I drew your attention to some matters. The real difficulty, as I have said above, is not differences in policy so much as an utter lack of faith in bona fides and the thought that your party may often function at the dictates of some outside authority. As with other parties, I have no doubt that there are differences of approach from among your members. But the very basis of the Communist Party is a monolithic one or what you call democratic centralism, and the centre rests elsewhere. The talk of "civil war" by you or by Ahmed or by others (and there are many who indulge in this) does not frighten me. What worries me is the mind which uses this language and the thought behind this language. It depicts an entirely different approach to what I would have thought was or should be the common ground in India.

5. A weekly edited by Bhupesh Gupta, MP and published by the CPI from New Delhi.
6. In April 1957.

You say that we should develop a code of conduct for the ruling and opposition parties in the country. I entirely agree. I see that Shriman Narayan has suggested something of this kind in a recent article in the *Economic Review*.

You complain about what you call the irresponsible behaviour of the Opposition in Kerala. I am not out to justify everything that the Opposition might be doing and indeed I do not know very much about it. But surely one cannot complain of an opposition functioning as an opposition provided this is done in a straightforward way. That is the way of parliamentary government. It is true, I think, that opposition should not be directed to coming in the way of constructive or developmental work. Neither the Congress nor the other parties in the country, except the Communist Party, are monolithic or strictly disciplined. Individual members often do things which may not be considered desirable. But you must also remember the provocation and I think there has been a great deal of provocation in Kerala.

This letter has become rather long and I am afraid it is discursive. Anyhow, it will give you some idea of how I think. So far as I am concerned, I do not think I am anti-anybody though I dislike some policies and therefore oppose them. But I am intensely aware of this strange world of ours today which has jumped into the atomic and Sputnik age without any mental preparation for it and which hovers over the brink of terrible catastrophe. I am also intensely conscious of the great problems of India which demand our undivided attention and which demand unity of thinking and effort. I have sought to work to that end and I shall continue to do so because, whatever the disappointments and frustrations, I have a firm belief in India and faith in the Indian people.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(vii) Mysore

1. To S. Nijalingappa¹

New Delhi

May 12, 1958

My dear Nijalingappa,

Thank you for your letter of the 9th May.²

I am sorry for the development that has taken place in Mysore. I had hoped that you would continue as Chief Minister, and I had objected very strongly to the type of campaign which had been started against you. Perhaps, it was partly the fault of people here who did not take stronger steps earlier. As it turned out, however, for some odd reason, which I am unable to understand, a considerable majority of the members of your party wanted a change in the Chief Ministership and voted against you.

Jatti³ came to see me today. He appeared to me to be an agreeable man. How far he can shoulder this burden, I cannot say now.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Describing the background which led to the dismissal of his ministry on 8 May 1958, Nijalingappa wrote that "even without a cause" his ministry was dismissed despite the fact that it was doing fairly well. He referred to the "questionable campaign" carried on for two months by the dissidents including the PCC President and wrote that "nobody has seen the signatures nor the purpose for which the signatures were put." Nijalingappa felt that open and unabashed indiscipline and cliques seemed to have a premium whereas honest work was at a discount. He referred to the way Congress General Secretary Shriman Narayan had ascertained the opinion of the Congress MLAs regarding the leadership and how the dissidents at the last minute had switched over to B.D. Jatti. He was glad that Jatti, a good man, had been chosen, but wanted him to be "freed from the party bosses" and allowed to "have honest men in his Cabinet".
3. Basappa Danappa Jatti (1912-2002); President, Jamakhandi Municipality, 1943-45; Chief Minister, Jamakhandi State in what is today Maharashtra, 1947, nominated to Bombay Legislative Assembly, 1949; Deputy Minister of Health and Labour, Bombay State, 1952; Chairman, Land Reforms Committee of Mysore State, 1957; Chief Minister of Mysore, 1958-62; Finance Minister, Mysore Government, 1962-65, and Minister for Food, 1965-67; Lieutenant-Governor, Pondicherry, 1968; Governor of Orissa, 1972-74; Vice-President of India, 1974-79; Acting President of India, 1977; author of *I Am My Own Model: An Autobiography*.

2. To Ramakrishna Hegde¹

New Delhi
May 15, 1958

Dear Shri Hegde,²

Your letter of the 12th May.

I agree with you that recent developments in regard to the Mysore Ministry have been odd and very disconcerting. Such reports as I have had of the Nijalingappa Ministry's work have been in its favour. I would have liked it to continue, and I am very much opposed to these signature-hunting campaigns.

But if a considerable majority of the Party have, rightly or wrongly, made up their minds, it is neither possible nor desirable to oppose them and force somebody down on them against their wishes.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Ramakrishna Hegde (1926-2004); participated in the Quit India Movement, 1942; Member, Mysore and later Karnataka Legislative Assembly, 1957-71; Deputy Minister and Minister in the Government of Mysore and later Karnataka, 1957-58, 1962-71; Member, Karnataka Legislative Council, 1972-78; Member of Rajya Sabha, 1978-83; Chief Minister of Karnataka, 1983-88; played an important role in the formation of Janata Dal, 1988; Deputy Chairman of Planning Commission, 1989-90; Union Commerce Minister, 1999-2004.

3. To C.M. Poonacha¹

Forest Rest House
Manali
26th May, 1958

My dear Poonacha,²

I have just received your letter of the 23rd May here at Manali in the Himalayas.³
I have read the copy of your letter to Jatti dated 22nd May.⁴

1. JN Collection.
2. Minister of Home and Industry in the Nijalingappa Cabinet.
3. Poonacha had sought Nehru's permission to resign from the State Assembly.
4. Poonacha had narrated the sequence of events from Jatti inviting him to join his Cabinet to eventually not including him in the Cabinet and thus making him "suffer courtesy" for the first time in his "thirty years of public life."

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I have been rather out of touch with these developments in Mysore and with Ministry making.⁵ Indeed, I could not be of much help as I do not personally know many of the people there. Also, as a general rule, I think that a Chief Minister should have a certain freedom in this matter of choosing his colleagues and should not have the impression that anyone has been thrust upon him against his wishes.

Of the various people in the last Ministry, I knew Nijalingappa and you best and I had hoped that both of you would be agreeable to serving in the new Ministry and would be taken in. I am sorry that this did not happen. I was told that Nijalingappa expressed his inability to join the new Ministry but promised all his help and cooperation.

The various recent developments in Mysore leading to the fall of Nijalingappa's Ministry distressed me. I was not thinking all this from the point of view of persons, but rather the way inner conflicts developed in the Congress Party and a deliberate attempt was made against a Ministry which had only functioned for about a year. As it turned out later, no serious charge was brought or pressed against Nijalingappa. And yet the fact remained that for some reasons, which I could not comprehend, a considerable majority of members of the party did not wish Nijalingappa and his Ministry to continue. This was a matter for regret to me but there appeared to be no other course open than to ask the party to select a leader afresh. This was the decision of the Congress President and I do not think any other decision could have been taken after all that had happened.

The detailed account you have given in your letter to Jatti, copy of which you have sent me, is somewhat surprising. I cannot follow all the talks, etc., that took place at the last moment. I know that Ministry making, whether at the Centre or in the States, is always a very difficult business. Probably this is even more confusing in the States. All kinds of considerations have to be borne in mind and all kinds of pressures resisted. I imagine that Jatti had no easy time of it. I am sure that what he did, whether it was right or wrong in any particular case, could not have been due to the slightest desire to be discourteous to you or to anyone else. He is not a man of that type and I remember his speaking to me in praise of you. I cannot, therefore, say what happened in this arduous business of the last moment.

I can well appreciate how you felt that you were put in a false position. Sometimes decisions taken at the last moment are difficult and confusing. You have all my sympathy. But I am sure that it would not be the right thing for you to resign your membership of the Assembly, however strongly you might feel about it. We have to put up often enough with what we consider some kind of injustice to us. But that should not lead us to act in a way which is not correct

5. The new Ministry headed by B.D. Jatti was formed on 16 May 1958.

either from the personal point of view or the public. If you resign, ill-intentioned people will naturally say that you have done so because you have not been made a Minister. You cannot go about explaining all the circumstances and thus you will be put in an embarrassing position. From the point of view of the Congress organisation and, indeed, from the larger point of view of public life, it is not a good thing to resign or even express public resentment in a matter of this kind, whatever one's own feelings might be. We have to take a larger view and thereby show to the public that we can rise above petty disappointments or injustices.

I have no doubt that you will have to play an important part in public life in the future. It would obviously not be right or wise to do something now which, to some extent, might come in the way of that part. We are living in difficult and, at the same time, exciting times and we have to take many things in our stride. So, I hope that you will give up the idea of resigning from the Assembly and, indeed, show by your future conduct and work how you can take advantage of your present position to work even better and more vigorously for the larger causes we support.

I presume you must have written to the Congress President also and I am sure that his advice must have been the same as I have given you.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(viii) The North East

1. Suggestions Regarding the Naga Hills and NEFA¹

Shrimati Indira Gandhi visited some parts of the Naga Hills as well as NEFA.² In a note to me, she has made some suggestions which I give below:

1. Note, New Delhi, 6 April 1958. JN Collection.
2. On 18 and 19 March 1958.

Naga Hills

(1) She felt that it is very necessary to open out avenues for social welfare work, especially on the health side. Nagas, especially women, should be associated with this. She was much struck by the competence and strength of character of the Naga women. She suggests that two or three hand-picked social welfare workers from the Ramakrishna Mission or some such organisation might be sent there, but they should do purely medical work and avoid giving any religious tinge to it as this might make them suspect. Later they can expand their activities.

(2) She found a great desire among the Nagas to wear European clothes, even among women. We have been laying stress on maintaining the tribal dress. While this is right to some extent, this should not give the impression that we are purposely keeping them backward. Perhaps some middle way could be found to maintain their weaving and designs and yet making their dress more suited to modern life.

(3) The Nagas are a sturdy people, proud of their physical prowess. Could they not be encouraged in sports, athletics and trained even for the Olympic Games in some ways?

(4) She suggests that a group of 50 to 100 Nagas should be taken for a *Bharat Darshan* tour, the group to be a mixed one ranging from village elders to school children.

(5) There are many different types of orchids and other rare plants in the region. These are entirely wasted at present and indeed the orchids, she was told, are fed to pigs. Could not horticulture be developed there and some Nagas be given training in it? This will not only offer some employment, but create a new interest among the people. The orchids and the rare plants could be exported.

(6) While in Kohima, she formed the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area Social Welfare Advisory Board.³ This will have a welfare extension project in each district and will open multi-purpose centres for women and children. It will include a health and maternity section, craft section for women and a *balwadi* for children.

(7) A need was expressed for girls to be trained in tailoring and given guidance in textile designing. Also for girls to be trained as *gramsevikas* to work in the welfare extension projects. Training in carpentry and other crafts would also be welcomed.

(8) In Khonoma, one section or 'khel' has been loyal to Government since the very beginning. Government encouraged them to resist the hostiles and

3. Indira Gandhi was Vice-Chairman, Central Social Welfare Board, 1952-57.

promised to make good the losses incurred because of the displeasure of the hostiles. Consequently, a village was burnt down by the hostiles. The villagers are now rebuilding their houses, but expect Government to provide C.I. sheets. The Commissioner⁴ felt that this would be too expensive an undertaking and that if one village was thus provided, there would be a demand from others. He proposed, therefore, to ignore this demand and to concentrate on the giving of scholarships and other such help to the villagers. It is to be considered whether it will be desirable for Government to go back on a promise given.

(9) Communications are of the utmost importance and therefore everything should be done to go ahead with the roads and the present cut in the funds allotted for this purpose should be restored.

(10) People who are pro-hostiles should be given jobs far from that region.

(11) Dr G.K. Das is at present running a 200-bed hospital at Kohima. He is a competent and understanding doctor and has won the respect of the *Angamis*.⁵ He has been offered a much better post in Gauhati and will shortly be leaving. Mr Luthra did his best to persuade Dr Das to stay on. He feels that it is very important that a person of good standing, sympathetic to the Nagas, should come to this area. He should be competent not only to run this hospital, but also to coordinate the medical work of the three districts. Mr Luthra said that it would not be possible to get such a person for less than Rs 1,500 a month.

(12) Competent headmasters for schools are badly needed. The Commissioner felt that the headmaster's part was a key one, as his views wield considerable influence on the teachers' and children's mind. Could we not train Nagas for this purpose?

(13) The Nagas are in many ways quite different to any other tribe in India and need a different outlook. They themselves feel strongly about this matter.

(14) The Central Social Welfare Board has rather rigid rules regarding training, matching contribution to Board grants and so on. Obviously, it is not possible to apply these rules to the Naga Hills. The Education Ministry might, therefore, be requested to give a directive to the CSWB to treat the Naga Hills and Tuensang Area as a special case and to relax these rules.

(15) Good work is being done in the Naga Hills but for it to be effective there should be a greater appreciation of the difficulties faced by our officers and greater coordination in the different Ministries concerned. In many spheres, such as social welfare, employment, training, etc., this area has to be treated on a special basis. The present staff appears to be inadequate (Shrimati Indira Gandhi discussed this point with Commissioner Luthra).

4. P.N. Luthra, Commissioner, Naga Hills and Tuensang Area.

5. The *Angamis* are one of the fourteen major Naga tribes.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

NEFA

(1) Shrimati Indira Gandhi visited three places in NEFA—Ziro in the Subansiri Division and Along and Passighat in the Siang Division. This was her second visit to Ziro and she says that it was an exciting experience. The place has been transformed beyond recognition, not only in the development works, but even the people themselves. She remembered them as dirty and gloomy, but now she found them gay and friendly, much cleaner and more alert. She was impressed by the spirit among our officials. She suggests that the wives of officials could perhaps do a little more by friendly visits to the tribal women.

(2) The Ziro officials complained of their mail going astray. It seems that the postal authorities are unaware of the existence of this outpost although it now has a telegraph office.

(3) In Along, the self-help programme has been a great success. The *Adis* are brighter than the *Daflas* or the *Apa Tanis* of the Subansiri Division⁶ and have been quicker to understand Government schemes and to participate in them. There has been a great deal of construction work by the villagers themselves. They have built roads, schools, *hawaghars*, community halls, *ponung* or dance grounds which are also used for sports and other events.

(4) She was impressed by the Political Officer of Along, Shri R.N. Haldipur,⁷ and his wife⁸ who are doing very good work. Mrs Haldipur seems to be a most resourceful person and has managed to organise the other officers' wives as well as some local women to run a children's park and a women's club.

(5) Passighat has also grown considerably since she was there last. The plains' influence has not been very happy and the place and the people had a somewhat hybrid appearance.

6. The *Adis*, also called *Abors*, the *Daflas* and the *Apa Tanis* are among the dozens of tribes and sub-tribes of Arunachal Pradesh, having a specific geographic distribution.
7. Ramdas Narayan Haldipur (1920-2003); held various assignments in the North East; head, National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad, 1963-April 1968 and November 1968-69; Joint Secretary, Department of Personnel and Administrative Reforms; Chairman, Task Force on Development of Tribal Areas, 1972; Director, Indian Institute of Public Administration, 1975-79; Director, Institute of Rural Management, Anand; Lt. Governor, Arunachal Pradesh, 1979-81; Governor, Pondicherry, 1981-82; Vice-Chairman, International Association of Schools and Institute of Administration; Honorary Fellow, University of Birmingham; author of *Public Administration: Reflections and Explorations*.
8. Krishna Haldipur.

Lushai Hills

She spent a day at Aijal in the Lushai Hills. The Lushais are almost a 100 per cent Christians. They are well-educated and westernised. They are very much like the Burmese in language, customs and general fun-loving nature. They seem to be crossing the border into Burma in large numbers to join the Burmese army. Is it not possible to attract them to serve in our Army or other Indian services?

2. R.N. Rahul's Presence in NEFA¹

In the course of a talk today with the Governor of Assam,² he mentioned to me that Shri Rahul Sankrityayan³ had been in NEFA for some time. His presence there and his activities were not wholly approved of. The Governor, and apparently others in NEFA, was under the impression that I was particularly interested in Shri Rahul being sent to NEFA.

2. I have no recollection of this matter being put up before me. Possibly, it may have been mentioned to me and I might have agreed to his going there for a short time. There is no doubt that Shri Rahul is a good scholar in Sanskrit, Tibetan and other languages. But his activities are not always of a desirable kind, and I do not particularly like the idea of his remaining in NEFA indefinitely.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 6 April 1958. JN Collection.
2. Saiyid Fazl Ali.
3. Rahul Sankrityayan (1893-1963); a renowned scholar of Hindi, Sanskrit, Pali, philosophy and Buddhist studies; at the forefront of the National Movement, was arrested and sentenced several times; one of the founders of Bihar Communist Party and Kisan Sabha; presided over the oriental language section of the All India Oriental Congress, Baroda Session, 1933, Bihar Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, 1939, All India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, 1947 and Progressive Writers' Association; joined Leningrad University, 1944; returned to India in 1946; taught at the Ceylon University, 1959; a prolific writer, had written more than 150 books on various subjects in different languages; translated a number of books from Chinese, Tibetan and Russian into Hindi and Sanskrit; wrote extensively on Buddhism; came to be titled with Tripitakacharya Mahapandit Rahul Sankrityayan; visited Tibet thrice (1929, 1934 and 1936) to collect manuscripts on Buddhism; edited *Hindi Sahitya ka Brihat Itihas, Arya-manjusrimulakalpa*; associated with the publication of *Hindi Viswakosa*; had written *Madhya Asia ka Itihas, Volga se Ganga, Rigvedic Arya, Puratathvabandhavali*, etc.; compiled *Russian-Sanskrit Dictionary*; brought a renaissance in Hindi; gave a new interpretation to Buddhism and other systems of Indian philosophy and history.

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I told the Governor so and disabused his mind of the impression that I wanted Shri Rahul to remain there.

3. I should like to know in what circumstances Shri Rahul went to NEFA.

3. To Saiyid Fazl Ali¹

New Delhi
9th April, 1958

My dear Fazl Ali,

You will remember talking to me about Rahul the other day. I thought at the time that the Rahul in the NEFA was the same as Rahul Sankrityayan whom I had known in the past. It now appears that this is not so and that there are two Rahuls; the one in the NEFA is a different Rahul and not Sankrityayan.

This, of course, does not make any difference to what I said to you in this connection. You will take such steps as you think necessary. But I have been intrigued about this matter.²

I am glad the question of the village defence guards in Naga Hills and the Tuensang Area is being settled in accordance with your wishes.

I hope you are doing well.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Nehru also sent a note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, on the same day saying that during a talk with Bhagwan Sahay, Indian Ambassador in Kathmandu, he discovered that the Rahul in the NEFA was not Rahul Sankrityayan but someone who had done a little mountaineering in the past and had come in contact with some foreign persons and groups in that connection. Nehru further wrote that his instructions for not being "unnecessarily soft towards Rahul in the NEFA applies with greater strength now."

4. To Saiyid Fazl Ali¹

New Delhi
April 11, 1958

My dear Fazl Ali,

I have now enquired about the case of R.N. Rahul. He is not, of course, Rahul Sankrityayan.

1. JN Collection.

Justice Douglas² of the Supreme Court of the USA wrote to me about R.N. Rahul recommending him for our Foreign Service. Rahul had accompanied Justice Douglas on his expedition to the Himalayas in 1951. We could not consider him for the Foreign Service, but, in view of his specialised knowledge in Tibetan affairs, Buddhist theology, etc., he was awarded a research fellowship in the NEFA. I understand that this took effect from 1st August, 1957. His main work was to prepare a monograph on the social, economic and cultural life of the non-Abor frontier population of the Siang Division.

Your Adviser had drawn our attention previously to what was considered improper behaviour on the part of R.N. Rahul. Subsequent reports also indicate that he has not been adhering to his charter of duties, does not submit regular reports, is anxious to visit Tibet, Kalimpong, Ladakh, etc., his behaviour with other officers over-bearing and objectionable, his behaviour with tribals also created some resentment amongst them, and there are also some reports about his moral behaviour. Your Adviser had suggested that it was not desirable to let Rahul continue as a research fellow in the NEFA.

As I have already written to you, you can deal with this matter as you think proper. It is obvious that we should not encourage this man at all. In fact, we should terminate his contract.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. William O. Douglas was the Judge of the Supreme Court of the USA.

5. Telegram to B.P. Chaliha¹

Your telegram C 5213 April 12th.² I am much concerned at these developments on the Assam-East Pakistan border. We have again expressed ourselves strongly to the Pakistan High Commissioner³ here and also in Karachi. I agree with you we cannot afford to permit offensive activities of Pakistan to continue. At the same time one tries to avoid any aggravation of a difficult situation.

1. New Delhi, 13 April 1958. JN Collection.
2. B.P. Chaliha, Chief Minister of Assam, had informed Nehru that in spite of the third ceasefire agreement coming into effect from 9 April 1958, Pakistan was continuing its offensive activities, like mass-scale fishing in Surma river, within the Indian territory. He added that protests had been lodged at district and state levels in Pakistan and that he feared that such activities of Pakistan would demoralise the Indian people and the armed forces.
3. Mian Ziauddin.

6. Rehabilitation of the Nagas¹

Hem Barua:² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state the steps so far taken to rehabilitate the Nagas dispossessed of their habitation due to the activities of the hostiles as also the steps taken for de-grouping of the villages?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The Administration has taken the following steps to rehabilitate the Nagas and to restore normalcy in the area:

- (i) speeding up development work such as construction of roads, bridges, and houses,
- (ii) giving contracts for construction of works to groups of villagers directly,
- (iii) opening of schools and hospitals and introduction of mobile dispensaries,
- (iv) providing facilities for training in handicrafts and technical subjects, etc.,
- (v) speeding up reconstruction of villages, and providing help to villagers for cultivation,
- (vi) grant of stipends to students whose studies had been disrupted during disturbances,
- (vii) grant of loans for building houses and starting business, and
- (viii) providing jobs in connection with development work.

2. As the grouping of villages had been done in the special circumstances, the de-grouping also can be done only when these circumstances have been removed, i.e., normal peaceful conditions have been restored. In some areas villages already grouped had been given permission to go out of the group centres for harvesting their crops on the condition that they would return to their centres thereafter. Some villagers, who have availed of this permission, have returned to their former villages on their own after harvesting the crops. This is being permitted subject to the condition that the villagers bring back their friends and relatives from the jungle with arms for proper rehabilitation.

1. Reply to a question in the Lok Sabha, 29 April 1958, *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XVI, cols. 12142-12144.
2. PSP Member of the Lok Sabha from Gauhati, Assam.

7. Recruiting Lushais in the Assam Rifles¹

As you perhaps know, quite a number of Lushais drift across the Burma border and are recruited for the Burmese armed forces. It has often been suggested why we should not be able to make use of them or to enrol them in our armed forces,² including the Assam Rifles. It has sometimes been said that we cannot get the right kind of persons for the Assam Rifles. Lushais, I am told, make very good soldiers. I should like this matter to be looked into.

1. Note to V.K. Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister, New Delhi, 8 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. This was one of the suggestions made by Indira Gandhi. See also *ante*, pp. 405-409.

8. Telegram to Saiyid Fazl Ali¹

Chief Minister sent telegram to Home Minister yesterday which you may have seen. In this telegram, reference is made to Intelligence reports indicating that Naga hostiles have established contact with Pakistan operating along route through Manipur State and North Cachar Hills. Also that apart from obtaining arms and other aid, it is planned to send batches of Nagas for military training in Pakistan. This constitutes grave risk of subverting *Zemi Nagas*² in North Cachar. Chief Minister therefore considers imperative speedy and effective action against Naga hostiles by army. Army to be given full powers by promulgating Central ordinance operative in areas of Manipur State, etc. In view of approach of monsoon, he suggests that Army authorities be charged with responsibility, empowered and placed in position to have freehand for effective action in different areas according to exigencies of situation.³

Both you and Chief Minister have discussed this question here recently with Defence Minister and Army Chief of Staff.⁴ I should like your appraisal of situation and advice. While we should of course be vigilant and prepared to

1. New Delhi, 13 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. The *Zemi Nagas* are the original inhabitants of Naga Hills. This small community is scattered over North Cachar Hills of Assam, Nagaland and Manipur.
3. Chaliha had also suggested, in his telegram of 12 May 1958, that operations against the Naga hostiles be placed under a unified command and control regardless of the territory where they might be operating.
4. General K.S. Thimayya.

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meet any contingency, we have also to be careful not to overshoot the mark and take action which may not be wholly necessary and which might entangle us in new developments. Luthra must be keeping you informed. Perhaps you might discuss this matter with your Chief Minister.

9. Telegram to B. P. Chaliha¹

Your two telegrams C 4258 of May 17th² and 18th.³ I have spoken to our Army Chief of Staff and he is making arrangements to send immediately senior officer to Dawki and neighbourhood, who will be followed by others with suitable instructions to take such action as may be necessary and feasible.

2. Pakistani behaviour is very irritating and objectionable. We need not, however, attach too much importance to it. We shall be able to deal with it adequately. There should be no attempt on our side to overrun Pakistan positions across the river.

1. New Delhi, 19 May 1958. JN Collection.

2. Chaliha apprised Nehru of incidents of Pakistani firing into Indian territory in Madanpura a Tea Garden, across Piyain river on the Shillong-Sylhet road near Dawki bridge and of provocative action by Pakistanis in the Surma river sector. Governor Fazl Ali also cabled Nehru on 19 May that there was no boundary dispute regarding Dawki, a small township 52 miles from Shillong, and the firing appeared to be by trained people like East Pakistan Rifles or probably army from bunkers using light machine guns. He stated that the neighbouring villages were practically evacuated as a result of firing.

3. Chaliha informed Nehru that the Pakistani forces resumed firing from 7.30 a.m. at Dawki bridge making it difficult to send help to the police and civilians there. He referred to firing in Cachar on the previous day directed against the Mahisasan railway station. He wrote that in Cachar district anti-Muslim feeling was being generated as Muslim villages were not fired at by the Pakistani troops. He also wrote that some Muslims were suspected to have helped Naga hostiles to cross and recross the border. He felt that the situation demanded swift and effective action and that Pakistani intransigence was due to India's reluctance to back up her diplomatic protests with sanctions. Chaliha suggested that military advisers might be asked to give their opinion as to what risks could be taken.

10. Telegram to B. P. Chaliha¹

Your telegram C 22458 of June 1st.² Our Commonwealth Secretary³ saw Pakistan High Commissioner today and told him that repeated firing and aggressive action on the border on the part of Pakistan was becoming intolerable for us and we would inevitably have to take such steps as we deemed necessary. It seemed to us absurd that over minor border matters two great countries should come into petty conflict in this way which only hurt or scared innocent people and solved no dispute. It was obvious that this kind of approach could not coerce any government. We were prepared to deal with this matter at any level, including Ministerial level. The whole affair though dangerous to people was childish and we could not understand the attitude of the Pakistan authorities across the border. The High Commissioner said he would immediately communicate to his Government the concern felt by the Government of India and suggest that this local tension must stop and also ask them at what level they would like a meeting to settle this business finally.

2. We discussed this matter also with General Thimayya.⁴ He is sending instructions to his local Commander to get in touch with your Chief Secretary and the Assam Police authorities and advise them about tactics to be employed by the police to meet Pakistan's aggressive tactics. If necessary, a battalion from the Indian Army in Shillong would go to the assistance of the Assam Police in certain contingencies. Our information is that the Pakistan Army have only one battalion of regular troops in Sylhet district and not three as stated in your telegram.

3. Home Minister has just returned to Delhi and I shall discuss this matter with him tomorrow.

1. New Delhi, 2 June 1958. JN Collection.
2. Chaliha referred to Assam Government's telegraphic correspondence with East Pakistan Government on the border incidents and wrote that Pakistan's immediate objectives seemed to be to utilise the ceasefire period (i) to consolidate gains on the Surma river by way of fishing, cultivation of *chars*, etc., in excess of the concessions agreed upon in the 1954 agreement; (ii) to bring about a new status quo on the Piyain river by denying Indian nationals any use of the river in contravention to the agreements of 1951 and 1952; and (iii) to extend their encroachment in the Patharia sector. He also informed Nehru that labourers in Madanpura tea estate were afraid to work as Pakistan threatened to extend possession and their armed police were in bunkers across the boundary. Chaliha suggested the matter might be taken up immediately at the diplomatic level for arriving at a proper ceasefire agreement on the basis of a clearly defined status quo. "Simultaneously, we must be fully prepared to meet any aggression," he added.
3. M.J. Desai.
4. K.S. Thimayya, Chief of the Army Staff.

11. Telegram to B.P. Chaliha¹

Your telegram C 22458 June 4² and previous telegram of June 3.³ I have spoken to Defence Minister and Home Minister. Defence Ministry is keeping in touch with all aspects of situation and issuing instructions to deal with situation including that of Naga hostiles.⁴ We must leave action to be taken to their discretion. You will no doubt keep in touch with local Commander.

In regard to Piyain river situation I see that your Government sent telegram yesterday to East Pakistan Government on this subject. We agree with this communication.

We should insist on status quo in the Piyain river on basis of 1951-52 agreement between Deputy Commissioners being maintained and we should similarly maintain status quo on the Surma on the basis of 1954 agreement. We should not at this stage retaliate on the Surma by denying facilities agreed to under status quo arrangement of 1954 but inform East Pakistan that any alteration in status quo of 1951-52 in the Piyain and of the status quo under agreement of 1954 in the Surma would be considered by us as fresh aggression and breach of ceasefire.

1. New Delhi, 5 June 1958. JN Collection.
2. Chaliha stated that the local Commander had been apprised of the situation by the Inspector-General of Police and the Chief Secretary. He emphasised that it was imperative that "we are fully prepared against any further aggression." He felt the necessity of stationing a contingent of regular troops in Cachar district to boost public morale. He also informed Nehru about the concentration of more than two battalions of Pakistani troops on the Sylhet border and asked for the shifting of Bihar military police from the Naga Hills to the Pakistani border immediately.
3. Chaliha wrote that the promulgation of the Armed Forces Special Powers Ordinance was published in *Gazette of India Extraordinary* on 22 May 1958 and that consequential notifications were being issued. He reiterated that "effective action against Naga hostile gangsters infiltrating into Pakistan can only be taken by the unified Army command." He requested Nehru to issue necessary directions in this regard.
4. A press note issued by the Assam Government in Shillong on 7 May 1958 said that the Government of Assam was in possession of definite evidence of liaison between the hostile Nagas (who had descended from their areas to raid North Cachar) and anti-Indian elements in East Pakistan. It was stated that the Nagas had not only entered East Pakistan but had also returned after establishing contacts with anti-Indian forces there.

12. To Saiyid Fazl Ali¹

New Delhi
June 6, 1958

My dear Fazl Ali,

Chaliha, your Chief Minister, has been sending rather frantic telegrams to us suggesting all kinds of military dispositions and other action in terms of extreme urgency. We take immediate steps and ask our GOC to go to Shillong and contact the Chief Minister or Chief Secretary² immediately. He goes there post haste, arrives at 8 p.m. and seeks an interview. He is told that the matter is not so dreadfully urgent and they would discuss it with him the next day at 10 a.m.

This indicates varying ideas of urgency. Also a gap between the strong and nervous language of the telegrams sent to us and the supposed needs of the situation. I am merely mentioning this to you because it creates a slightly bad effect on our Army people. If we tell them to move immediately they have to do so, night or day, and then if they are held up, they begin to think that the urgent demands on them were not seriously meant. However, this is all by the way.

We quite agree that no risks should be taken and we should take all necessary and feasible steps to prevent any untoward occurrence happening. We are taking those steps. But I do think that it does not help to send frantic messages frequently because a little firing takes place across a river or somewhere. We have had this kind of thing both on the western border and the eastern border. It is a great nuisance. But we should not get cold feet because of it and make large military dispositions. By doing this we play into the hands of the Pakistanis and the Nagas.

There has been a much more serious incident on the western border a few days ago at Fazilka,³ but there is much less talk of it than about the relatively minor incidents on the Assam border.

I attach more importance to the Naga group moving about and our Army have been told to deal with it. How to do so will have to be left to their discretion. We cannot order about military dispositions as the Chief Minister has suggested. This is the business of the Army as they have to think of the future and not only of a particular incident.

1. JN Collection.

2. S.K. Dutta.

3. Seven policemen of the Indian Border Police were killed in the crossfire between Pakistan and Indian police at Fazilka in Ferozepur district on 4 June 1958. Tension in the region had increased due to Pakistan's claim over the Amruka Irrigation Channel in the Indian territory.

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I am thinking of going to Manali in the Kulu Valley again on the 11th of this month for perhaps another ten days.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

13. To B.P. Chaliha¹

New Delhi
June 6, 1958

My dear Chaliha,

I have been receiving your frequent telegrams about the border situation and the Nagas. As I have told you, we are taking adequate steps to meet these hostile activities. You mention all kinds of military dispositions which you think should be made.² It is not a matter for us to decide but for the military. They have to think not only of an immediate incident, but of the consequences and the future. If we get too excited over one particular incident we play into the hands of the Pakistanis completely and upset all our planning.

I am a little more concerned about the Naga groups moving about, and our instructions are for the Army to deal with them firmly. I have no doubt they will do so.

We recently had a much more serious incident at Fazilka on our western border with Pakistan, but we have dealt with it calmly and firmly.

We should not allow ourselves to be driven to take any steps to alter the status quo of the agreements of 1951-52 and 1954 in regard to the Piyain river and the Surma.

1. JN Collection.

2. In a cable to Nehru on 1 June 1958, B.P. Chaliha referred to a message sent by Governor Fazl Ali to G.B. Pant to persuade the Government of Bihar to release two companies of Bihar Military Police from NHTA to be stationed in Assam. Chaliha further requested Nehru and G.B. Pant "to persuade the Government of Bihar to allow the whole battalion to be retained in Assam for the present emergency." In another telegram on 4 June, Chaliha further suggested the necessity of stationing a contingent of regular troops in Cachar district.

Because your telegrams denoted great urgency, we asked our GOC to proceed immediately to Shillong to meet you or your Chief Secretary. He did so, reaching Shillong at 8 p.m. I am informed by our Army authorities that when he sought to contact you and the Chief Secretary he was told that the matter could wait till the next day at 10 a.m. when you could meet them. That indicated that the urgency was not so great as had been stated.

I shall be in Delhi up to the 11th when I am going again to Manali for about ten days.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. Telegram to Saiyid Fazl Ali¹

I am grieved to hear of the serious accident to Assistant Engineer Munshi and his party caused by the landslide on the bank of Airi stream and resulting in the loss of so many valuable lives.² This is a price which has been paid by the victims of the accident in the service of the country in remote areas and I appreciate their courage and their devotion to duty. Please convey my sympathies to the relatives of the deceased.

1. New Delhi, 6 June 1958. File No. F.52 (1)-NEFA/58, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Fifty-three persons had died in the accident.

15. To Lakshmi N. Menon¹

New Delhi

June 6, 1958

My dear Lakshmi,²

I read your brief report about the Assam tribal areas, more especially NEFA.³ I have sent it on to the Foreign Secretary.

There was one matter in it about which I should like to say something. You referred to an interview you had with the editor of the *Assam Tribune*⁴ and other people there, and their complaint was that our policy, which was partly represented by Dr Verrier Elwin,⁵ appeared to be to keep these people backward and as museum specimens.

Our policy in regard to NEFA has been discussed on many occasions by me in Shillong, NEFA and here, and I have written many long notes on it. Verrier Elwin has also written a pamphlet, to which I have contributed a foreword.⁶ It is, of course, wrong to think that this policy is one of keeping these people as museum specimens. But it is true that the opinion of the Assam Government is not in line with ours in regard to these matters. The Assam Government has not functioned brilliantly in the past in regard to the tribals. Part of the Naga Hills trouble was due to the failure of the Assam Government to deal with them properly.

But the NEFA people stand on a somewhat separate footing. I have repeatedly stressed that we have to be rather cautious in our dealings with them and not try to "improve them" after our own fashion too fast. Some of the types of

1. JN Collection.

2. Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs.

3. Lakshmi Menon, who visited Assam from 30 May to 3 June, reported that border disturbances were an effort to demoralise the Indian people. She cited the digging of new trenches, fresh deployment of armed personnel and gun emplacements by Pakistan as evidence. Pointing at the futility of existing Deputy Commissioner-level conferences between India and Pakistan, Menon advocated promotion of economic measures to boost the economy of the region so that dependence on the Pakistan market could be reduced. She warned that lack of adequate protection and firing incidences were leading to a growing feeling of helplessness and alienation among the local population. For an impartial assessment and resolution of the conflict in the long run, she suggested that negotiation should be carried on by non-local persons. Menon also suggested raising local defence forces through the Lok Sahayak Sena as it was not possible to station forces all over the frontier for its protection.

4. Lakshminath Phukan, editor, *Assam Tribune*, 1939-64.

5. Eminent anthropologist who worked in the North-East region.

6. For Nehru's foreword to Verrier Elwin's book, *A Philosophy for NEFA*, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 36, pp. 251-252.

improvement seemed to me no improvement at all. There is a grave danger of our uprooting of these people without giving them anything in place of the way of life they had been accustomed to for generations. The idea that by putting them in shorts, we have civilised them, seems to me mistaken.

We cannot adopt any rigid policy, and we have to be wide awake all the time and vary our policies. But, in any event, there should be the least element of imposition, and people should grow into a newer life. The most important thing is communications and education and health. But, education itself cannot be a replica of what we have here. It has to be adapted to them, just as our community development schemes must be adapted to them.

I have seen your report of your visit to Assam also and read what you have written about the border incidents.⁷ These are, of course, deplorable. But it is not entirely in our hands to stop them. We cannot, for instance, take any large-scale action across the border. We have taken action, and we will take further action where necessary. All this is one of the unfortunate consequences of the way partition was effected.

The question of communications and development of the Khasi areas is, of course, important. It is obvious that our economy cannot be made to depend on the Pakistan market.

While these incidents are important and have to be dealt with properly, it seems to me that the Assam Government gets cold feet whenever a gun is fired, and wants large-scale movements of troops immediately. If we fell in with their suggestions, we would be playing into the hands of Pakistan. In order to avoid a small danger, we might well have to face a graver danger.

I am inclined to agree with you that petty local officials cannot be expected to settle anything. Also, that it would be desirable to appoint people on the border who are not affected by local controversies and local interests.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Drawing Nehru's attention to recent border disturbances on the Assam-East Pakistan frontier, Lakshmi Menon wrote that there was a definite plan of action, the purpose of which seemed to be to demoralise the people. Menon further mentioned that "this is evident because firing is not confined to disputed areas but spread over areas where there is concentration of people". "We have great disadvantage," Menon added, "in this area as there are Khasi villages on both sides of the border and in fact some Khasis on the Pakistan side were killed by our bullets."

16. The Assam-Pakistan Border Situation¹

The Prime Minister informed the Cabinet that a number of telegrams had been received from the Governor and the Chief Minister of Assam regarding the situation created by Pakistan firing from the other side of the border. With a view to taking immediate steps, the Minister of Defence, along with the Chief of the Army Staff, the Chief of Air Staff² and the Commonwealth Secretary,³ proceeded to Shillong yesterday morning and held discussions with the Governor and the Chief Minister of Assam and the local officers. As a result of these discussions, it was decided that the Army should take over the whole of the international border between East Pakistan and Assam and Manipur and that the police and other forces of law and order in the State should be placed under the overall charge of the Army Command. The Cabinet agreed.

1. Minutes of the Cabinet meeting held on 10 June 1958. JN Collection.
2. Subroto Mukherjee.
3. M.J. Desai.

17. To B.P. Chaliha¹

New Delhi
June 10, 1958

My dear Chaliha,

Krishna Menon, General Thimayya and our Commonwealth Secretary came to me and reported about their talks at Shillong. I am glad that these talks were satisfactory and that you have agreed to our Army authorities having general supervision over the frontier areas. This matter was mentioned in our Cabinet today and we have agreed to it also.

I hope that now there will be full coordination of all activities in these areas.

I hope you will not mind my telling you what General Thimayya said about your Inspector-General of Police.² I have previously of course spoken about him, I think, to your predecessor, Medhi,³ and pointed out that he was totally

1. JN Collection.
2. D.C. Dutta.
3. Chaliha had succeeded B.R. Medhi as the Chief Minister of Assam on 28 December 1957 and Medhi was sworn in as Governor of Madras on 24 January 1958.

unsuited for his charge. General Thimayya's account of him left me aghast. I have no personal grouse against him, but a question like this cannot be considered on the personal level or the service level. You have been having a difficult time in your border areas. To deal with such a situation properly and adequately, you want an able and energetic man. You have a person who is the opposite of this, who has neither ability, nor energy and who apparently is hardly interested in what happens. Here is a pitiable figure dealing with serious situations. It is a grave risk to have such a man to look after the police even in ordinary times, much more so when the police have to face serious situations. The whole morale of the police will go down and it will take a long time to build it up again. I do think that you should have a new Inspector-General as soon as possible and not wait for this gentleman to retire in the fullness of time. If you have any difficulty about this, give him full pension, give him anything you like, but let someone else be in charge of the Assam Police.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

18. To Saiyid Fazl Ali¹

New Delhi
June 23, 1958

My dear Fazl Ali,

Thank you for your letter of June 20th which I received today on my return from Manali.

Although I was having a quiet and restful time in Manali, I was keeping in touch with events and a bunch of papers came to me daily from Delhi, apart from telegrams and telephone messages. I am glad that on the whole the Naga situation has shown signs of improvement.

As for the trouble on the Pakistan border, I suppose that we shall have to face this kind of thing for some more time to come. We have to keep vigilant about it. I see that some correspondence has been seized which indicates some

1. JN Collection.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

connection between the Nagas and Pakistan officials.² This of course is an important matter and we have asked for copies of this correspondence.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. The Special Branch of Assam CID, in collaboration with Shillong Police, conducted a search of the residence of one Dolly Namo in Shillong on June 21 and recovered a box full of documents from his possession which, it was claimed, could prove the connection between the Naga rebels and some important personalities in Pakistan. Some of the documents were said to be letters from important Naga rebel leaders addressed to very high dignitaries of the Pakistan Government and seemed to indicate an offer of help from Pakistan and a joint plan of action against India.

19. To B.P. Chaliha¹

New Delhi
28th June, 1958

My dear Chaliha,

About a year ago, probably in May 1957, I wrote to the then Chief Minister of Assam about a question which had been raised by the Auditor General of India to whom it had been referred by the Accountant General of Assam.² This related to the purchase by the Assam Government of galvanised corrugated iron sheets at a cost of Rs 3.85 lakhs for issue to the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee in connection with the Congress session at Pragjyotishpur. I pointed out to the then Chief Minister that this seemed odd to me. I think that the Congress President³ also wrote on this subject to the Reception Committee. I was given to understand that the order of the Assam Government for this purchase was going to be rescinded. I am now told that it was not rescinded and presumably it was acted upon, though I am not sure of this. Could you kindly let me know if in fact this order was acted upon or not?

Two other cases have been brought to my notice in connection with the Congress session:

1. File No. P.B(4)-IV/1955, AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 38, pp. 320-321.
3. U.N. Dhebar.

(1) There was a scheme for growing more vegetables for supply to the Reception Committee of the Congress. Apparently, the Reception Committee did not accept these vegetables and therefore the Government suffered a loss of Rs 30,000.

(2) A decision of the Assam Government to treat all Union Ministers in the Cabinet and of Cabinet rank and the Chief Ministers of State Governments as well as members of their families as State guests. Free board and lodging was provided to all these people. Ten departmental vehicles were placed at the disposal of Ministers. In addition, 25 taxis were hired on which an expenditure of Rs 12,000 was incurred.

Audits have taken exception to both these and I think there is justification for their objection. We have tried not to mix up expenditure on Congress activities with Governmental expenditure. Sometimes the line to be drawn is a difficult one. But, broadly speaking, this line must be drawn. This is not only the Government point of view, but the Congress Working Committee's approach also.

You will appreciate that other parties may well claim the same privileges. We should therefore be careful. If the matter is referred to in the audit criticism, it will draw the attention of the whole country.

I should be glad if you would kindly enquire into this matter and let me know what the facts are⁴ and what you propose to do about them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Chaliha explained on 29 September that the government provided the C.I. sheets, a controlled commodity and in great demand, to the AICC as a loan. The outright sale of these sheets and their subsequent disposal by the AICC after the Gauhati session was not considered desirable as it was likely to lead to inequitable distribution and to encourage black marketing of these sheets by the purchaser. He mentioned that although there was no contract for supply of vegetables by the government, it did adopt measures to increase the production and sustained losses due to over-production and the consequent fall in prices. Chaliha maintained that the Cabinet Ministers and Chief Ministers and their families were treated as State guests as a matter of courtesy and the convention was followed by other States as well.

20. To B.P. Chaliha¹

New Delhi
June 28, 1958

My dear Chaliha,

I have already written to you separately about certain audit objections that are being raised about monies spent by the Assam Government in connection with the last Session of the Congress at Pragjyotishpur.

There are certain other matters also which have been brought to my notice by our Auditor General. I am told that in Assam the rules governing motor cars are as follows: A car is provided by the State to each Minister, who is also given an allowance of Rs 200 per mensem, presumably to cover the cost of propulsion. In addition, these Ministers draw full road mileage, at rates admissible to government servants of the first grade, for journeys performed in their own cars. Thus the capital cost for the purchase and the recurring cost for the maintenance of the car is met by the State and, at the same time, the Ministers are entitled to charge the full road mileage rate. This, I am told, has been criticised adversely in both official and non-official circles.

In other States the rules vary and are different. Thus, in Rajasthan the Ministers have the use of an official car at headquarters, subject to a ceiling of petrol allowance. If this allowance is exceeded, the cost of additional petrol is borne by the Minister. In respect of journeys outside their headquarters, the entire cost of propulsion of a bigger car provided out of the pool is met by the State, the Ministers receiving only a daily allowance.

You will thus see that there is considerable variety in this matter in various States. The rules that Assam has framed appear to go a bit too far and are open to exception. I should like you to look into this matter.²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 14/48/58-Public-I, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Chaliha explained on 29 September that the grant of conveyance allowance in addition to provision of a motor car by the State to the Ministers was meant to cover expenditure while in headquarters. Since the Ministers were drawing allowances when on tour, the rates had been subsequently reduced.

(ix) Orissa

1. To Harekrushna Mahtab¹

New Delhi
April 1, 1958

My dear Mahtab,²

I have been much disturbed by the various messages that came from you about recent developments in the Orissa Assembly and our Party there.³ The first message was a telegram from you conveying a resolution of the Congress Assembly Party, asking the Ministry⁴ to resign because a number of members had voted against the Congress candidates. Later, messages came that everything is all right. I understand that some people have expressed their regret for their misbehaviour, and so matters have been settled.

All this seems to me very extraordinary and not very becoming. Our discipline is gone, and we find excuses to put up with any developments. Why was it necessary to make such a fuss about the resolution of the Assembly Party and then produce an anti-climax?⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Orissa.
3. Following the unexpected Congress defeat in the elections to the Rajya Sabha on 25 March 1958 on account of the 'betrayal' of some Party Members, the Orissa Congress Assembly Party passed a resolution asking the Government to resign.
4. Harekrushna Mahtab had formed a coalition Ministry in Orissa, with the support of the Jharkhand Party, and some Independent Members in April 1957 after the second general election.
5. Mahtab got in touch with the Congress Parliamentary Board, which advised him not to resign because whatever had happened was an internal matter of the Party. There was no question of the Ministry resigning as long as it enjoyed the confidence of the majority in the House. Nehru had also written to Pant (not printed) on 26 March 1958, complaining about the messy situation in the Orissa Congress Assembly Party, which reflected indiscipline in the rank and file of the State Congress.

2. To Harekrushna Mahtab¹

New Delhi

May 10, 1958

My dear Mahtab,

I have received your letter of the 9th May with which you have sent me a copy of your letter to Dhebar Bhai.²

I am sorry that you have taken this matter to heart so much and have accused the Central Parliamentary Board of having suspicion and prejudice against the local parties. So far as I am aware, there has been no suspicion or prejudice. In fact we have had the greatest faith in you and your party and no question arose, if I remember rightly, of any particular difference of opinion. It is true that owing to the happenings during the last week of April, we felt strongly that the only right step was for you and your Government to resign.³

You have given the number of members of your party and show that it is in a majority. That is so. But unfortunately some events took place towards the end of April⁴ which have had a very bad effect not only in the rest of India but in other countries. You are no doubt in the best position to judge of the situation in Orissa. But you will agree, I hope, that we are in a better position to judge the wider implications of any action.

When I saw you here the other day, I told you that of one thing I was quite certain and that was that you should resign. It was even possible, to my mind, that after your resignation and after the failure of any other group to command a majority and form a government, the Governor⁵ should come back and ask you to form a government again. There would have been no impropriety in your doing so then.

1. JN Collection.

2. Congress President.

3. Cross voting in the elections to Rajya Sabha held on 25 March 1958 and fissures in the coalition due to threat of desertion, defection and talks of alternative government formation by the opposition led to the resignation of Mahtab Ministry on 9 May 1958 on the directions from the Central Parliamentary Board of the Congress. Mahtab Ministry was reinstated on 22 May when the opposition failed to form a government.

4. In the Orissa Legislative Assembly, the Congress and the opposition had accused each other of promoting defection. On a complaint lodged with the police by a Congress MLA, Mohan Naik, who had defected to the opposition on 26 April but rejoined the Congress the same day, four leaders—Pratap Kesari Deo, MP, Udit Pratap Sekhar Deo, MLA, Sridhar Naik, MLA, and Anup Singh Deo, former Deputy Minister of Orissa—were arrested on charges of abduction and wrongful confinement of Mohan Naik. Protesting against these arrests some members of the opposition walked out from the Lok Sabha on 28 April 1958.

5. Y.N. Sukthankar, Governor of Orissa.

I am convinced now, as I was before, that the Congress position in Orissa as well as in other parts of the country would be strengthened by your resignation, whatever happened afterwards. I am glad, therefore, that you have resigned. But I am sorry that you have done so reluctantly and with displeasure with us. In fact that displeasure has gone so far as to make you say that you feel that "it is wrong to work under a High Command which does not care to call for an explanation even when allegations are made against any of their followers". This is surely a very extraordinary and ungenerous statement. I am sure that you did not mean it and have written it in a fit of irritation.

You say that you are resigning your membership of the Assembly. It would be unfortunate and indeed not at all right for you to do so. To do so at this stage would, I am sure, do harm to the Congress in Orissa.

I must express my deep regret at the manner you have reacted to the advice we tendered you. You must have a very poor opinion of our bona fides and our judgement of the situation in the country.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Harekrushna Mahtab¹

New Delhi
May 13, 1958

My dear Mahtab,

I had a talk with Sukthankar today and he told me of the position in Orissa. It appears that the Jharkhand Party is not quite so firm as we had imagined. I hope, however, that they will not misbehave.

I told Sukthankar what I thought. The position seemed to me quite clear. From every point of view, constitutional and other, President's rule should be avoided until it is clear that there is no other way out. If the present opposition can prove that it has a clear majority, then the Governor has to invite them to form a government. It does not appear that the opposition will have a majority. In that event, the Governor has inevitably to invite you and to tell you that he has been unable to get the opposition parties to form a government because they have no majority. It appears that the Congress Party and its supporters have a

1. JN Collection.

clear majority and, therefore, he would ask you to continue. In that event, you should, of course, agree. That is the right and constitutional course.

I imagine that the Jharkhand Party is afraid of a dissolution, and hence a measure of wobbling.

I have been feeling unhappy at the fact that the advice we gave you did not meet with your agreement, and that you felt that we had not given enough consideration to your views and the views of your party. I can assure you that this is not so. We gave the most anxious consideration to these factors and, so far as Orissa is concerned, your views had to be accepted. But there were larger considerations, both all-India and international, and these compelled us to give you our advice. There have been many comments in the foreign Press which you perhaps have not seen. Ever since you offered your resignation, there has been a change in all these comments outside and in India, and your prestige and the prestige of the Congress have gone up. If you come back now, as you well might, you will do so with added strength and prestige.

I need not tell you how we have realised your difficulties chiefly because of this ex-Princely crowd.² You have had a hard time and you have faced a difficult situation with courage and success. Such reports as I have had from the Community Development Ministry about work in Orissa have indicated the progress made recently there. I would be unhappy if this progress, for which you are chiefly responsible, should be checked.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Former Maharaja of Kalahandi Pratap Kesari Deo, MP, and former Maharaja of Gangapur Udit Pratap Sekhar Deo, MLA, were some of the prominent leaders of the agitation against the Congress Ministry.

4. Political Situation in Orissa¹

I am sending you a paper called "Review of the political situation in Orissa as it developed in the last week of April, 1958". This has been sent to me by the Chief Minister of Orissa. Our Ministry is not concerned with internal political

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, the Secretary General, MEA, and S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, Manali, 28 May 1958. JN Collection.

happenings, unless they have a bearing on foreign affairs or on the activities of foreign missions.²

2. It is because there are some passages in this report which I have marked and which have a bearing on the activities of foreign missions that I am sending this to you. Exactly what we should do about this is not clear to me. But when occasion arises, it may be desirable to mention informally to the American Ambassador.³

3. There is another aspect of this and that is the reported monthly pay to a press representative there who is said to represent *The Hindu* of Madras, *The Statesman* and the PTI. I do not think we should interfere at all with *The Hindu* or *The Statesman*. But I think we are entitled to indicate to the PTI what our suspicions are about their representative in Orissa. The report to us is very specific, even mentioning the amount paid monthly, and I think we should take some action in regard to it in so far as the PTI is concerned.

4. In this connection, I might mention that I have noticed for some time that *The Statesman* appears to have some source of information about our Ministry's activities. I think we should be careful about this and not encourage press representatives to come to the Ministry.

2. The paper, based on the Intelligence reports from West Bengal, Bombay and Orissa, gave details of the efforts of the PSP, the CPI and the Ganatantra Parishad to topple the Congress Ministry in Orissa. According to the reports, N.R. Swami, the representative of the PTI, *The Statesman* and *The Hindu* in Orissa, was also on the payroll of the American Consulate in Calcutta and was instrumental in sending "tendentious reports" on the political situation in Orissa, which were also broadcast by the BBC and the Voice of America. It also dealt with the close connection between the Ganatantra Parishad and the American Consulate in Calcutta and the visit of O.L. Pitte, the Second Secretary in the American Embassy, to Bhubaneswar from 25 to 28 April 1958 when "the Ganatantra Parishad was making serious efforts to oust the Congress Ministry from power." The paper also mentioned about a telegram sent by A.K. Gopalan, CPI Member of the Lok Sabha, to Jaipal Singh, Founder-President of the Jharkhand Party, requesting him to join hands with the Communist Party in order to overthrow the Congress Ministry in Orissa.
3. Ellsworth Bunker.

(x) Punjab

1. To Partap Singh Kairon¹

New Delhi
April 5, 1958

My dear Partap Singh,²

I enclose a letter from the *Patwaris* Union.

It is not true that I gave any assurance as to what the Punjab Government would do after the strike was called off. I have already sent you copies of the letters I addressed to Chaman Lall³ on the subject. I may have said orally that Government does not go in for victimisation at any time. So far as reinstatement is concerned, I indicated in my letter to Chaman Lall that this was a difficult matter because others had been engaged.⁴ I think, however, that in any event it is better to let these people out of prison whatever else might or might not be done. They have been sufficiently punished already.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Punjab.

3. Congress Member of the Rajya Sabha from Punjab.

4. The *patwaris'* strike was called off on 1 April 1958. For Nehru's letters to Chaman Lall, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 524-526.

2. To C.P.N. Singh¹

New Delhi
April 10, 1958

My dear C.P.N.,²

I enclose a letter I have received from Le Corbusier.³ I have not carefully followed what he says except that he appears to be in a state of frustration about the

1. File No. 7(118)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Governor of Punjab.

3. Famous French architect and town planner, adviser to the Punjab Government for the Chandigarh project.

future of Chandigarh. This apparently has been caused not only by the failure of human beings, but by cattle and goats and other animals having a free run at Chandigarh.

3. Protection for Muslims¹

I enclose a paper which was given to me by Maulvi Hifzur Rahman² today. He further told me that these Muslims in Budhi are being greatly harassed. I remember that in 1947-48 these Muslims there had a bad time. They were partly protected by the petty chief there.

2. I suggest that you might write (1) to the Chief Secretary of the Punjab Government³ requesting him to look into this matter and give such protection as may be necessary to these Muslims, and (2) to the District Magistrate also on the same subject and asking him to let us know what the facts are.

1. Note to K. Ram, the Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 17 April 1958. JN Collection.
2. Leader of All India Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind and Member of the Lok Sabha from Amroha, Uttar Pradesh.
3. E.N. Mangat Rai.

4. Village Panchayat and Construction of Embankment¹

Please write to the Deputy Commissioner of Kapurthala that I have been very pleased to learn from my Deputy Minister, Shrimati Lakshmi Menon,² about the construction of the embankment to control the floods of the River Beas. What is especially pleasing is that this was done with the cooperation of the village panchayats and thus 25 miles of the 36 miles length of the bund was constructed in two months. Please ask him to convey my congratulations and appreciation to the panchayats of the area.

1. Note to K. Ram, the Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 17 April 1958. JN Collection.
2. Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs.

5. To C.P.N. Singh¹

New Delhi
May 13, 1958

My dear C.P.N.,

Thank you for your letter of May 10th about the nominations to the Upper Chamber in the Punjab. I do not know much about the persons you have nominated. But I am sorry that Bhai Jodh Singh² has been left out. He is one of the most eminent educationalists in the Punjab,³ and I would have given him the first place.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Jodh Singh (1882-1981); lecturer of Mathematics, 1906-13, Professor of Divinity, 1924-36, and Principal, 1936-52, Khalsa College, Amritsar; founded Punjabi Sahit Academy, Ludhiana, 1954; Member, Punjab Legislative Council after Independence, first Vice Chancellor, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1962-66; presided over the Sikh Educational Conference on three occasions; author of *Japji*, *Life of Guru Amar Das Ji*, *Gospel of Guru Nanak in his Own Words*, and *Kabir* among other books.
3. He served on various bodies of the Punjab University and played an active part in laying down the educational policy in Punjab.

6. Patwaris' Strike¹

I have neither the time nor the inclination to see representatives of these *patwaris*. I think they acted wrongly in spite of the advice that was given to them. They continued to act wrongly although they were told that they would be dismissed. They were then dismissed.

2. The matter was referred to me on two or three occasions through Diwan Chaman Lall. I said that I could not interfere in this in any way. It was foolish of them to strike, and the sooner they put an end to it, the better. Even then, they continued the strike. Later, they wanted assurances that they would all be taken back. I pointed out that I could give no assurance of any kind, and as a

1. Note to Indira Gandhi, New Delhi, 14 May 1958. JN Collection.

matter of fact, many others had been engaged, and it would not be easy to dismiss the new people. However, I advised the Punjab Government to do what they could in this matter. But the discretion had to be left to them. I believe they are considering this matter.

7. To C.P.N. Singh¹

New Delhi
May 18, 1958

My dear C.P.N.,

I enclose two letters relating to the *patwaris*. I have spoken to you about them and you have written to me twice on the subject, saying that you are interesting yourself in this matter. I have referred it to the Chief Minister.

I dislike offering advice in regard to something about which I am not wholly cognizant. Broadly, I know that the *patwaris* were very wrong in their strike.² Also, that new men have been employed and it may be difficult to reinstate the old, at least in any large numbers. I do not, therefore, suggest anything precise. All I wish to say is, what I have said to you already, that from any short-term or long-term consideration, it is always better to deal with these matters with some gentleness. Strength should be shown when strength was necessary. That has been done. Now these people are completely broken up and apologise humbly. It would be well to take advantage of this situation, subject always to not upsetting everything.

Thank you for your letter of May 17th about my visit to Kulu. The note on Lahaul and Spiti will be helpful.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. For details, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 524-526.

8. Charges against Partap Singh Kairon¹

Certain charges were brought against Sardar Partap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister of the Punjab.² These charges were communicated to Sardar Partap Singh, who has sent his replies and explanations. We have given the most careful thought to this matter, as it related to a person in the high and responsible position of a Chief Minister of a State and to his administration. We have repeatedly laid stress, in Congress resolutions and our directions, on the maintenance of high standards and conventions in public life and administration, and it is from this point of view that we have to consider any charges that might be made. It is also our duty to protect persons in high and responsible position from harassment and unfair charges.

2. It is necessary to bear in mind the background of the Punjab and of the Congress Party there during the past year as well as the relationship of the groups and parties involved. Ever since the last general election, there has been continuous agitation in the Punjab and there has, at the same time, been an inner conflict in the Congress Party. Certain elements in the State started what is known as the Hindi agitation against the regional formula. The Arya Samaj as well as some communal Hindu organisations supported this agitation and large numbers of persons committed breaches of the law and were arrested. The Akalis also carried on a counter agitation though this was more restrained at this time, as the Punjab Government itself was opposing the Hindi agitation. The Punjab thus became a battleground of communal forces and the whole atmosphere of the State was vitiated. The Government had to deal with a very difficult situation.³

3. During this period of continuing crisis, a number of Congress members of the legislature withheld their full support from the Government and some even encouraged the forces which were attacking the Government. Some very regrettable incidents took place in the course of this agitation. Sardar Partap Singh faced this serious situation with courage and determination. Though the

1. Note drafted by Nehru for the consideration of the Congress Central Parliamentary Board, New Delhi, 18 May 1958. JN Collection. A copy of this note was sent to the Congress President U.N. Dhebar on the same day.
2. Some critics of Partap Singh Kairon including Prabodh Chandra, Gopichand Bhargava and Giani Kartar Singh had submitted a charge-sheet to Congress President U.N. Dhebar in the first week of March 1958, accusing Kairon of adopting corrupt practices, ruling despotically, being communal and victimising his political rivals. On 20 April, the Congress Central Parliamentary Board decided to hold an enquiry which was conducted by Dhebar in May.
3. For Nehru's interventions in the Hindi agitation in Punjab, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 385-404 and Vol. 40, pp. 430-433, 435.

Chief Minister was not personally responsible for the regrettable incidents referred to above, they resulted in adding to the communal bitterness in the State and were utilised for the purpose of attacking the Chief Minister. Sardar Partap Singh emerged from this long trial of strength with credit and with enhanced reputation so far as the administration was concerned.

4. The charges under investigation have been put forward by some members of the Congress Party of the Punjab Legislature and the leader of this group is Shri Probodh Chandra. It is well known that after a brief period of initial support, he has been opposed to Sardar Partap Singh and has sought to get him removed from the Chief Ministership. A group gathered round him and something in the nature of a vendetta was carried on against the Chief Minister. The Congress Party in the Assembly became a scene of unseemly conflicts between rival groups. Repeated efforts were made to put an end to this rivalry and conflict, but they did not succeed. An atmosphere was thus created which encouraged the group opposed to the Chief Minister to put forward all kinds of charges.

5. Sardar Partap Singh's reputation, during his long career of public service, has been of a man of personal integrity and of complete freedom from communal bias. He is a man of the people, simple in his life and devoting his great energy to the work for which he was responsible. His very virtues to some extent became his defects. His constant tours, more especially in the rural areas, led to a lesser degree of time and interest being given to the normal work of administration, and his anxiety to deal with problems on the spot and with speed led sometimes to his bypassing normal administrative procedures.

6. This has been the broad background of the Punjab during the past year and no Government there has had an easy time. The people are virile and hardworking and full of vitality; the peasantry are tough, capable and resourceful, the city people are also full of initiative. Some of the best engineers and mechanics come from the Punjab. The very vitality of the people spills over sometimes into conflict and there is a tendency to create factions, which is reflected in the political life of the Punjab. The police, which is efficient, has played an important part in the State. Because of the tough elements in the population, the police has developed some rough and ready methods which were equally tough. On some occasions, some action of the police, during the past year or two, appeared to us to be improper and the attention of the Chief Minister was drawn to it. The Chief Minister dealt with the situation in his own informal way which was not always in keeping with normal administrative methods. As a man of the people, he relied on the people more than on slow moving administrative methods. This procedure is not to be commended and, in the long run, it is bound to produce difficult situations, even though it leads to immediate results.

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7. There are in all 25 charges preferred against the Chief Minister. They can be divided into three categories:

- (i) Charges insinuating corruption.
- (ii) Charges alleging misuse of powers in the interest of his family or friends.
- (iii) Charges alleging irregularities in the administration.

8. Some of the charges in the third category have not been considered by us fully as they are the subject matter of pending proceedings in court or are under investigation otherwise.

9. In regard to charges in category (i), that is, relating to some kind of corruption, none of them have been substantiated, and some have been completely disproved. We regret that serious charges of this kind should be casually brought without any justification.

10. In the second category are charges relating to some action taken in the interest of the family or others connected with him. In the main, these relate to the bypassing of normal administrative machinery by ordering the withdrawal of a case and the non-suspension of a public servant arrested by the Customs authorities for smuggling. We are of opinion that some of these charges are established in the sense that improprieties were committed. Sardar Partap Singh has told us that he was ignorant of what had been done either by some relative of his or some other person. It may well be that owing to the heavy burden he carried and his working at high pressure, he could not keep in touch with these matters or could not pay much attention to them. Normally we cannot consider him responsible for the failings of some members of his family, but a person in his high position cannot rid himself of such responsibility.

11. The case relating to the Cold Storage Cooperative Society,⁴ which was in effect a family cooperative, and where certain priorities were given in regard to selection of defective iron, also appears to us to raise questions of impropriety. Then there is the charge about the leave secured by the Chief Minister's wife, Sardarni Ram Kaur. This leave may be strictly in accordance with the rules of the school, which was established by Sardar Partap Singh's father. Nevertheless, in the case of a Chief Minister's wife, this does not seem to have been proper. In both these cases, Sardar Partap Singh pleads lack of knowledge. It is quite likely that in the stress of work, he may not have known it. Nevertheless, a certain measure of responsibility attaches to him.

4. Amritsar Cooperative Cold Storage Society, Amritsar.

12. Among the charges in category (i) are:

- (a) It is alleged that one Sarju Ram was recommended for nomination to the Council in consideration of his having provided finances to Shri Surinder Singh.⁵ Sardar Partap Singh has denied this charge and there is no proof and support for this allegation.
- (b) It is also alleged that there had been a regular permit scandal and permits were given over the heads of the regular Transport authorities to all those to whom the Chief Minister wanted to give his patronage. These permits were temporary and non-transferable and they did not offer much of an attraction to the permit holder. This is clear from the fact that although 318 permits were issued, only 170 permits were actually utilised.
- (c) There is the charge that the Chief Minister has been shielding undesirable and anti-social elements, and another, that the Chief Minister's Relief Fund and the Political Sufferers' Fund are being used for purposes of patronage. Neither of these charges has been substantiated in any way.
- (d) There is also the charge of exploiting local and parochial sentiments and this is sought to be proved by some newspaper cuttings. This charge is in no way substantiated and we have, on the other hand, Sardar Partap Singh's lifetime adherence to the cause of nationalism and secularism.
- (e) It is alleged that Harijan MLAs were offered inducements of land to purchase their loyalties. This is very vague and general and there is nothing before us to connect the Chief Minister with this charge or to show that these persons were not entitled under the rules to the benefits received.

13. We now deal with some of the charges in the second category, namely, misuse of powers and position for the benefit of members of the family or friends. They include:

- (a) Charges of non-payment of sales tax for the bricks purchased by the brick kiln owned by the family;
 - (b) of securing cement, iron and timber at concessional prices in the name of Amritsar Cold Storage Society;
 - (c) of securing permits for the Cold Storage Society for purchasing defective iron;
 - (d) of grant of truck permits to friends, relatives and acquaintances;
5. Surinder Singh Kairon (1934-2009); son of Partap Singh Kairon, elected to the Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1969 as an Akali candidate, as a Congress candidate in 1972, and as a Congress (I) candidate in 1980; Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Tarn Taran, Punjab, 1992-96.

- (e) of giving a brick kiln permit to Surinder Singh's wife's sister's husband;
- (f) of purchasing land from the brother-in-law of the Chief Minister with a view to showing favour to the former at the cost of the State exchequer;
- (g) of purchasing plots of land from the relatives and from the husband of Shrimati Parkash Kaur for the State at a high price;
- (h) of securing leave for Sardarni Ram Kaur, wife of Sardar Partap Singh, for long periods under incorrect excuses; and
- (i) of admitting non-backward students in the places provided for backward areas' students.

14. We have already mentioned (h), the case of the leave of Sardarni Ram Kaur and (c), that of securing permits for the Cold Storage Society, (b) that of securing cement, iron and timber at concessional prices has not been proved. (e) Shri Surinder Singh's wife's sister's husband got the brick kiln permit because of the system of granting permits by drawing lots which went in his favour. (g) The land purchased for the Sugar Cane Research Station was purchased after full departmental enquiry.

15. Now comes category (iii) which relates to irregularities in administration.

- (a) There is the charge in regard to the withdrawal of the case against Shri Kulwant Rai under the Arms Act and the Opium Act. We think that any withdrawal of a case which has gone up to court is undesirable and this withdrawal particularly, having regard to the antecedents of the man, was improper.
- (b) Not suspending P.N. Sohan Singh who had been charged under the Smuggling Act. This does not fall within the jurisdiction of the Punjab Government and Sardar Partap Singh, therefore, cannot be held responsible for it.
- (c) Alleged favouritism of certain officers. This is denied by the Chief Minister and is being enquired into by a committee.
- (d) Advance of several lakhs of rupees made to Panchsheel Cooperative Society which is alleged to be a bogus concern. According to the Chief Minister, the advance was made on the recommendation of Diwan Chaman Lall and there is no proof before us that the Cooperative Society is a bogus society.
- (e) Withdrawal of a case against Rahmat Khan. The Chief Minister denies that case against Rahmat Khan has been withdrawn. All that has been done is that the Chief Minister has noted on the report of the Additional Inspector-General, CID, in column 2 "Forwarded to the Court for Magisterial Findings".
- (f) Shri Grewal, an I.P. officer, has been falsely implicated. This case is sub judice as Shri Grewal is being prosecuted.

(g) Charge of misappropriation by textile officers of the rebate granted by the Government of India at the time of the Third Handloom Week in January-February. Prima facie, this charge appears to us to have substance. But the Chief Minister was in no way responsible for this as it was not his department. The Government of Punjab should institute an enquiry into this matter and deal adequately with those found guilty of breaking rules.

16. We have referred briefly above to the various charges against Sardar Partap Singh Kairon and indicated our views in regard to them. We have, in fact, considered these charges very fully separately. As a result of our investigation, we have come to the conclusion that there is no basis at all for any corruption; that in some of the charges relating to his family members or others associated with him, certain improprieties were committed; while Sardar Partap Singh might not have been personally aware of these, a person in his position must be deemed to be constructively responsible; and that there were certain procedural irregularities in administrative matters.

17. We have discussed all these matters fully with Sardar Partap Singh. In regard to some of the matters relating to his family or the administration, he has told us that he had no personal knowledge, and so the replies he has given are really the replies supplied to him by the persons more intimately concerned. He spoke to us frankly and fully in regard to all these matters and has offered to resign from his high office, should this be considered necessary. It is not for us, however, in view of all the circumstances and the views we have expressed above, to accept or reject this offer of resignation. It is for the Congress Party in the Legislature to indicate in the normal way whether they have confidence in him as Chief Minister or not. An early meeting of the Party should, therefore, be held for this purpose.⁶

6. The Congress Central Parliamentary Board, in its meeting held in New Delhi on 19 May 1958, considered the charges made against Partap Singh Kairon by a section of Punjab Congress MLAs and came to the conclusion that "there is no basis at all" for any charges of corruption against him. It however asked the Punjab Chief Minister to seek a vote of confidence from the State Legislature Congress Party in a meeting scheduled for 5 June 1958.

9. To Gopichand Bhargava¹

Forest Rest House
Manali
24th May 1958

My dear Gopichandji,²

Your letter of the 21st May has only reached me this afternoon at Manali.³ I do not quite know where to send my reply so as to reach you before you leave this part of the world. You say that you will be in Kangra on the 24th and 25th. I understand that you will be in Pathankot tomorrow night. So I am sending this letter there.

You have sought my advice in a matter in which I would hesitate to give it. All I can say is that I would not like you to leave the Cabinet now or later because I feel that your presence in the Cabinet is desirable and helpful. Consequently, of course, I would not like you to withdraw from the Council. This is my personal reaction but I realise that saying so does not help you very much. I would add that my broad advice to anybody in the Punjab Assembly would be not to fall into group politics in the way they have been conducting in the recent past.

All this may not help you because when members of the Congress Party in the Punjab Legislature are asked to vote in a matter of confidence in the Chief Minister, every member has a right to exercise his vote. How to do so without being dragged into group politics is not an easy matter for me to advise.

As you will no doubt have appreciated, the Congress Parliamentary Board had for long been much concerned with internal affairs in the Punjab and in considering the charges against Sardar Partap Singh, the Board had to face a very difficult situation. The difficulty was not merely due to the charges but also to the whole background as well as the reactions for the future. As the Board stated in their decision, they had a high opinion of Sardar Partap Singh's integrity and his patriotism and freedom from communal bias. Nevertheless, in some matters, the Board said that the action taken was not proper. In the result, the Board did not think it right to give an opinion against Sardar Partap Singh on the major issues involved. While, therefore, the Central Parliamentary Board

1. JN Collection.
2. Minister for Planning, Community Projects, Jails and Justice in the Punjab Government.
3. Gopichand Bhargava wrote to Nehru regarding the meeting of the Congress Legislative Party of Punjab scheduled to be held on 5 June 1958 in which Partap Singh Kairon was to seek a vote of confidence. Bhargava wrote that he did not want to be a part of the "group politics" in Punjab and found it difficult to exercise his vote as a member of Kairon's Cabinet and therefore sought Nehru's advice about his resigning from the Cabinet and the Legislative Council.

did not think that they would be justified in the circumstances to call upon Sardar Partap Singh to leave his post, they felt nevertheless that he could not continue in his high post unless he had the confidence of his Party. However right the Chief Minister might be, he has to carry the majority of the Party with him.

I am much distressed at all these happenings and I can only hope that, after this turmoil, some kind of stability will assert itself and the party will function as a disciplined party without constant group attacks on each other.

I am sending your letter and a copy of my reply to the Congress President.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. To Master Tara Singh¹

Forest Rest House
Manali
26th May, 1958

My dear Master Tara Singh,²

Your letter of the 24th May has reached me here today. Thank you for it. The messenger who brought your letter has returned and so I have to send my reply by post.

As you have pointed out, I have the misfortune to disagree with your views in many matters. But that does not take away my personal regard for you. I can assure you that the Congress also is not "anti-Tara Singh".³ It is only anti a policy which it considers wrong and it is above all anti-communalism. You have seen in recent months that the Congress has not hesitated to oppose communalism from whatever quarter it came, whether it was Sikh or Hindu.

You are good enough to express your apprehension that what we have done may damage the prestige of the Congress and thus do great harm. I am glad that you attach importance to the Congress prestige as well as the prestige of the Central Parliamentary Board of the Congress. You will no doubt appreciate that, intimately connected as I have been with the Congress for the last 45 years, I

1. JN Collection.

2. A prominent Akali Dal leader and supporter of the demand for 'Punjabi Suba'.

3. Tara Singh had alleged that the Congress High Command had been following anti-Tara Singh and anti-Akali policies.

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am much concerned about its prestige and its capacity for national work. During the past, you have often attacked the Congress and, in fact, have sometimes stated that you wish to put an end to it. I am glad that you feel now that the Congress has played a great part in serving the nation and should continue to play it.

You have reminded me of your views regarding Sardar Partap Singh Kairon. On occasions you have written to me about this matter and I have replied to you and expressed my views which were very different from yours. I can only judge of people from my own knowledge of them and I happen to have known Sardar Partap Singh for over 20 years rather well. I have not known him distantly but as a colleague and a comrade and I formed a high opinion of his integrity and freedom from communalism. He has his failings, no doubt, as all of us have. But in this land where communalism is always raising its head in some form or other, it was a relief to have as a comrade a person who was above this failing.

I hold to that opinion still. I do not go about repeating this but if I am asked, as you have done, I have to express frankly what I have in my mind.

Even so, when the Congress Parliamentary Board considered the charges that had been brought against Sardar Partap Singh Kairon, we had to take every fact into consideration, including the background of events in the Punjab and in the Congress Parliamentary Party in the Punjab Legislature.⁴ This background was not a pleasing one, nor did the persons who brought charges against Sardar Partap Singh come with clean hands.⁵ After the most careful consideration of all the factors, we gave our opinion which you have seen and with which you do not appear to agree. I am sorry that we have not been able to convince you of what we have done, but I am not surprised at it because, as you yourself say, you have always held a certain opinion about Sardar Partap Singh Kairon and have been repeating it on many occasions previously.

The charges against Sardar Partap Singh varied over a wide field. They were divided by the Parliamentary Board into three categories. The important ones related to what might be called corruption or encouragement of corruption. If there had been the slightest truth in these, it would no doubt have been advisable to have them considered on a judicial level. But the charges were flimsy in the extreme and there was nothing to substantiate them. In fact they did not bring much credit to those who had brought the charges.

4. Accusing Kairon of corruption, nepotism, jobbery and maladministration, Tara Singh had written that the "Parliamentary Board has intentionally bypassed all canons of high public conduct, parliamentary democracy, justice and fair play in order to shield a man who suits them."

5. See the preceding item.

The other matters were of an entirely different type. I do not understand why it is not clear to you that there is a great difference between a charge of corruption and administrative irregularity. This seems to me to be obvious, depending of course on the irregularity. I need not repeat what has already been said in the report of the Central Parliamentary Board of the Congress. That Board has a double duty. It has to enquire fearlessly into any real charge and express its opinion without fear or favour. It has also to protect people in responsible posts from frivolous charges and partisan attacks. Everyone knows how a vendetta has been carried on against Sardar Partap Singh Kairon by some people. We have endeavoured to express ourselves in the Parliamentary Board's report fairly and impartially, keeping all these factors in view. I can well understand that the partisans on either side or those who have been carrying on this vendetta may not like what we have said. So far as I am concerned, I stand by the report of the Parliamentary Board.

You refer to certain previous cases when my colleagues in the Central Cabinet resigned—the cases of Shri Shanmukham Chetty, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and Shri T.T. Krishnamachari. If you have studied those cases, they are completely different. Both Shri Shanmukham Chetty's⁶ and Shri T.T. Krishnamachari's⁷ cases involved certain constitutional conventions. As for Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, there was no convention involved but his own strong desire to resign⁸ then and I did not wish to come in the way of that wish.

I might remind you that, in the case of Shri T.T. Krishnamachari, all kinds of vague and unjustified charges were brought against him by unthinking people. I made it quite clear in Parliament and elsewhere that these charges were wholly unjustified and I praised his work which had been of great advantage to the nation. Some people criticised my attitude in praising the work of Shri T.T. Krishnamachari and some people still continue to cast aspersions on him without the least justification. I thought it my duty then, as it is now, to protect my colleagues against unjust attacks.⁹

6. Shanmukham Chetty resigned as the Union Minister of Finance on 16 August 1948 as a sequel to the strong exception taken in Parliament to the Government's withdrawal of income tax cases against some industrialists while the question of vesting such authority with Government was still under consideration of the Select Committee of the Constituent Assembly.
7. T.T. Krishnamachari, the Union Minister of Finance resigned on 12 February 1958 over the issue of investments by the LIC in certain companies controlled by Haridas Mundhra, leading to a major scandal.
8. Lal Bahadur Shastri resigned from the Railway Ministry on 25 November 1956 owing moral responsibility for the Ariyalur Railway disaster on 23 November 1956.
9. For Nehru's defence of T.T. Krishnamachari, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 345-347, 350-352, 355-373, and 375-400.

You ask why the Parliamentary Board is reluctant to demand Sardar Partap Singh Kairon's resignation or to accept it when he has offered it.¹⁰ The answer is that having regard to all the circumstances, we did not think it right or proper to so demand or accept his resignation. In the context of things, our doing so would have been unfair to him and unfair to the public. It would also have tended to justify and encourage wrong tactics and wrong ways of dealing with the situation.

But it was quite another matter for us to say that the Congress Party in the Legislature should decide on a vote of confidence whether they choose to continue with Sardar Partap Singh Kairon as their leader. The party was not going to consider the charges, but no person can function as leader unless he has the support of the party. Therefore, we suggested that the party should consider this matter from a confidence point of view.

You refer to Ch. Devi Lal's¹¹ case. The Congress leadership did not hesitate to point out that the selection of Ch. Devi Lal as President of the Punjab PCC was not an appropriate one.¹² Sardar Partap Singh, on knowing of this, immediately agreed to request Ch. Devi Lal to resign.¹³

You have referred to the wish I expressed some little time ago to retire from the Prime Ministership of India.¹⁴ There appears to be some misapprehension in your mind as to the reasons which led me to do so, and I should like to clear this. The main reason was a certain distress in my mind about both national and international trends and my desire to have some peace and quiet to think out matters for myself. Being in a responsible position, I did not want to act always in certain fixed grooves of thought when the world was changing and new types of problems arose. On the national plane, I was concerned with a certain deterioration in public life (not of the Congress only but even more so of other parties and groups) and the coming into play of disruptive tendencies, whether they were based on province, religion, caste or language. Quite good people were getting excited over relatively minor matters, forgetting the major issues of the day, and thus harming the cause of India's unity, strength and progress. I

10. The Central Parliamentary Board in a statement which was released on 19 May 1958 disclosed that Partap Singh had offered to resign from his office if this was considered necessary.
11. Choudhary Devi Lal, Member of Punjab Legislative Assembly.
12. Tara Singh had written that Kairon had supported the selection of Devi Lal as President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee against the wishes of the Congress High Command.
13. Devi Lal, elected President of Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee on 23 March 1958, resigned on 4 April 1958.
14. Tara Singh wrote that some time ago Nehru had expressed his desire to resign from the Prime Ministership mainly due to the "deterioration of the standards of public life." See also *post*, pp. 501-514.

saw this in the context of a dangerous international situation and, at the same time, enormous improvements in science and technology. While the world was thus changing, most of us continued to stick to our old grooves of thought.

Certainly, I was distressed by the passion for people getting seats in Assemblies, in Parliament and other posts or jobs. But I was not vain enough to imagine that by my retiring for a few months, the whole atmosphere in India would change. What I hoped would happen was that my mind would be clearer and more fit for effective national service.

You say that you have been told that, whenever you write against Sardar Partap Singh, this produces the opposite effect.¹⁵ I can assure you that what you write is always considered by me carefully. But it is true that when you condemn our great national organisation, Congress, and want to put an end to it, this does not produce a pleasing effect on me. Also that when I feel that you or anyone has made up his mind about a certain matter, then yours or his opinion becomes partial.

You have put me a hypothetical question as to what I would do if a number of MPs brought charges of corruption, nepotism, etc. I can say quite clearly that if such charges are brought, I would certainly not quit and I should like those charges to be examined. To quit because charges are brought would almost mean surrender to them. Of course, it is quite a different matter if I quit merely because I feel like doing so or because I think I am not in tune with my people or the country. This might well happen at any time, but I would not quit under threat of some kind of a charge.

You also ask me what would happen if the Parliamentary Board did not completely exonerate me after an enquiry.¹⁶ That is a difficult question for me to answer because it is vague and much would depend on the facts of the case. It is true that I have a constant urge to cease to remain in office, though of course this does not mean to cease from doing active work. I am anxious also that every Minister in the country should set the highest standards.

As you will notice, your letter has failed to convince me and I fear that my letter will not succeed in convincing you. But since you did me the honour of writing to me fully, I am sending you this reply.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

15. Tara Singh stated that whenever and whatever he wrote against Kairon it always produced an "opposite effect", and demanded that the "specific charges against Kairon must be referred to a high-ranking judge like Mr Chagla."
16. Tara Singh asked Nehru what he would have done in a similar situation: "quit or appear before the Parliamentary Board for explanations and seek a vote of confidence."

11. To Partap Singh Kairon¹

Forest Rest House
Manali
27th May 1958

My dear Partap Singh,

I have received here at Manali your letter of May 24.

You are quite right in attaching importance to the discovery of gas at Jwalamukhi.² This, indeed, is a great event. If it is followed up, as I hope it will be, by the discovery of adequate quantities of oil, this will be an even greater event for Punjab and for India.

You mention that this gas might be taken to Delhi for use there and you suggest that it might be given to the villages in the Punjab. All this is much too premature. We have no idea as to how much gas we will get and it will take at least 18 months or two years before we can begin utilising it. When we know what the quantity is, we can consider how best to use it.

You say that TB is considered to be a disease of the rich. That is hardly correct. What would be correct to say is that TB is a disease also of the rich. Most of the poor folk suffer in silence or die without even the chance of a proper diagnosis. For them it is more important to have nourishing food and healthy living conditions. As a matter of fact, even our so-called rich are not noted for observing healthy and sanitary conditions.

You refer to the Irrigation Research Station at Malikpur.³ I visited this some years ago and was much impressed by the good work being done there.

Manali has suited me completely. It is quiet and peaceful here and I have been able to rest and do some quiet work. I think it is an ideal place for a quiet rest. I am grateful to the Punjab Government for the help I have got here from their district authorities, as also from the Governor.⁴

You mention that some opposition parties are likely to start a movement against the Hindu Succession Act.⁵ If so, this movement will of course have to be opposed.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Kairon had written about the discovery of natural gas at Jwalamukhi, in Kangra district, on 13 May during the drilling operations and added that this would open out vast economic resources for Punjab and that, if commercially viable, the gas could be taken to Delhi. He was certain that it would save valuable cow dung, which, if mixed with artificial manure, would raise the food production in Punjab by 25 to 30 per cent.
3. A hydraulic research station was established at Malikpur, 7 kilometres from Pathankot, on the Upper Bari Doab Canal in 1925 to carry out model experiments.
4. C.P.N. Singh.
5. The Hindu Succession Act, 1956 deals with matters of succession of a person dying intestate and it applies to any person who is a Hindu by religion or belongs to any of its sects.

12. To C.P.N. Singh¹

Manali, Kulu Valley
30th May 1958

My dear C.P.N.,

I have just received your letter of May 27.²

Since I came here, all kinds of unusual and rather exciting happenings have taken place. France has faced a crisis of the biggest magnitude and whatever might happen—presumably De Gaulle will assume power—it will have a powerful effect on international affairs.³ Then there is the trouble in Lebanon⁴ and in Tunisia. Here in India many odd things have happened during the last ten days. We are naturally most interested in Punjab affairs and especially the coming vote of confidence.⁵

I am naturally interested in all these developments but I have felt almost detached from them here in Manali. I have not allowed myself to worry about anything. Apart from resting and walks, etc., I have done a good deal of quiet work which had been left over for a leisurely hour.

Master Tara Singh wrote to me a long letter and sent it by a messenger. The letter chiefly consisted of an attack on Partap Singh and also on the Congress Parliamentary Board. He threatened to publish it and probably he will do so. I sent him a fairly long reply. I suppose that if he publishes his letter, he will publish my reply too.⁶

Dr Gopichand sent me a letter also asking my advice as to what he should do in the circumstances. I replied to him that this was for him to decide and not for me.⁷ He had suggested that he might resign from his office as well as from

1. JN Collection.
2. C.P.N. Singh had described the ongoing factional politics in Punjab. He wrote that the Press in the Punjab had criticised the decision of the Central Parliamentary Board of Congress directing Kairon to seek a vote of confidence and that it "indulged in carrying on propaganda consistently against Partap Singh." C.P.N. Singh added that at the moment, "support for Partap Singh seems to be growing" independent of factions headed by Giani Kartar Singh, Prabodh Chandra, Rarewala, Giani Gurmuoh Singh Musafir and Gopichand Bhargava. He wrote that Partap Singh had a majority even if the margin was not very big. The Governor added that there was no suitable alternative to Partap Singh and it would be a real misfortune if Partap Singh was to lose since he was fighting for the emancipation of the common man in Punjab and also against the reactionary forces.
3. The reference is to the coup in Algeria on 13-14 May 1958 and subsequent developments in France. See also *post*, pp. 671, 674-675.
4. See *post*, pp. 630-633.
5. On 5 June.
6. See *ante*, pp. 443-447.
7. See *ante*, pp. 442-443.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

the Assembly. I said that I did not like the idea of his resigning now or later. Briefly, I stated what induced us to issue the statement about the charges against Partap Singh.

I imagine that Manali will grow in importance. The Lahaul and Spiti areas are relatively easy of access, compared to Ladakh or similar areas elsewhere. They afford fine opportunities for trekking across the Himalayan barrier at an altitude of over 10,000 ft and there are many mountains which invite climbing without excessive difficulty. This area is getting known abroad and in India too more and more people think of climbing mountains. What is necessary in Manali is a simple but decent Rest House for travelers and tourists. I gather that the Punjab Tourist Department is thinking of putting up one here.

I do not think it is feasible for an air service but there should be facilities for chartered small planes to come here.

I am returning to Delhi tomorrow morning. I still hope that I shall be able to come back here about the 6th June, but I fear that this might perhaps not be possible because of international and other developments.

Thank you for all you have done to make our stay comfortable.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

13. To C.P.N. Singh¹

New Delhi
2nd June 1958

My dear C.P.N.,

I enclose a letter I have received from P. Jeanneret,² your senior Architect at Chandigarh. I know nothing about the developments there. But it always surprises me how our official machinery works. Suddenly to break up a particular set of persons doing a certain job or work without consulting them or their head seems odd.³ Even courtesy demands that there should be full consultation. In our country,

1. File No. 7(118)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Pierre Jeanneret-Gris (1896-1967); a cousin of Le Corbusier; served in the Switzerland army, 1916-18; worked with Le Corbusier in Paris, 1922; joined Resistance Movement against Nazis during the Second World War; joined the Chandigarh Project, 1950; Chief Architect and Town Planning Adviser to the Punjab Government for the Chandigarh Project, 1958-65.
3. See also *post*, pp. 453-454.

the Secretariat looks down upon all experts, scientists, technicians, etc. In some other countries, it is the scientist and the expert who is far more important a person than the Secretariat.

Whoever might be more or less important is a small matter. But issuing orders suddenly to an expert body is not a good thing. It may well be desirable to reduce the staff and it is not for me to judge. But I do not like the way things are done. Perhaps you will look into this and smoothen the matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. To C.P.N. Singh¹

New Delhi
June 2, 1958

My dear C.P.N.,

Your letter of the 31st May has just reached me.² I wrote to you from Manali just before my departure. Probably that letter of mine has crossed yours.

I am not yet quite certain if I shall be able to go to Manali again, but I still

ariat looks down upon all experts, scientists, technicians, etc. In some ntries, it is the scientist and the expert who is far more important a an the Secretariat.

ever might be more or less important is a small matter. But issuing ddenly to an expert body is not a good thing. It may well be desirable the staff and it is not for me to judge. But I do not like the way things Perhaps you will look into this and smoothen the matter.

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Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

15. To C.P.N. Singh¹

New Delhi
June 6, 1958

My dear C.P.N.,

I have decided to go to Manali again on the 11th of this month by air. I shall start from here at about 8.30 a.m. Indira and her children will go with me. I expect to stay there for about ten or eleven days.²

I cannot find enough time to go for a trek in Lahaul and Spiti, much as I wanted to do so. Also, in view of many developments abroad and in India, I do not wish to be cut off from news and contacts. If I go to Lahaul, I will be cut off. Therefore, I have regretfully given up the idea of going to Lahaul. I intend, however, weather permitting, to go up to the top of the Rohtang Pass, and then return to Manali. This will be just a day's trip and will not require any special arrangements. In fact, all the arrangements for the trek were nearly complete, and only a small part of them will be necessary for going up to the Rohtang and coming back. The Deputy Commissioner of Kangra District³ who is, I believe, still at Manali, is being informed of my programme.

I understood from Shriman Narayan that Partap Singh wanted to see me. I have suggested that he might do so tomorrow at midday. The voting yesterday at the party meeting seems strongly in favour of Partap Singh,⁴ but if the Assembly is taken separately, then the difference is not so great, and it is the Assembly that counts much more than the Council. Also there were a number of small groups who hesitated for some time and then decided to vote for Partap Singh. If they had voted the other way, as they might have done, but for certain circumstances, the majority might well have vanished.

All this indicates that Partap Singh's position in his party is not as strong as it appears on the surface. It is extraordinary how Partap Singh has succeeded, in the course of a few months, in alienating so many different types of persons. He cannot carry on effectively without winning over some of these persons.

Unfortunately a few of Partap Singh's close colleagues have no good reputation. They are energetic, but they do not add to Partap Singh's strength.

The Congress President left Delhi yesterday for a week's tour of UP. Till he returns here we cannot consider the new situation in the Punjab or give any

1. JN Collection.
2. See *post*, pp. 816-840.
3. N. Khosla.
4. At the Congress Legislature Party meeting, held on 5 June 1958, Kairon won the confidence vote by 102 votes to 54. Shriman Narayan, General Secretary of the Congress, was present at the meeting as an observer.

advice to Partap Singh. I shall certainly indicate my own views to him tomorrow. I think he should go very slow at present and not act in a hurry.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

16. To Partap Singh Kairon¹

New Delhi
June 7, 1958

My dear Partap Singh,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received about the reported death under police custody of S. Ujagar Singh, a Harijan of Mandi Kalan, Distt. Bhatinda.² Whenever anybody dies under police custody, it is always desirable to have some kind of an enquiry to satisfy the public.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Sadhu Singh Dhariwal, General Secretary of All India National Mazhabi Singh Congress, New Delhi, informed Nehru that Ujagar Singh died due to severe beating in police custody though the medical authorities, in conspiracy with the police, gave a report that he died due to fits.

17. To Le Corbusier¹

New Delhi
June 8, 1958

Dear Monsieur Corbusier,²

Thank you for your two letters of May 9th and 10th, which reached me some days ago. I have also received the sketches of Chandigarh, which you have been good enough to send.

1. File No. 7(118)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Famous French architect and town planner, adviser to the Punjab Government for the Chandigarh project.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

You have referred to some difficulties which M. Pierre Jeanneret has experienced in his work at Chandigarh. He wrote to me on this subject himself, and I referred the matter to the Governor. I believe that the Governor has taken personal interest in it, and I hope that the difficulties have been removed.³

As for your proposal of "The Open Hand" to be put up as a symbol, just at present we are in such a difficult financial position that we have stopped any kind of work that is not considered inescapable.⁴ I can very well understand your enthusiasm and your disappointment at any delay in realising your conception. But, there are so many matters pressing in upon us that we are compelled to delay many things that we might otherwise do.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Governor C.P.N. Singh wrote to Nehru on 20 June 1958 that he found that the Capital Project was not making satisfactory progress because Giani Kartar Singh, the Minister in charge, had no interest in the Project at all and the Secretary, Mr Nayyar, was certainly an unsympathetic person. Decisions were delayed and unnecessary obstructions were put in the way of engineers concerned. Singh wrote that the proposals for retrenchment of staff had been kept in abeyance and to that extent Jeanneret's difficulties had been removed. But, according to Singh, the Capital Project was suffering a good deal for lack of sympathy and understanding on the part of Giani Kartar Singh, the Minister in charge of the Project.
4. The "Open Hand" symbol, designed by Le Corbusier, conveyed the message: "Open to receive the newly created wealth, open to distribute to its people and to others." However, it could only be installed in 1985 in Chandigarh even though Indira Gandhi had sanctioned its funding in December 1972.

18. To Partap Singh Kairon¹

New Delhi
June 9, 1958

My dear Partap Singh,

Prabodh Chandra² came to see me this morning. He was in an abashed and pent-up mood and proclaimed that he would do anything as a gesture for me,

1. JN Collection.

2. Congress Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly and one of the leaders opposed to and critical of Partap Singh Kairon.

including offering his life. But he had felt strongly about some matters and so had acted in the manner he had done. I told him that there was not much point in my advising him because he did not accept my advice previously when I gave it. There was no question of my having any ill will against him. I had known him since he was a student and he had the capacity of doing good work. Unfortunately he was swept by likes and dislikes and passion and lost all perspective. Whether he could get over this defect, I did not know. On my part, I would be glad if he could succeed in straightening himself out. For the present, probably he was too excited and emotionally wound up to look at things objectively. He had better calm down.

I told him further that although I was interested in individuals, I thought much more of causes and policies.

He said something about going to you and asking your pardon. I told him that was his lookout and it was always good to do the right thing. But the main thing was that he should recover his balance and not act in an irresponsible and excited manner. For the rest, I said this matter was in the hands of the Congress President and I wished to say nothing more about it.

I have this evening received a letter from Abdul Ghani Dar.³ I am not sending an answer to it, but I am enclosing it. In his letter there is reference to Ch. Kumbha Ram⁴ of Rajasthan. I might mention that Kumbha Ram has no good reputation and we have made this clear to the Rajasthan Congress.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

- 3. Congress Member of Punjab Legislative Assembly.
- 4. Member, Rajasthan Legislative Assembly till 1957, and Chairman, Panchayati Raj Federation, Rajasthan, 1957-58.

19. To Partap Singh Kairon¹

Manali, Kulu Valley
22nd June, 1958

My dear Partap Singh,

I enclose a note on salt. It is really addressed to the Central Salt Commissioner.² But as it would interest you, I am sending you a copy.

I find that there is some complaint in these areas on the basis of more being done for development purposes in Himachal Pradesh nearby than in the Kangra District. I suppose there is justification for this. Apart from this, it is pointed out to me that sometimes much better use could be made of common water sources, which lie on the borders of Himachal Pradesh and Kangra, than is done now because of different administrations. Surely, this matter should be treated from the geographical and human point of views and not purely administrative. Perhaps your north Zonal Council could deal with it, or even appoint a sub-committee which could remain in touch with not only water sources which might be common but other common matters between the two areas.

There is another local complaint here that people from Hoshiarpur who are naturally cleverer and more *hoshiar* come to this Kulu Valley and round about and rather exploit the simple people of the hills in their dealings in timber or grain or general stores.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, pp. 331-332.

20. To Partap Singh Kairon¹

New Delhi

24th June, 1958

My dear Partap Singh,
Thank you for your letter of June 22nd.²

In this you refer to the failure of the electricity for the tubewells in the Rajpura section. I think it is important that electric power should be supplied to tubewells even though you have to cut this down in some other place.

I hope your visit to Keylong in the Lahaul area will be a landmark for that area which deserves help. I have written to you quite a number of letters about Kulu Valley, Manali and Lahaul and Spiti. I feel that much can be done there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Kairon wrote that 100 tubewells in Rajpura section (erstwhile PEPSU) were lying idle for want of electric power and a month and a half would be needed to repair the burnt out transformer. Hence he was trying to redirect the power supply from official and residential areas and from the ice factories to agriculture.

(xi) Rajasthan

1. To Nathu Singh¹

New Delhi
April 14, 1958

My dear Nathu Singh,²

Your letter of the 11th April.³ The Bhooswami problem⁴ has essentially to be dealt with by the Rajasthan Government. I have therefore written to them about it again.

As for the food problem, the question is not one of distribution but of production in a million farms or more. It is easy enough to distribute what we have got and in fact the steps we have taken have been successful. Even the prices have come down somewhat. There is hope of a good yield later. We shall be considering this problem in the National Development Council early next month where we meet the Chief Ministers of States who are directly responsible.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 7(79) /58-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Retired Lt General, associated with the Bhooswami Sangh.
3. Nathu Singh had written that the Bhooswami problem in Rajasthan should be solved as soon as possible, otherwise some people might lose patience with the State Government. The Bhooswamis were looking to Nehru to find a solution to the problem and had approached Nehru because he was dealing with this matter and took interest in it.
4. The Bhooswami Sangh had been agitating for proper rehabilitation of the landowners displaced as a result of abolition of the jagirs in Rajasthan, see also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 32, pp. 174-175, Vol. 33, pp. 283-290, Vol. 35, pp. 241-243 and Vol. 38, p. 247.

2. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
May 7, 1958

My dear Pantji,²

A young Congress Member of Parliament from Bikaner, Pannalal Barupal,³ came to see me yesterday. He told me that there was a good deal of smuggling going on on the Pakistan border and gave me a paper mentioning a number of names of people who were specially concerned with this. He said he spoke from personal knowledge. He also mentioned some other names who support dacoits and the like.

The young man was certainly earnest and, I believe, trustworthy, even though his judgement may not always be right. It might be desirable to have some enquiry made into this. An enquiry through the Rajasthan Government is not likely to serve much purpose. Barupal told me that he had already spoken to Sukhadia⁴ on the subject, but nothing had happened.

I am enclosing the papers he gave me containing these names and some other information.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Home Affairs.
3. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha.
4. Mohanlal Sukhadia, Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

3. To V.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
May 15, 1958

My dear V.T.,²

As you perhaps know, the Rajasthan Government has had to face a lot of trouble with some petty *jagirdars*.³ When the main question of *jagirdari* reform came

1. File No. 7(79)/58-65-PMS.
2. Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission of India.
3. Even after the enactment of the Rajasthan Land Reforms and Resumption of Jagirs Act, 1952 and the Rajasthan Land Reforms and Resumption of Jagirs (Amendment) Act, 1954 the complaints of the *Bhooswamis* or the smaller *jagirdars* whose annual rental income was less than Rs 5,000 persisted. After prolonged negotiations and arbitration by Nehru, a law was passed by the Rajasthan Government on 18 May 1959 providing for payment of additional rehabilitation grants to the *Bhooswamis*.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

up there, the *jagirdars* agreed to abide by my decision. I made it clear to them that I could not go into this matter in any detail and I would consult my colleague Pantji, who was more acquainted with such matters. They agreed. Months passed and ultimately Pantji sent me his recommendations which I accepted. Later, another difficulty arose and this again was referred to Pantji.⁴

After all this was settled, a new organisation arose of some smaller *jagirdars* who refused to accept my award. They gave a good deal of trouble to the Rajasthan Government. But now they are very much toned down. After prolonged negotiations between them and the Rajasthan Government, most of the points in dispute have been settled. Two or three remain.

The Chief Minister of Rajasthan suggested to me that I might agree to arbitrate on these two or three matters provided the Bhooswami Sangh promised to abide by my decision. They wrote to me to this effect and saw me today. I have agreed.

I shall be grateful to you if you could arrange to have this matter examined by some competent person from the Planning Commission. Perhaps Tarlok Singh⁵ is suitable. The papers given to me by the Bhooswami Sangh people and the reply of the Rajasthan Government will be sent to you. After that, any further enquiries that might be necessary could be made or Bhooswami people could be sent for. The Rajasthan Government could also send someone acquainted with the facts.

In dealing with this matter, it would be helpful to compare what had been done in Saurashtra and elsewhere.⁶

I hope you will agree. I am sending a note by PPS about the interview I had with the Bhooswami people this morning.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 35, p. 242.

5. Additional Secretary, Planning Commission.

6. The Agrarian Reforms Commission, Saurashtra, 1950 had recommended among other steps the abolition of *garasdari* and other alienated land tenures converting all cultivators into peasant proprietors. It also suggested that "in the allotment of cultivable wasteland to small landholders and tenants, no assessment should be charged for the first three years. Those who possess fragments of land...should be encouraged to form cooperative joint farming societies." The Land Reforms Act of Saurashtra 1951 abolished the *Garasdar* and *Barkhali* systems.

4. To Nathu Singh¹

New Delhi
May 18, 1958

My dear Nathu Singh,

I have your two letters about the Bhooswami question. A few days ago, the Bhooswami leaders came to see me, and the Chief Minister of Rajasthan was also present then. I was informed by them that nearly all the matters in issue had been settled between them and the Rajasthan Government. Three issues, however, still remained, and they wanted to refer those to me for my decision, which they promised to accept, whatever it was. I was reluctant to accept any such burden. But, ultimately, I acceded to their request.

I told them that I would naturally have some competent persons to examine this matter and make recommendations to me for my consideration. They agreed to this. I have referred the matter, therefore, to the Planning Commission which is probably the most competent and suitable authority we can have anywhere, as they know fully what has happened all over India. I have, in fact, referred this matter to some people in the Planning Commission.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 7(79)/58-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

5. To Nathu Singh¹

New Delhi
28th June, 1958

My dear Nathu Singh,

I have your letter of the 22nd June.

I agreed after great reluctance to interest myself afresh in this question of resumption of *jagirs* in Rajasthan. I did so when it was made perfectly clear to me that every other aspect of the question has been settled and the remaining controversy related only to one matter, i.e., compensation. It is on this sole issue that I agreed to look into. I have asked the Planning Commission to consider this particular matter and advise me.

1. File No. 7(79)/58-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

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The question of resuming or not resuming the petty *jagirs* did not arise at all before me and is not going to be considered by me in any shape or form. The Rajasthan Government is completely free to carry on their general policy in this regard.

If there is any misunderstanding in the minds of the Bhooswami Sangh people on this issue, I am prepared to withdraw from the arbitration about compensation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(xii) Uttar Pradesh

1. To Sampurnanand¹

New Delhi
April 4, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,²

I enclose a letter from a lady who says she was married to Parmatmanand Singh, your Deputy Minister of Revenue, about twenty five years ago, when he had a living wife already. A year later he married for the third time and deserted her. Now she is in great distress and wants some kind of alimony or other help.

As this matter relates to one of your Deputy Ministers, I am writing to you. If the facts are correctly stated, she certainly deserves help from her husband.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

2. To Sampurnanand¹

New Delhi
April 16, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,

You will remember the deputation that came to me from Ganga Khadar and Hastinapur.² I told them that I would send my Principal Private Secretary³ to visit both these places. Shah Nawaz Khan⁴ (whose constituency this area is) also agreed to go with my PPS.

Both of them went there on April 11 and have presented a report to me. I enclose a copy of this report.

I shall only refer to one matter mentioned in the report. This is the Hastinapur Dairy Farm. It seems to me that this farm is not being run competently at all. It is quite absurd for such a large farm to produce fourteen maunds of milk. Everything depends on a really competent and energetic man in charge of such a place. The normal Government approach is not good enough.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. For Nehru's meeting with the representatives of the Ganga Khadar colony, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 479-482.
3. K. Ram.
4. Member of the Lok Sabha from Meerut, Uttar Pradesh.

3. To U.N. Dhebar¹

New Delhi
May 11, 1958

My dear Dhebarbhai,²

You must have seen in the newspapers, two or three days ago, a report of an attack on Mohanlal Gautam, the UP Minister,³ in the Aligarh district.⁴ This attack

1. JN Collection.
2. President, Indian National Congress.
3. Minister for Cooperation, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry in the UP Government.
4. According to a report in *The Hindustan Times* on 8 May 1958, a mob attacked Mohanlal Gautam, the UP Minister at Ahen, 30 miles from Aligarh, on 6 May 1958, to avenge the murder of Mool Chand, chairman of the local town area committee, about two months ago.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

by a number of students and others was quite a murderous one. It is reported that the attack was occasioned by a resolution passed by the District Congress Committee of Aligarh. I have not seen this resolution. But, it is said that the resolution practically charged Mohanlal Gautam for having brought about the murder of one Mool Chand. It was this that excited the students and others.

I do not know the facts concerning this matter. But it does seem to me very extraordinary that a District Congress Committee should pass a resolution accusing anybody, and more especially a Minister, of having brought about a murder.⁵ I think that the District Congress Committee should be called upon to explain this action.

It is true that Mool Chand was murdered some months ago. I believe he was actually under trial then for some serious offences. He did not have a good reputation. But, anyhow, *prima facie*, it seems absurd to accuse a Minister of this vile deed.

It would appear that this resolution was passed at the instance of a rival Congress group in Aligarh. Mohanlal Gautam is intimately connected with one group in the PCC and the DCC, which might be called the anti-Gupta⁶ group.⁷ Malkhan Singh⁸ is the leader of the other group. He is rather a rough and ready man.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. On 2 May the Aligarh DCC passed a resolution saying that Gautam was associated with the murderer.
6. C.B. Gupta, Congressman and a Minister in the UP Government till 1957, was defeated in the 1957 general election and also in a bye-election in 1958.
7. On 25 May 1958, Dhebar forwarded to Nehru Sampurnanand's report of this incident. The report said that *The Hindustan Times* report was 'entirely false' and the reporter was a sympathiser of the anti-Gautam group. Describing the background of the incident, the report said that of the two groups in Aligarh, Nawab Singh Chauhan and Srichand Singhal, both MPs, and Nandkumar Dev Vashisht and Malkhan Singh, both MLAs were the leaders of what was known as the Gupta party in UP politics. The other group was affiliated to Mohanlal Gautam. The Gupta group was much aggrieved since Gautam became a Minister. Regarding this particular incident, the report said that Gautam was attacked near a school in the interior of Aligarh district while he was on the way to his daughter's house. Some policemen were hurt during the attack and one person from the mob was injured in police firing. The report added that the attack was pre-planned.
8. Thakur Malkhan Singh was Congress MLA from Sikandararau, Aligarh.

4. To Sampurnanand¹

New Delhi
May 15, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,

I intended mentioning a matter to you, but you failed to turn up at the Working Committee meeting this afternoon.

This was about Ali Zaheer.² I have an impression that he is rather unhappy and feels that you do not trust him and, in fact, keep him at arm's length. I wish you could remove this impression and utilise him fully. No Minister can work if he thinks the Chief Minister or Prime Minister does not like him.

Many years ago, Ali Zaheer was a Minister in our Interim Government in Delhi.³ That period did not last long, but my recollection is that he did his work well here.

If you will forgive my saying so, I have an idea that you keep to yourself too much and do not develop more intimate relations with your Ministers. It is always worthwhile to have friendly relations and to meet and discuss matters informally from time to time.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Minister of Justice, Food, Civil Supplies and Forests in Uttar Pradesh Government.
3. He was the Minister of Law and Communications in 1946 in the Interim Government.

5. To Sampurnanand¹

New Delhi
June 7, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,

I have seen in the press rather distressing accounts of water scarcity in various districts in UP and of people suffering from this considerably. There was a report from Banda district. Dinesh Singh of Kalakankar² has also written about it. Presumably this refers to Rae Bareli district. Dinesh Singh has said that conditions are very difficult and has asked me for help.

1. JN Collection.
2. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Banda, Uttar Pradesh.

As you perhaps know, I do not normally send money from the Prime Minister's Relief Fund to individuals. It is usually sent to the Chief Minister. I am, therefore, sending you a cheque for Rs 10,000 from the Prime Minister's Relief Fund. I hope you will utilise it immediately for this relief work, more especially in the water scarcity areas. As Dinesh Singh has written to me, you might perhaps get in touch with him also. He is, I believe, in Lucknow now.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Deportation of an Indian Citizen¹

Please send the following letter to the District Magistrate of Bijnor, UP:

"Dear Sir,

The Prime Minister has received a representation in regard to Syed Shamsul Hasan of Village Gowali, P.S. Chandpur, District Bijnor. A copy of this representation is attached. The Prime Minister has further received a passport No. E 014239 dated 4th December 1954 issued to Syed Shamsul Hasan and renewed annually. The latest term of renewal goes up to the end of December 1958. The issue of the passport is proof of Syed Shamsul Hasan being a citizen of India.

The Prime Minister would like to know from you as to how and why this citizen of India was suddenly arrested, removed and deported to Pakistan. Presumably he was not even allowed to show his passport at the time. This matter raises important issues and, therefore, this letter is being addressed to you.

An early reply is requested.

Yours faithfully,"

2. Please send a copy of your letter to CS along with these papers.

1. Note to K. Ram, the Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 7 June 1958. JN Collection.

(xiii) West Bengal**1. Rights and Obligations go Together¹**

I am interested to learn that an All India Youth Festival is being organised to be held in Calcutta. This festival, it is said, will give a message to the youth of the country against provincialism, casteism and communism. I trust that this message will spread far.

It is obvious that the India of tomorrow depends upon our young men and young women of today. If these young men and young women are persons of quality in mind, body and spirit, then tomorrow's India will be a country of quality. It is not by numbers that a country is considered important.

Everyone today puts forward demands. So also the youth of the country. It is easy to make demands because the responsibility for fulfilling them rests with others. And yet, every right has an obligation attached to it, and if we look after the obligation, the right will necessarily follow. I wish, therefore, that we would think more of what we should do than of what others should do.

This applies to internal affairs as well as to national. We criticise other nations and have a sense of satisfaction in pointing out the errors of others. It would be far more profitable if we looked into our own failings and tried to get rid of them. Thus we would serve ourselves and our nation as well as the world.

We live in great, exciting, and dangerous times with hydrogen bombs being carried about in the air and the ever present risk of war and utter disaster. Such times require clear thinking and action and not merely slogans. I firmly believe that India and the people of India have a great future before them. But that future will be realised only if we work hard for it and build up this monument stone by stone. The youth of today will see tremendous changes in the world during the next few decades. Science is advancing. Technology is changing the world. But neither science nor technology can by itself take us far unless our approach to life's problems is governed by ethics, unless we realise that violence and hatred destroy and disintegrate and can never build. Our policies must, therefore, be built on the sound foundation of what Gandhiji told us and long before him, what the Buddha preached.²

1. Message to All India Youth Festival, New Delhi, 22 April 1958. JN Collection.
2. The festival was not held much to the embarrassment of Nehru. See also *post*, pp. 471-473.

2. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
June 9, 1958

My dear Bidhan,²

My ten days at Manali in the Kulu Valley did me a lot of good. This place is peculiarly suited for me with its calm and quiet and forests and ice-clad peaks. I returned much refreshed and calmer in spirit. I am going there again day after tomorrow for another spell of eleven days.

When I come back from Manali, I shall naturally have important work to do in Delhi. But I want to pay some visits also during July and August. I should like to go to South India, to Central India, to Calcutta and to my own State. I do not intend having any major and hurried tour, but I should like to go to some places without much fuss to meet friends and colleagues there. I would certainly like to visit Calcutta in this connection if you approve of this. I am not suggesting any date for the present, and anyhow the date will have to be rather late in July or early in August. That is the time of the rainy season, but I suppose this will not matter.

Perhaps you know that one of our principal workers in the Bharat Sewak Samaj is Ram Narayan Chaudhury,³ who is in charge of publicity, etc. Sometime last year he brought a number of people from West Bengal to me, who were supposed to have been connected in the old days with so-called revolutionary movements, etc. He said that these people could well be utilised for social service under the Bharat Sewak Samaj. I agreed to this as it is always good to have people doing solid work than just fretting. Later, I understand, there was some conference and the like of these people and they were fairly successful. The approach suggested was that they should get away from political controversies and devote themselves to quiet social service work in the villages.

Ram Narayan Chaudhury tells me that some Congress leaders in West Bengal did not like this idea very much as they thought that these people might make

1. File No. 40(12)/58-66-PMS.
2. Chief Minister of West Bengal.
3. Information Secretary, Bharat Sewak Samaj.

positions for themselves in the rural areas in this way.⁴ I do not know how far this is true, but I think this is too narrow an approach for any of us, and, in fact, this tends to push these people away into wrong groupings and wrong methods of work. We should try to give opportunities of work to all those who want it, more especially in the social field. Perhaps you will talk to our friends there on this subject. I am sure that what I have suggested would be good for the West Bengal Congress.

I am writing separately but briefly to Atulya Babu⁵ also on this subject.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. B.C. Roy replied on 12 June 1958 that Ram Narayan Chaudhury, in charge of publicity work of the Bharat Sewak Samaj, came to him with some workers for convening a conference of Bharat Sewak Samaj workers including N. Dutt Mazumdar, an erstwhile Minister in West Bengal. Roy consulted Gulzarilal Nanda about the convening of the conference, who said that B.B. Ghosh, Convener of Bharat Sewak Samaj in West Bengal should be the person to call the conference and Choudhury should confine himself to publicity and propaganda. Roy wrote that Chaudhury's observation that Congress leaders of West Bengal did not like this idea was wrong. Roy stated that these men even if they were connected with revolutionary movements were, to his mind, out of touch with the rural population of the day. Until they, by their persistent and consistent work in the rural areas earned the approbation of the people in the villages, it was not possible for them to get into any organisation. It was not a question of the West Bengal Government giving opportunities of work to anyone or stopping any person from going ahead but it was whether these men were prepared to work. Roy mentioned that there was a great deal of enthusiasm in rural areas. He commented that it was unfortunate that these men desired to have a place for themselves by virtue of their previous revolutionary activities and occupy positions in the organisation which they could not until they did the spade work themselves. He said he would speak to B.B. Ghosh if Chaudhury and his friends wanted to work there.
5. Atulya Ghosh, Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Asansol, West Bengal and President, West Bengal PCC.

3. To Atulya Ghosh¹

New Delhi
June 9, 1958

My dear Atulya Babu,
Some time ago last year I was asked by our Bharat Sewak Samaj people here, and more particularly Ram Narayan Chaudhary, about the work of the Samaj in

1. File No. 40(12)/58-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

West Bengal. I was told that there were a number of youngish people belonging to old so-called revolutionary groups who were eager to work with the Samaj. I said that I welcomed the idea. Thereafter, I am told, these people held some conferences which were fairly successful. The idea put forward was that these people should get away from political controversies and work, more especially in the rural areas, on lines of social service.

I heard later that some Congress leaders in West Bengal were rather apprehensive of these youngish people going to the rural areas even though they might do social work there, because thus they might make a place for themselves there. Therefore, they were not eager to encourage them. I do not know, of course, all the facts, but I am merely mentioning what was reported to me.

I think that it would be a far better policy from every point of view for us to take advantage of these people and give them work of this or a like kind. We must not be afraid of some one exploiting that position to our disadvantage later. We have to take that risk with everyone who works with us. It is better, however, for work to be offered than for persons not to have any openings which produces a sense of frustration in them and leads them sometimes into wrong courses.

I have written on this subject to Dr B.C. Roy also.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
June 28, 1958

My dear Bidhan,

I have been thinking about a visit to Calcutta. I would like to go there before the new session of Parliament begins. Would it suit you if I went about Sunday, the 27th of July, and spent two or three days there?

I would like to have a fairly quiet time from the point of view of functions. Indeed, I would rather not have any major function. What I am very much interested in is meeting people in individuals and groups, and discussing matters with them.

1. File No. 8/66/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

I hope you will be coming here for the Working Committee meetings on the 12th and 13th July. We can discuss this matter further then. But I thought I better give you some previous notice. Hence this letter.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To B.C. Roy¹

New Delhi
30th June 1958

My dear Bidhan,

In the third week of April, a young man came to see me here and he spoke to me about an All India Youth Festival which he said was being organised in Calcutta. The principal object of the festival was said to be to work against provincialism, casteism and communalism. The name of this young man was Amalendu Gangulee. He showed me a message that you had given to him for this festival, wishing him success. Your message was dated the 10th April.

I told him that I did not usually attend such functions but I approved of the objectives laid down and I gave him rather a long message. This was on the eve of my first visit to Manali. I lost sight of this matter then.

Later, I learnt that all was not well and that Atulya Babu had not approved of this festival and spoken about it to Shriman Narayan here.² Thereupon Shriman Narayan had issued some kind of a statement dissociating the Congress from it. Partly this was done to avoid any misapprehension as some names like that of

1. Shriman Narayan (ed.), *Letters from Gandhi Nehru Vinoba*, pp. 85-87.
2. Shriman Narayan, General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee, issued a press statement on 25 April 1958 stating that the AICC, "wish to make it quite clear" that the Congress had nothing to do with the Youth Festival. The statement said "our attention has been drawn towards the organisation of All India Youth Festival proposed to be organised in Calcutta. It has been reported to us that they have been freely using the name of the Indian National Congress in their support and they have published a long list of prominent Congressmen, who they claim have agreed to dissociate themselves with this festival. We have inquired into the matter and find that most of the Congress leaders have not even been approached for this Festival and their names are being utilised without their knowledge and consent. At any rate, we wish to make it quite clear that the Congress organisation had nothing whatever to do with this proposed Youth Festival."

Dhebarbhai had been mentioned in connection with this festival. Asoke Sen³ had previously agreed to be chairman of the festival but later he withdrew his name when it was stated that the Congress was dissociating itself from it.

You will appreciate that this has put me in a very embarrassing position. I had sent a long message to these people and my blessings and good wishes for the success of the festival. I had done so chiefly because I had seen your message and because Asoke Sen was associated with it. I do not quite know how to proceed about this matter now.⁴

But, apart from my embarrassment, this raises a wider issue. Why should not the students or young people of Calcutta organise their festival and why should the Congress come in the way of it or dissociate itself from it? The people behind this festival, so far as I know, are bright young men, broadly working for right causes for which the Congress stands. We should encourage all such activities outside the narrower range of direct Congress activities. I have always been of opinion that the influence of the Congress is far greater if a number of independent activities take place which are broadly in sympathy with the Congress. This applies more especially to the youths and the students. The Congress should certainly work amongst them. If it wants to occupy a monopoly position in regard to this matter, then it is bound to fail. More especially in present-day conditions, when our young people are drifting in all directions and all kinds of pulls are being made on them, we cannot approach them in a narrow organisational way. This applies to labour also.

You know I have not been happy about conditions in Calcutta⁵ and I should like to discuss this matter with you and with Atulya Babu and others at some length. I hope to have the opportunity to do so fairly soon. That is partly because of this that I intend coming to Calcutta.

My whole approach has always been that the strength of the Congress lies more in our approach to the general public and in the sympathy and friendliness of the general public than merely in the organisation we build up, important as

3. Union Minister of Law.
4. M.O. Mathai under instructions from Jawaharlal Nehru wrote to Amalendu Gangulee on 10 August 1958 in order to make his position regarding the All India Youth Festival quite clear. Mathai wrote that Nehru strongly disapproved of Gangulee using names of leaders without their permission. Had Nehru known of this, he would not have given the message he had sent previously (22 April 1958). Subsequently other information led him to the conclusion that he could not in any way be associated with the Festival.
5. During the three months from March to June 1958, B.C. Roy's Government had to face a no-confidence motion as well as the agitation by East Bengal refugees. The refugee movement was spearheaded by Suresh Banerjee and P.C. Ghosh of the Praja Socialist Party on the one hand, and by the Communist-controlled United Central Refugee Council (UCRC) on the other. In an article published in June 1958, the *Time* magazine described Calcutta as a stinking city where thousands were dying.

that organisation is. Once that organisation is isolated from public sympathy, then it has lost its anchorage and foundation.

This instance of the youth festival of Calcutta has come rather as a shock to me because here was an opportunity to influence indirectly large numbers of young men and women. Instead of influencing them in the right direction, we have given them a feeling probably that we do not approve of anything that is not done directly under their auspices. That, I think, is a wrong approach. In the present case, matters are even more complicated because you and I give our blessings to a function and then the Congress organisation without the slightest reference to us, dissociates itself from it. What exactly am I to do?

I am sending a copy of this letter to Atulya Babu.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

4

DEFENCE

1. Subsidised Accommodation for Defence Officers¹

The Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply has referred this matter to me through my PPS.² The Ministry issued a notification on the 29th July 1957 in regard to houses for our officers and the rent to be charged for them. The Defence Ministry is not agreeable to come within the scope of this rule. Broadly speaking, this rule is that if a person has his own house in a certain locality, he is not entitled to have subsidised accommodation provided for him separately. The rule is patently a just one, because it does seem absurd that an officer should build a house and let it out for a very heavy rent and then demand from Government similar accommodation at a subsidised rate. In this manner he tries to profit in both ways.

2. This rule has been enforced in the case of civil officers, but the Defence Ministry, for various reasons, object to its extension to officers connected with Defence.

3. I can understand that sometimes special considerations might apply in the case of army officers and the like. They are moved about more than civil officers. Therefore, any such rule would have to be applied with less strictness in their case than in the case of civil officers. But I do not understand when it is said that some kind of "sanctity" attaches to military officers being given accommodation at subsidised rates even though they might be making money by letting out their own houses.

4. Anyhow, could you kindly look through these papers?

1. Note to V.K. Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister, New Delhi, 1 April 1958.
JN Collection.
2. K. Ram.

2. Morale More Important than Weapons¹

Defence Minister, Dr Kothari,² and friends,
A Defence Science Conference, I take it, deals with defence and science and

1. Inaugural speech at the third Defence Science Conference, New Delhi, 3 April 1958.
AIR tapes, NMML.
2. Daulat Singh Kothari, Scientific Adviser to the Defence Science Organisation, Ministry of Defence.

tries to join the two together. All of us are interested in defence, and many of us, in an increasing number I hope, are interested in science. At the same time, we find that science which plays such a tremendously important part in our world today has a tendency to, well, play tricks with humanity. It gives us a great deal of power and it amuses itself by seeing how we misuse it. It gives us defence and then gives us something more powerful which will overcome the defence and so this race between the two aspects goes on till it has reached a stage, when any attempt to experiment again in the field of war might lead to the end of all experimentation.

Therefore, the whole question of defence has become something new, something different from what it was. I am not going into that matter but I just mentioned it. On one side, we recoil with horror at the prospect of war, not only because it destroys, that is the least of the things that war does, something more important, it does not merely destroy the body but destroys the mind and heart and everything that is worthwhile for humanity. Even without war, we see how it has filled human beings and nations with hatred and their minds are full of violence. And yet how do you meet this contingency? Not, I say with all respect, not by praying for peace, though prayer may be good, because it means a good frame of mind at least. Not in a sense of helplessness, because helplessness breeds fear. And I do not think that there is anything worse for an individual or for a group or for a nation than to suffer from fear. Almost every evil arises from fear. How to get rid of this fear? An odd thing is that people or countries, that happen to be rather advanced in the art of war and in defence science with an enormous capacity use this science for defence or for attack, still suffer from a tremendous deal of fear. It does not rob them of fear, the possession of all these weapons. They fear each other. It is an extraordinary phenomenon. And so, I have often wondered how we can build up our defence science on this lack of fear or on fearlessness, which of course is probably a subject which is not considered by Dr Kothari and his colleagues because that enters into a different range, whatever it may be, psychological or whatever it may be. There is no doubt that all the defence science in the world and all the weapons in the world are worth nothing, if there is no fearlessness behind them, nor is a nation worth anything. Now, sometimes another danger follows, that we get rather complacent, a phrase has grown up since the last great World War about the Maginot line mentality;³ we build up some kind of a wall and think we are protected although there is no protection except in your own capacity to protect your heart and mind.

3. The Maginot line was the French fortification system along the German frontier built in the light of the experience from World War I, and in the run-up to World War II. The expression 'Maginot line mentality' refers to the French belief, which turned out to be false, that France was safe behind its ultra-modern and advanced protection system.

Now I talked about fearlessness. One is always afraid of something one does not know. A person who has never handled an ordinary rifle is afraid of the rifle as a dangerous weapon. Today, a rifle may be an ordinary weapon but those who have not handled it think it a frightfully dangerous weapon. It is of course not dangerous, if you are used to it, well, you take it more or less for granted, and do not get frightened of the man who possesses it. We take a simple parallel of our people learning rifle shooting. It is not that I want them to shoot but because I want them to get used to this rifle and not be afraid of it because many people are afraid of it because they have never touched it in this country. If you have got to know it, you will like to throw it away, more or less, because you cease to be frightened of it. That should apply to bigger weapons. We should not be ignorant of them, and therefore afraid of them; that should apply indeed to all advances, whether in defence science or anything else. Those that are constructive and beneficial, we of course adopt; those that are purely destructive, we should know so far as we can. Partly to deal with the situation that might arise, in case somebody else uses them. Secondly, just not to be afraid because knowledge sometimes, not always, gives one a little more confidence than ignorance. Anyhow, what I am driving at is this that whatever our line of approach to these problems may be, we cannot afford to be complacent and indeed we have to base our future on the growth of scientific knowledge in every field. Science has perhaps, I do not know, advanced more technology under the stress of war than under the stress of peace. That at any rate appears so. But today no country can advance in peace or in war except with a full knowledge of modern science and technology, not only knowledge but the capacity to add to that knowledge.

In our own way, in India, we are considering everything, doing good work in the field of science, and I am very grateful to the men of science in this country who are doing this work. Many of you may remember or may recollect that, about a month or six weeks ago, the Government of India had passed a resolution on science, the chief value of it being, that not only it shows its mind, but I hope, the nation's mind, their approach to science.⁴ I do not say that the resolution was something revolutionary, but it was a definite changeover from the old way of thinking that change has come gradually and not suddenly, but it has come and it will come more and more. Also it was an indication to the country at large, how things were moving, how people were thinking. So there can be no doubt that we have to advance, to help in this application of scientific methods and techniques in all fields, more especially of course in a field like defence. And I welcome this conference and I am very glad that our Defence Science Department here has been doing such good work under Dr Kothari.

4. For Nehru's speech on the resolution, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 321-322.

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Having said so, again I would like to remind you of a fact which is entirely a separate fact, but it is well to keep it in mind. That the defence of a country today, or at any time, depends on the morale of the country, even more than on your weapons, even more than anything, on the morale of the country, on the economy of the country, on the state of the country, in the sense that the country is well-fed. Is the country more or less contented or discontented? That is more important ultimately than any weapon. And we cannot allow that aspect of the country to suffer, merely by thinking of trained armies, and trained navy, and trained air force, which deal with the latest arms. I would rather have a man who will refuse to bow his head even before the biggest bomb or anything than a fine army and a fine navy and a fine air force with the people behind them supine, ill-fed and all that. The army and the navy and the air force are meant for the people, not just to display their prowess for themselves. So we come back to this thing that the best defence is the quality of the people, perhaps the contentment of the people. The best defence, internationally, is the friendship of other nations, instead of being hostile to other nations. But again I come back, one gets friendship, well, by being friendly; I have no doubt about it.

One does not get friendship, anybody's friendship, by being hostile to that person, it is obvious enough but one gets friendship also by being respected. If we are weak and supine, we get nobody's friendship. People do not care very much for the weak and the timid, but those who are in their own way strong, who are not overwhelmed by fear, who try to do to the best of their ability what they think is right, and do not allow themselves to be pushed hither and thither by other forces and other countries—well, they are respected and then out of that respect friendship grows. But always remember that, as a law of science, for every action some kind of reaction follows on. I have not a shadow of doubt that whether it is individual relations or group relations or national relations, if you give goodwill and friendship to another country, I have no doubt, that goodwill and friendship, sometime or other, will come back to you. Or, at any rate, it will tone down the hostility of the other country and undermine the hostility. I have no doubt that if you give hostility and threats to other country, you get both of them back in return; these hostilities are more powerful than events may show. But you can never get peace on the basis of threats and on hostile approaches. You can never get a civilised way of living if you continually behave in an uncivilised and crude way. The two are contrary.

And while we must necessarily progress and try to progress in science and in defence science, you must always keep this in mind that the mind and heart of a man is a more powerful thing than anything has been invented even by science. In fact what has been invented by science has come out of the mind of the man, and a man of courage, real courage, of courage and integrity, is a greater strength to a nation than just the weapon he may have in his hand. The weapon is useful, inevitable, no doubt, because the weapon itself is the symbol

of something, and symbols count in this world, and apart from the symbol, it may be something more.

I hope, earnestly, that there will be no recourse to these weapons of mass slaughter that have been produced by science, and no recourse to them in the world. I hope, even more earnestly, that so far as we are concerned in India, we shall not be dragged or pushed into war with anybody. I hope that our policies will always promote friendship and convey no threats and thus we shall gradually overcome the hostility of others, if that is there. That is the best defence and the best way of living. But, at the same time, I think it is essential that we should not wait for events, but strengthen ourselves in every way, in the economic way, in the scientific way and other ways so that we may respect ourselves and others may respect us also.

And so, having referred to all manner of irrelevant things, I invite you to begin your deliberations.

3. Help for a Member of the Garhwal Regiment¹

I am sending you a letter from an MP from Garhwal (UP).² In this letter, reference is made to some previous representation from Ram Saran Badola. I do not remember this representation. Presumably, it was sent on by me to the Defence Ministry.

2. The main point about this man is that he was one of those members of the Garhwal Regiment who refused to fire on the crowd at Peshawar in 1930, I think.³ Because of this, all those people were made to suffer a good deal. A few went to prison. After Independence, I think we did something for them, gave them some pension.

3. I do not know what we can do for him or for his son. But, because he is an old army man and took part in this rather famous Peshawar affair, he does deserve sympathy.

1. Note to V.K. Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister, New Delhi, 6 April 1958. jN Collection.
2. Bhakti Darshan.
3. For details of the Garhwal Regiment's refusal to fire, see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 5, p. 480 and (Second Series), Vol. 33, p.577.

4. Defence Forces and Our Nation¹

This memorial is for all members of the Sikh Regiment² who fell fighting in the battlefield ever since it was established in 1846. Men belonging to the Regiment had shown exceptional courage in the First and Second World Wars, the operations in Waziristan in the North West Frontier Province, the Hyderabad operations, in Kashmir during the Pakistani invasion, and in the NEFA. Men of the Sikh Regiment have played a significant role in the defence of Kashmir. Had there been a delay by one day in sending troops, it would have been difficult to save the State. The valour and spirit of sacrifice displayed by the men of the Regiment are worthy of emulation. While, it is true that we had no quarrel or enmity with many of the countries against whom these men had fought as, for instance, Burma and China, the memorial, of course, is mainly for those who had died fighting for the British.

However, it is not proper to think in those terms. It would also not be proper to divide the history of the army or any regiment with the independence of the country. The memorial is in honour of the soldiers of the Regiment who lost their lives in the battlefield, both before and after Independence. Their contributions in the developmental activities of the nation are also significant. Whenever there was a famine or floods or earthquakes, they have gone to the aid of the people. Though atom bombs and still more destructive weapons have come into being, it is the strength of the people, their courage and valour, that would defend a country and save its freedom.

This is not a world for weaklings and people who forget their duty. We lost our freedom because our princes quarrelled among themselves. If we want to save our freedom we have to be alert all the time, and whenever there is any slackening in this respect it is dangerous for our freedom which is why there is a need for continued cooperation between the people and the armed force and that nothing should disturb this relationship. It is the cherished desire of Indians to save their freedom and make progress in all directions, and I pay my tribute to the army for its help in the matter.

1. Speech at the unveiling of a war memorial at the Sikh Regimental Centre, Meerut, 14 April 1958. From *The Hindustan Times* and *The Tribune*, 15 April 1958.
2. The Sikh Regiment was raised after the collapse of Sikh power in Punjab in the middle of the 19th century. The first Sikh battalions were raised in 1846, and several more in subsequent years. When the Indian Army was reorganised in 1922, one of these battalions became the training battalion and eventually converted itself into the present Sikh Regimental Centre.

5. Role of the Navy in Defending India¹

The Navy occupies a key place in the defence set-up despite the fact that the conventional defence might have been somewhat outmoded by modern advance in technology and the science of warfare. Indians were a great seafaring nation formerly but when their sea-power weakened, the country also was weakened.

We want the navy and the army not for attacking others. We have no such desire. We want peace in the world and no war at all. But at the same time we have to keep our Defence Services strong for the protection and service of the country. We should also learn the lessons of modern technological and scientific advance and keep abreast of developments, otherwise we will become weak.

Despite the multiplicity of languages, religions and communities in India, we should remember the fundamental unity of the country, for what imparts real strength to the defence forces is the unity of the people. So long as India was united she was strong. With division and disunity, she became weak. The reorganisation of States is only an administrative arrangement and it should not divide the people at all and whichever part of India they belong to they are all Indians. That is how they are all regarded outside India, where they do command respect as Indians.

The Navy performs a great service but that is only a part of the service to the country. India is now engaged in rebuilding her future. Those in the Navy, in defending the land, do part of this service.

India won freedom through peaceful means and the British left with goodwill. A few days back, a countryman of ours took over as the Chief of the Naval Staff.² He took over from a British officer.³ British officers served even after the British had left. Many of them rendered good service. I am thankful to them for it. I have no doubt that the Indian officers and men are a fine lot and they have a good navy too. Recently I witnessed naval exercises at Bombay.⁴ I am always happy to be in the midst of navy men.

1. Address to the officers and men of *INS Venduruthy*, Naval Base, Cochin, 26 April 1958. From *The Hindu* and *The Times of India*, 27 April 1958.
2. Vice Admiral R.D. Katari became the first Indian Chief of the Naval Staff on 22 April 1958 and held the post till 4 June 1962.
3. Vice Admiral Stephen Hope Carlill was Chief of the Naval Staff from 21 June 1955 to 21 April 1958.
4. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 545-546.

6. Self-Sufficiency in Production¹

In the present complex state of modern society, the defence of a country consists not merely in the strength of its army, navy and air force but in the industrial capacity of the country. Therefore, I appeal to the officers and scientists to suggest methods and means by which the right type of scientific and industrial apparatus might be built as early as possible in our country. Unless the country produces its own defence equipment, although not so good in the initial stages, it will not have the opportunity to improve upon its own production and make strides towards self-sufficiency.

By far, it is always better to have second-rate weapons made in this country than depend on weapons and equipment from abroad, however first-rate they may be.

This maxim is not only essential from the financial point of view to conserve our foreign exchange resources, but it is essential to have this approach from the national point as well.

In the ultimate analysis, true defence consists not merely in the possession of equipment, stores and weapons but in the strength and determination of the people to protect the country's frontiers from foreign aggression.

1. Address to officers of the Armed Forces and civilians at a week-long conference on defence production in New Delhi, 12 May 1958. From the *National Herald*, *The Statesman*, 13 May 1958 and *The Hindu* and *The Hindustan Times*, 14 May 1958.

7. To Morarji Desai¹

New Delhi
May 13, 1958

My dear Morarji,²

I spoke to you rather briefly the other day about certain proposals from the Chief of the Army Staff. He has now sent a note on the reorganisation of the

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Finance.

Army and more particularly of increase in senior officer ranks.³ This has been forwarded to me by the Defence Minister, and I enclose these papers.

These papers do not go into some possibly necessary details. But they are clear enough. So far as the financial implications are concerned, these will involve some promotions at the top, with certain additions in pay to 18 officers, the actual additional expenditure being presumably the additions in pay due to promotions.

There can be little doubt that our Army has not got an adequate number of officers. It is after all officers that count, as they take a lot of time to train. The men can be enrolled with some ease. At present, our system is a bad one. We cannot keep our good officers after a period, and many of our middling officers have to retire when they are very young. The present proposals will not make a difference to large numbers of people, but they will at least give a certain hope to others.

Thimayya said that he was convinced that, even from the point of view of economy, these new proposals will lead to substantial results. What he meant was that if senior officers had more time at their disposal, they could bring about a large number of petty economies in expenditure, which total up to a considerable sum. He gave as an instance that whenever he goes for a real tour of inspection, he succeeds in cutting off some expenditure which was not wholly necessary. Unfortunately, he has no time for this, and so both efficiency suffers and there is some wastage.

How far this is likely to be the result, I do not know. But I do feel that it is desirable to have these additional posts.

I am for the moment sending these proposals to you informally. If you agree, then formal action will be taken.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. K. S. Thimayya wrote that considering the size of the Army and responsibilities of the senior officers at various levels, the authorised senior ranks in the Army were inadequate. Their numbers were, perhaps, the lowest in any army in the world. Thimayya proposed that in order to meet the needs of an army of its existing size and to correlate the rank structure of the officers to the workload and the responsibility they were carrying, certain new appointments and upgradations were necessary. He proposed the addition of eight Lieutenant Generals, four Major Generals, and six Brigadiers. Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister, agreed with these proposals and requested Prime Minister Nehru to accord his approval.

8. To D.S. Kothari¹

New Delhi
May 16, 1958

My dear Kothari,²

You mentioned the case of Kapany to me today and I met him also. You suggested that we should engage him as the head of the Weapons Evaluation Group and that we should offer him Rs 1600 per month. I have consulted some of my colleagues and we agree with your proposal. We should like to have Kapany join our Defence Science Department.

Although you suggested a salary of Rs 1600 per month for him, he did not tell me whether he is going to accept it. According to you, he is getting \$15,000.00 per annum at Chicago. I hope he will agree to your offer.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Scientific Adviser to the Defence Science Organisation, Ministry of Defence.

9. Visit of Indian Naval Ships to Scandinavian Ports¹

There can be little doubt that a visit of one of our naval ships to Scandinavian ports is desirable. The question is whether that desirability balances the other factors which make it inexpedient at present. The Defence Minister,² on a previous occasion, pointed out that even desirable and valuable visit might not be expedient at present because they could not be considered inescapable from the point of view of operational efficiency or military preparedness. He also referred to the psychological reaction on public opinion of such a visit at that particular juncture. Those reasons would apply now even more than previously. The amount involved may not by itself be a big one, but every such instance would be treated as a precedent by other Ministries.

1. Note to O. Pulla Reddi, the Defence Secretary, Forest Rest House, Manali, 22 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. V.K. Krishna Menon.

2. The first proposal for a visit of Indian naval ships was subsequently cut down to only one ship going and some ports were also omitted. The present proposal would thus be a limited one and not as it was first intended.

3. I am inclined to think that it would be better to give up this proposal at present or postpone it to a more favourable climate. I would advise the Defence Ministry accordingly.

4. This view of mine is fortified by the international situation as well as by Indo-Pak relations.

10. To Morarji Desai¹

Manali, Kulu Valley
17 June 1958

My dear Morarji,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th June in which you deal with certain proposals which the Chief of the Army Staff has put forward.² I think it would be better for us to discuss this matter after my return and invite the Defence Minister also to the discussion. I should also like to have a talk myself with General Thimayya as the proposals emanate from him and he attached considerable importance to them. It would obviously be desirable for us to have these discussions privately and informally before considering this subject in the Defence Committee of the Cabinet.

Meanwhile, I am sending a copy of your letter to me as well as the note attached to it to Krishna Menon.

1. JN Collection.

2. Desai expressed disagreement with Thimayya's proposals concerning upgradations and new appointments in the Army. He feared that "wholesale creation of high appointments and ranks" would give the impression that India was "going in for considerable rearming". He wrote that upgradations would create adverse psychological effects on the Naval and Air Headquarters as well as on the Civilian Secretariat. He said that comparison with the British Army to justify the upgradation was "misleading" because the British Army was more mechanised and had garrisons spread throughout the world, which needed a larger proportion of high-ranking officers and added that "a comparison of the two armies would not be correct without a comparison of the budgets of income and expenditure of the two countries." Desai informed Nehru that he had discussed these points with Thimayya who had told him that the political and psychological reasons could be considered by the Cabinet. Desai also suggested that the Defence Ministry might be directed not to give "undue publicity" to these proposals.

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Both your letter and your note are very helpful in considering this matter. I had not of course given any detailed consideration to the various proposals made by the Chief of the Army Staff, although I had discussed this with him on more than one occasion. My broad approach was that the present structure of the Indian Army was not adequate or satisfactory. I was not comparing this with the British Army because I do not think much of the structure of the British Army and anyhow conditions are not the same. Modern armies are changing rapidly and old comparisons are hardly relevant. The technical and specialised element in the Army is far greater and a much higher standard is now required of our officers than in the past. In the past, the term, 'brass hats', was a more or less correct definition of the average officer and attention was paid more to what might be called smartness on parade, etc. The whole character of war has changed, changed so much as to make one doubtful if the old style of the army is much good except perhaps for local disturbances.

The one thing we should not do is to consider the question of our Army or other Defence forces from a static point of view and apply old parallels. On the whole, this is not done in regard to the Air Force because it is a new force and has not got used to working in old grooves.

For these reasons, my broad approach was, quite independently of General Thimayya's proposals, that the officer ranks should be increased somewhat and further that we should be able to take advantage of their training and experience for a longer period. I have a vague idea that when Marshal Zhukov³ came here, he was also surprised at the smallness of our senior officers.

But we must consider this question fully amongst ourselves later.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Former Defence Minister of the USSR, G.K. Zhukov, was in Delhi on 24 January 1957 and again on 16 February 1957.

5

PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS

1. To Howard d'Egville¹

New Delhi
April 7, 1958

My dear Sir Howard,²

Thank you for your letter of 3rd April which has just reached me together with the report of the proceedings at the general meeting held at New Delhi.³

In the course of your letter you refer to the desirability of maintaining continuity in the work of Chairman and Speaker of Legislatures. Broadly speaking, we are in agreement with you about this matter. There are, however, two difficulties. In spite of our desire to have uncontested election of Speakers, some opposition party puts up a candidate.

The second difficulty is that sometimes a Speaker or a Chairman has been elected to fill a sudden vacancy. He functions for a few months or so. Is he then to be fixed for life as the Speaker or Chairman? His choice may have been made in a hurry and under some pressure of circumstances. Thus, normally the principle of continuity should certainly be followed unless the Speaker or Chairman has not been successful at his work. But in these early stages of new Assemblies and Councils to consider the first election as a permanent one may sometimes create difficulties.

I am glad you found time to visit the Sun Temple at Konarak.⁴ I am afraid that it is gradually disintegrating. We are trying to preserve it of course.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Howard d'Egville (1879-1965); Canadian barrister and parliamentarian; organiser and First Secretary of the Empire Parliamentary Association, 1911-48; Secretary-General, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, 1949-59, and editor of its publications, 1949-50; organised first meeting of General Council of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in 1959; author of *Parliaments of the Empire, The Dominions and the War, War Legislation of the Empire, The Parliamentary System and Commonwealth Unity*.
3. The Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference was inaugurated by President Rajendra Prasad in New Delhi on 2 December 1957. For Nehru's speech on the occasion, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, pp. 694-696, and for his speech at the conclusion of the Conference on 10 December 1957, see Vol. 40, pp. 525-537.
4. The Sun Temple at Konarak in Orissa was built by King Narsimhadeva I (1234-45) of the Ganga dynasty.

2. To Jaspat Roy Kapoor¹

New Delhi

April 14, 1958

My dear Jaspat Roy,²

Your letter of the 12 April.

It is not possible to put up any additional portraits in the Central Hall of Parliament. All the remaining places have been reserved by the Chairman and the Speaker. In fact, even the portraits have been obtained. Sardar Patel's is going to be put up there soon. Then there will be Maulana Azad's, Dr Rabindranath Tagore's and Deshabandhu C.R. Das.

Therefore, it is not possible to have Rafi Ahmed Kidwai's portrait there in the Central Hall. It may however be put up somewhere else in Parliament. If so, it should not be of the huge size but a much smaller size. You may, if you like, consult the Speaker and the Chairman about the smaller portrait. It must be remembered of course that only a really good portrait will be accepted.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Jaspat Roy Kapoor (1896-1984); imprisoned during the freedom struggle; Member, Constituent Assembly, 1946-50; Member, Provisional Parliament, 1950-52; Congress Member of Rajya Sabha from Uttar Pradesh, 1952-1962; Chairman, Committee on Petitions, Rajya Sabha, 1954-57; author of a book on insurance law.

3. To M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar¹

New Delhi

April 16, 1958

My dear Mr Speaker,²

Thank you for your letter of April 16th.

I fully agree with you that the portraits of C.R. Das and Rabindranath Tagore should be unveiled some time during the next session. On that occasion, it is desirable for Dr Roy to be present. The portrait of Surendra Nath

1. JN Collection.

2. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, the Speaker of Lok Sabha, was elected from Chittoor Constituency in Andhra Pradesh.

Banerjee might also be unveiled then, though this will be removed to a Committee room later.

It seems to me that it might be desirable for you and the Chairman to decide finally about the remaining panels to be filled in the Central Hall of Parliament. One of them has to be reserved for Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's picture. I do not quite know how many panels remain, but I would suggest that two of these should be reserved for Shri C. Rajagopalachari and our President, Dr Rajendra Prasad. I would also suggest for your consideration that Hakim Ajmal Khan's or Dr Ansari's portrait might also be placed there.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. In a letter (not printed) to Satya Narayan Sinha, Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs, Nehru wrote on 30 April 1958 about the demands of some MPs for a portrait of Dr Ambedkar to be put up in the Central Hall. Nehru asked Satya Narayan Sinha to inform those MPs that according to the decisions of the Chairman and the Speaker, all the panels in the Central Hall had been either used or disposed of for future use, leaving no central panel. Nehru further said that he would be happy if a painting of Dr Ambedkar was placed at some suitable place in the Parliament House.

4. To M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar¹

New Delhi
May 17, 1958

My dear Mr Speaker,

The function of the Estimates Committee is an important one, and its reports are valuable documents which are meant to point out how greater economy and efficiency can be obtained in the working of the administrative machinery. Such reports are carefully studied by the Departments of Government to which they refer. There has, however, been a tendency for the Estimates Committee to consider policies of Government and to make recommendations in regard to them. Some of the policy recommendations have been far-reaching and involve a substantial change in the policies that are being pursued by Government with the sanction of Parliament.

Our parliamentary procedure is largely modelled after the procedures and conventions of the British House of Commons. The Estimates Committee also

1. JN Collection.

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was set up because of the British practice in this respect. In the United Kingdom, the functions of the Estimates Committee have been clearly defined, and it has been laid down that the Committee is precluded from examining questions of policy, as it was thought that a body "investigating matters of policy and reporting upon them publicly may be a real infringement of departmental authority and a hindrance to the ministerial conduct of public affairs."

The rules framed for the Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha, however, prescribe much wider functions for that Committee and appear to include considerations of policy. My Government have felt that these rules, as they are and in the manner they have been acted upon, tend to create difficulties which have been avoided in the Estimates Committee of the British House of Commons.

We asked our Law Minister² to examine this point and he has prepared a note on this subject, which I am submitting for your consideration. My Government feel that in this matter it would be desirable for us to adopt a procedure in conformity with that followed by the Estimates Committee in the United Kingdom.

I shall be grateful to you if you will kindly give consideration to this matter. I shall be glad to discuss this matter with you at your convenience.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. A.K. Sen.

5. To M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar¹

Forest Rest House
Manali
28th May 1958

My dear Mr Speaker,

I am grateful to you for your letter of May 24, 1958, which has been forwarded to me to Manali where I am staying at present.

I am glad that you have indicated your agreement with the observations made by me in my letter² to you regarding the functions of the Estimates Committee.

1. JN Collection.

2. Ayyangar was in agreement with the observations made by Nehru regarding the functions of the Estimates Committee in his letter of 17 May 1958 (see the preceding item) and informed him that he would consult the Chairman of the Estimates Committee before discussing the matter with Nehru.

In my previous letter to you, I did not go into any details or give the instances when, in our opinion, the Estimates Committee had dealt with matters of policy and suggested far-reaching changes in policy. This was something much more than a suggestion for the avoidance of expenditure or for greater efficiency. I had, therefore, ventured to suggest to you that the rules framed by Parliament governing the functioning of the Estimates Committee might make this point quite clear, as it is in the British Parliament.

I shall be happy to meet you to discuss this matter during the next session of the Lok Sabha.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Abolition of Standing Parliamentary Committees¹

I agree with this note and with the view taken by the Finance Minister that there is no justification for revising the decision of the Cabinet to abolish the system of Standing Parliamentary Committees.

2. I remember that this question was discussed repeatedly at some length in the Cabinet before the decision was taken. Also, not only the Speaker and the Chairman² were consulted, but a number of leading Members of Parliament were also consulted.

3. The system of having Standing Parliamentary Committees is not in keeping with parliamentary government after the UK pattern, which we have adopted. These Committees were instituted in the past when the then British Government in India was not responsible to the Central Legislative Assembly. Because of this lack of responsibility, the demand arose among the Members of the Central Assembly for some association with the Executive. Inevitably, that association could only be of an advisory kind and so these advisory Standing Committees were started.

4. On the coming of Independence and Parliament becoming a supreme authority to which the Executive was responsible, this system of Standing

1. Note to Morarji Desai, the Union Minister of Finance, Manali, 13 June 1958.
JN Collection.
2. Vice-President S. Radhakrishnan.

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Parliamentary Committees became out of date and rather like a fifth wheel in a coach. Parliament has numerous opportunities of discussing a policy as well as important Executive decisions. Then there is the Estimates Committee and the Public Accounts Committee.

5. One of the principal reasons why this question had to be reconsidered by the Cabinet was the delay caused by references to the Standing Finance Committee of projects and proposals. On the one hand, there was criticism in Parliament and outside about these delays. On the other, this procedure added to the delays. More especially the Standing Finance Committee became responsible for these delays. The usual charge was made against the Finance Ministry by the administrative Ministries that proposals and projects were held up in the Finance Ministry. Often the Finance Ministry was not directly responsible for the delay and their answer was that the matter had to be considered by the Standing Finance Committee. The Standing Finance Committee naturally wanted to go fairly deeply into the proposals and projects that were put before it. They summoned representatives of the administrative Ministries to explain the project to them. All this involved a great deal of duplication and delay. During the periods when Parliament was not sitting, it was not easy for the Standing Finance Committee to meet, though of course a meeting could be held in cases of urgency. A practice thereupon arose that during such periods, the Finance Minister should function on behalf of the Standing Finance Committee.

6. I agree, therefore, that we should indicate that we see no justification for revising the decision of the Cabinet to abolish the system of Standing Parliamentary Committees, including the Standing Finance Committee.

7. To Satya Narayan Sinha¹

Manali, Kulu Valley
17th June 1958

My dear Satya Narayan,
Your letter of the 14th June.

I agree with the Home Minister and the Law Minister that it would not be desirable to bring forward an amending Bill solely with the purpose of providing free travel passes to Ministers for railway journey.

As for the question of including this matter in the Salaries and Allowances of Members of Parliament Act, I am not quite clear in my mind. I think it will

1. JN Collection.

be desirable for us to consult our colleagues in the Cabinet. This may be done formally or informally.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Parliamentary Question on Socialist Pattern of Society¹

The Lok Sabha Secretariat might be informed that this question is rather an extraordinary one.² The socialist pattern of society is not and cannot be established by some law or rigid scheme within a few months. All the planning activities of the Government of India are meant to take us towards that objective, the realisation of which will necessarily take a considerable time.

2. This kind of enquiry is not normally made as a question. Members of Parliament may discuss the general policy of Government in the course of various debates that take place in Parliament.

1. Note, Manali, 20 June 1958. JN Collection.
2. A notice for a question (No. 2008) was received by the Lok Sabha Secretariat regarding the establishment of a socialist pattern of society.

9. To M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar¹

New Delhi
June 29, 1958

Dear Mr Speaker,

It is becoming a fairly frequent practice for Members of Parliament to send representations or complaints or enquiries to our Ministries. We welcome this of course. But, there is one aspect of this question to which I would like to draw your attention.

Members of Parliament should always have access to a Minister or a Deputy Minister. If, however, they write directly to our Secretaries, Joint Secretaries or

1. JN Collection.

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even other officers, or to the managers of our State establishments, then difficulties arise. Insofar as I know, the practice in other parliamentary systems, and more especially in the United Kingdom, is for Members of Parliament not to correspond directly with officials. These officials are not supposed to write directly to Members of Parliament. In effect, therefore, the Minister has to reply on behalf of the official.

The letters that some of our Secretaries have received sometimes call for action. Thus, a Secretary to Government receives a letter which ends up with the following:

You are therefore requested to get the matter investigated immediately and intimate the action taken.

I seek your guidance in this matter. I do not quite know what the rules are in our Parliament in this respect.

While we welcome all enquiries from Members of Parliament, I would like to point out that members of our Services, Civil or Defence, having direct contacts with Members of Parliament is liable to create difficulties and might often be a breach of service discipline, more especially in regard to the Defence Services. I would, therefore, suggest that it is not desirable to encourage members of our Services to approach Members of Parliament directly on Service matters. This might well lead to a kind of a "lobby" of the Services in Parliament.

Once matters reach this stage, it becomes difficult to deal with them with any hope of achieving results.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

I. WISH FOR TEMPORARY RETIREMENT

1. Seeking a Period of Calm and Quiet¹

Some weeks ago I said that I felt rather tired and stale and would like a change. Since then many friends and colleagues have asked what I meant and there have been speculations in the Press. I had no desire to come to a decision in a hurry or without consulting the Party which has done me the honour of electing me its leader. I spoke to some colleagues and placed my views before the President.² I think the time has come when I should place this rather personal matter before the Party and seek its guidance. The personal matter has indeed a wider significance and it is essential for me to have the advice of my comrades in the Party and the organisation who have given me their affection and been indulgent to me for many years.

It is over eleven and a half years since I became a member of the Government and over ten and a half years since I became Prime Minister of India. These years have been very heavy with work and problems and many comrades have shared these burdens with me. If I had felt a little weary it would not perhaps be surprising, and yet, though occasionally I have had a feeling of tiredness or a passing mood of dejection, my dominant sensation throughout this period has been one of absorption in my work and certain exhilaration at facing the great problems of India and the world. That joy and exhilaration came to me no doubt because of the intimate relationship that had grown up, during 40 years and more, between me and the Indian people who had showered their affection on me in abundant and extravagant measure. Perhaps it was this that kept me physically fit and determined to perform the duty that had been cast upon me to the utmost of my ability.

That feeling of exhilaration and a sense of adventure are still with me. The bonds that tie me with our people have grown stronger with the years and there continues the overwhelming desire to serve them and help in solving their manifold problems. I remain physically fit and active and I believe that I have still some years of efficient service before me.

Why then should I think and talk of staleness and should seek a period of calm and quiet? The work of Prime Minister allows for no respite, it is continuous

1. Statement read out by Nehru at the annual general meeting of the Congress Party in Parliament, New Delhi, 29 April 1958. JN Supplementary Papers, NMML. Also published in the newspapers on 30 April 1958.
2. Nehru sent a copy of this statement to Rajendra Prasad, the President of India.

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and unceasing, much of it is routine, and much requires important decisions. There is little time for quiet thinking. I feel now that I must have a period when I can free myself from this daily burden and can think of myself as an individual citizen of India and not as Prime Minister.

There is much to think of. I am greatly concerned at the international situation which hovers on the brink of a precipice, with hydrogen bombs ever ready for discharge, and the atmosphere full of hatred and violence and fear and apprehension of some sudden attack. I do not imagine that we can do much in this situation. But even a little sometimes helps and, in any event, we should be clear in our thinking.

Then there are the problems of India bearing down upon us, which require constant attention and fresh thinking. We have to guard against getting into ruts of thought and action.

I am anxious to fit myself for the great tasks ahead and I feel that it might help me to do so if I am away from the centre of activity and responsibility. I realise that nothing that I may do will lessen that responsibility and indeed I have no desire to escape from it, for that comes to me not from the office I hold but from my connection with events in India for 40 years.

I have ventured to place my thoughts before my colleagues in the party frankly and I seek their permission to act in the manner suggested. I can assure them that wherever I might be I shall be ready to answer their call. I would add that I have already made my submission to the President on these lines. But the final decision must rest with our Party.

2. To M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar¹

New Delhi
May 1, 1958

My dear Ananthasayanam,²

Thank you for your letter of May 1st.³

1. JN Collection.

2. Speaker of the Lok Sabha.

3. Ayyangar requested Nehru to reconsider his idea of seeking temporary retirement from Prime Ministership and suggested that the work could be entrusted to others who would work under his guidance and relieve him whenever necessary. For some time he could be "Prime Minister without portfolio" and devote whole time to improving conditions in the States. He supported the view expressed in the Press that Home Minister G.B. Pant might be made the Deputy Leader and floor leader in Parliament, the Deputy Ministers be given more responsibilities and he might coordinate the work and attend to important policy matters.

The proposal I had made was after full thought and long consideration. It really did not have much to do with my health, because my health is quite good. It is true that sometimes I feel mentally a little tired, but there is nothing unusual about it. The question of my parting with some of the work I do may be considered, but it really has no particular relevance in this context.

The real question for me is how best I can serve the country at this particular juncture. I had felt and still feel that it would be better if for some period I was not Prime Minister and could work in other ways. But, of course, I shall naturally pay heed to the advice I receive from friends.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Reasons for Wanting a Break¹

This is rather an odd occasion, more especially for me. At first I thought that perhaps it was not necessary for me to be present here but on second thoughts, more especially because I was urged to do so by my colleague Satya Narayan Sinha,² I decided to come, and here I am at your disposal, but I have to face one difficulty. The Prime Minister of Turkey is arriving at Palam in about an hour's time, at quarter past six, and I shall of course have to go to Palam to receive him.³ So I cannot stay very long. I shall stay here till about 10 minutes to six, then I shall have to go. But if you so wish, you can carry on the meeting after I go away or if you so wish, we can adjourn the meeting for another date soon. You see, it is not merely a question of what members may have to say, I should like to have an opportunity of saying something myself that I may not likely to have today, so probably it would anyhow be desirable to have another meeting as soon as possible. Now, although I am sitting here and presiding over this meeting, I am in your hands, whatever you intend doing. Shri Satya Narayan Sinha wants to give what might be called the initial kick off.

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1. Extracts from a speech at the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting, 1 May 1958. Tape No. M33/c(i), NMML.
2. Union Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs.
3. Turkish Prime Minister Adnan Menderes had a stop over in India on 1 & 2 May 1958, after his visit to Japan and Formosa (now Taiwan).

Please, please, why should there not be discussion? I do not understand. I mean to say, you cannot shout down people who want to speak, it is not fair; surely, you should be more tolerant of expression of opinion. When people want to speak they should be given the opportunity to express their opinion. They may bring about various aspects whatever they may be.

I was telling you—please, it is no good our shouting at each other. It is obvious, at least it should be obvious, that I would not venture to make the statement I did to you without careful thought. I might tell you that such ideas have come to me frequently and repeatedly for several years off and on. And I had to weigh and balance the advantages and disadvantages of any such step and ultimately I decided against it. However, some months ago they came back to me with great force. It is a little difficult to say what particular urge there was, what particular event, difficult to say. It is a multitude of things happening, not so much in Parliament, sometimes here, mostly outside, sometimes even outside India which create a certain climate of opinion in a person's mind. But anyhow all these factors came before me with great force after Maulana Azad's death.⁴ That was a shock to all of us and it was not that only but many things that had happened before which had been influencing me and Maulana Azad's death made me think about these matters more deeply and carefully. At no time could I think, more specially after Maulana's death, that I was what might be called retiring from public activity, that was never my idea nor is it today. The other day at Cannanore I delivered a speech, which was perhaps wrongly interpreted.⁵ I made a very distinct difference there, and I said I am not a retiring man so far as public activity is concerned but I said public activity is not confined to membership of Parliament or Prime Ministership.

The question that came to me was how I can be most effective. The question of physical health did not come to me because I was healthy, maybe sometimes, as all of us, I am tired in mind; one recuperates and I did want some freshness of mind to consider these problems. Anyhow when this idea became clear before my mind, at that time remember I was functioning also as Finance Minister and I had decided to go through the first stage of the Budget debates, the general discussion and then hand over this work to Shri Morarji Desai. Meanwhile, I spoke first of all, as was natural, to my senior colleagues in the Central Parliamentary Board of the Congress. I spoke to them frankly, telling them of my feelings in this matter at some length. I spoke also immediately to the President, this was two months ago, nearly two months or seven weeks, I forget, and I have spoken to the President several times in the course of the last six weeks. Some newspapers have imagined that I rushed up to him before the meeting here two or three days ago, that was not so. I had spoken to him

4. Maulana Azad died on 22 February 1958.

5. For Nehru's speech at the delegates' session of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee's Political Conference at Cannanore on 27 April 1958, see *post*, pp. 542-548.

previously on several occasions. Then there was a meeting of the Congress Working Committee;⁶ I did not speak as fully and frankly to them as I had done to some of them separately because I did not want this to get abroad, in this way. I wanted it to come abroad when I had decided on the time for it to come abroad, when I could myself say so. Then I spoke in our Cabinet and told them about it. So step by step to the President, the Congress Parliamentary Board and our Cabinet here and some, that is, practically all except for one or two individuals. Then it was clear to me that I should not make any declaration of this type after Parliament had adjourned and our Party had scattered—that would not have been proper, it would have been highly improper, for me to say or do anything when all my colleagues had gone away. Therefore it was clear that I should do so before Members of Parliament went and some time before, some days before, 10, 12, days before. Therefore, I decided that the right time would be about towards the end of this month of April, as I was going to Kerala for a tour and there was a meeting to be fixed up, annual meeting of the Party, for the report and accounts. Well, I thought that was about the latest, I did not wish to delay much more and before I went to Kerala I decided on making this statement, on this day on my return.

I am merely telling you this that this was not some sudden thought or sudden decision but a thing which had grown for months past and which I had, after my mind was fairly clear, stated to the President, to the Congress Parliamentary Board and to my Cabinet and one or two others, not more, because I did not wish it to go out in bits and pieces, and I am grateful to those colleagues of mine with whom I had discussed it for keeping my confidence in this matter. Then came the time when I had to speak to the Party and I did so. So that this was the product of considerable and persistent thought. That is all I wish to tell you now.

I am afraid I have got to go now, you can carry on of course, but before I go I will just say two words. I should like to say more later if I have the opportunity. First of all, if I may say so with all respect, your proposing the resolution⁷ and passing it with acclamation quickly was not very creditable to

6. The Congress Working Committee met on 5 and 6 April 1958.
7. In a resolution passed on 1 May 1958, the Congress Parliamentary Party expressed shock at Nehru's announcement of his desire to retire. The resolution declared that "though conscious of the great burdens borne by the leader, not only during the period of his office but equally during the period of the struggle for independence, it resolves that it cannot contemplate the acceptance of any suggestion which could mean the severance, even though for a temporary period, of the ties that bind the leader of the Party and the Prime Minister to his office." The resolution added that the "party categorically refuses to contemplate any period devoid of his continued leadership which, in its considered opinion, is of paramount importance in the context both of the varied and complicated problems facing the nation and the serious and difficult problems facing the world." The resolution was moved by Diwan Chaman Lall and seconded by P. Subbaroyan.

the Party or to me. That simply meant that I doubted or the Party doubted as to whether I had the confidence of the Party, and you gave it to me. I did not doubt that at any moment. No question had arisen that I had lost your confidence, just a kind of vote, I did not want the vote of confidence from the Party. I presume I was presumptuous enough to think that I had by and large your confidence. Therefore merely giving a kind of vote of confidence does not take us very far. I have said previously that the statement I have made, was made after months of thought, months of concentrated thought, previously rather diverse thought, and you will remember I have mentioned this slightly in my press conference.⁸ I had written to the Chief Commissioner⁹ vaguely but it is the same trend of thought and now do me the credit and the honour to believe that I would not act casually and I would not do anything which was in my opinion harmful to this Party or to the organisation or to the country. It may be that I am wrong; that is a different matter but do me the credit of thinking that if you pass a resolution by acclamation, well you do not do me that credit. You think I acted casually and you act casually.

But may I say again that I have no grievance, I mean to say I may agree or not agree here and there with what the Party does, but by and large I have no grievance against the Party. I have had the greatest cooperation, help, friendship from the Party for which I am deeply grateful. It is not any particular grievance with the Party, it is not any particular grievance with anybody. But if I may say so, it is a deep feeling that has been arising in me for a considerable time when it came to a crisis that something was out of tune in this country, a great many things were out of tune. I was not in tune with many things, sometimes not in tune with the Party—but that is a small matter—but not in tune with the country, not in tune with the organisation. I cannot go into details and I want to be in tune with it and you are telling me, Satya Narayan Sinha is telling me, to go for a three-months' holiday. I want no holiday. Physically speaking, I am stiff and strong as ever. If I wanted to go away, and then I do want to go away, it is not for physical health but for some mental abstraction from the daily routine so that I can myself think what is wrong with me or with the country or with the Party or with the organisation, whatever it is. I think that is necessary for my own soul's benefit or spirit's or mind's or whatever you like to call it.

There is no doubt that everything is not well, not with the Party so much but with our organisation and, if I may say so, public life generally in the country. There is too much, well, if I may use the word, jobbery; everybody is after a job in the Congress, he wants to be this office bearer, he wants to stand for election

8. See *post*, pp. 755-756.

9. A.D. Pandit, Chief Commissioner of Delhi.

for Assembly or Parliament. There is no harm in that, I do not say that, but there is a degree of it and I think we have passed that degree, the whole country, I am not talking about the Congress but the whole country. People think of that and forget the deeper issues. All this is troubling me because, after all, we are playing for high stakes. I am playing for high stakes, the stakes are the whole of India marching forward, not this wretched election or that wretched election. What shall profit us if we win an election and lose our souls and lose everything that we stood for? That is the vital thing and that is what really we should consider calmly. And again I say I have no grievance against the Party. It is really the larger thing which I have in view. And I never thought at any time of retiring from activity. The whole problem in my mind was how I can be more effective and I did come to the conclusion that it would be helpful to me and to others and to the country if I could devote myself to activity outside Parliament or outside the Prime Minister's job for a while and come back. That was a problem before me and in the balance, I thought of the advantages and disadvantages, I thought that would be a good thing.

So I must go now. I am sorry I cannot continue. But I want you to consider this matter in this context. I know I have your affection, your faith, your loyalty; there is no question of your telling me that. I know that by my going away certain difficulties would arise. I realise that. I want those to be balanced with certain advantages also, maybe you are right. But it is not a question which can be just solved by loud acclamation, if I may say so.¹⁰

10. In this connection Indira Gandhi wrote to Nehru on 1 May 1958:

I should not presume to advise you but I have been thinking over our little talk of an hour ago.

Having once suggested giving up the Prime Ministership and started a train of thought and discussion, is it wise to go back to the status quo? Will it not have an adverse effect? So much is rotten in our politics that everybody sees things through his own avaricious myopic eyes and is quite unable to understand nobility or greatness. There will therefore be a feeling that you had no intention of giving up the PMship and were only bluffing.

Let them try to manage by themselves, otherwise they will only drag you down with their own rottenness. If you are outside, it may at least reassure the general public that you are not responsible for all the wrongdoing.

I have so much to say but there is no time.

4. Withdrawal of the Proposed Resignation¹

Well, I need not tell you that I am deeply moved by what has been said today and what was said two days ago. Now you will have noticed that I have made various statements either at this meeting or day before yesterday or in my statements made previously or otherwise which appear to be somewhat contradictory. I say that I am tired and stale. Now I come to you and I tell you I am perfectly fit and not tired. It is obviously a contradictory thing and yet essentially it is not contradictory. It is difficult for me to explain all this to you. You have known me for many years and I have known you for the same number of years and presumably we know each other to some extent and yet nobody ever knows another person. However intimately we may know each other, at times we are strangers to each other and sometimes we are strangers to ourselves even; we do not know ourselves. Now all these rather contradictory statements that I have made surely indicate one thing, and that is, the ferment in my mind. A troubled mind, there is no doubt about it. It is perfectly true that physically I am more fit, mentally too. I may be tired sometimes but that is a passing phase; one is tired but that there is and has been ferment, well of course all of you, you and I and all of us have ferment in our minds, that is a sign of vigour of thinking. It is not a bad thing unless it becomes so much that it rather overwhelms one.

I told you on the last occasion that for some months past I had been thinking about this matter. It was not a casual effort that I made in making that statement here. The ageing idea often came to me but it came to me with peculiar force in the shock of the circumstances created after Maulana Azad's death. I do not say it was Maulana Azad's death but that was one shock that gave the last push to that idea and I thought about it subsequently a great deal and later I consulted some of my close colleagues whose opinion I value, Dhebarbhai and others. I consulted the President, more as an old colleague than as the President. I told him my intention; I did not formally send him my resignation in writing or anything like that because that would have been improper for me to do this behind the back of the Party and without consulting the Party. So these various steps I took thinking all the time and balancing the advantages and disadvantages. Certainly there were disadvantages in what I intended doing, they were clear to me. On the other hand I thought that there were advantages also and they outweighed the disadvantages.

1. Speech at the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting, New Delhi, 3 May 1958. Tape No. M33/c (ii), NMML.

Now it is true that most of us find reasons to justify our wishes, that is, one wants to do something, then one finds reasons for doing that, and so far as wanting or wishing goes, the urge in me became ever more powerful, somehow to get away from this post even for a while, for me to feel that I am not Prime Minister. I cannot give you reasons, these are urges and I realised then that whether I am Prime Minister or not, a very great responsibility will rest on me because of the nature of things in India at present and in the past but I just wanted that. I am merely telling you of the urge in me. It often comes but this time it came with peculiar force. I did not think that, having regard to all the circumstances, I should necessarily keep away for long, although I was perfectly happy to do so but I thought the pressure of circumstances was so great as to, well, bring me back. I did not mind that. But in the main what I was seeking was just the feeling that I did not hold this office and had certain opportunity for just thinking quietly without being pushed and harried.

Now that was the urge and so, no doubt, I tried to find reasons for that and in the balance I came to the conclusion that the reasons for doing so were stronger than the reasons for not doing so. It was then that I spoke about these matters to my colleagues, some of my colleagues, to the President and my Cabinet, one after the other, and I decided naturally to speak to our Party. I decided many, many days before even about the time of speaking to the Party in the sense that I was going away down South and I decided that the moment I came back I would speak to the Party. I wanted to do so in good time before the session ended² because it would be highly improper for me to speak at the last moment, last day and upset everybody. That is a mere record of what happened.

Now, day before yesterday I said something about being irritated at various things that were happening in the country. That is perfectly true. One is irritated, pained, with all manner of things that are happening in the country, to our organisation, the Congress and in many other things. But I like to make it perfectly clear to remove any misunderstanding that the question that basically has disturbed me had very little to do with this Party or my Cabinet or the functioning of Parliament. I mean to say there are many things that happen here, which one likes or dislikes but that is neither here nor there, I do not like things that happened sometimes but they have no great importance. I have never dreamt of any such action because of anything that has happened in Parliament or in our Party here and certainly not in our Cabinet. It was the larger picture of India that disturbed me, what was happening and what disturbed me were facts, definite that happened but even more so things which are imponderable, insubstantial things which you cannot grip; not that somebody has misbehaved but an atmosphere growing in India which I found not only disturbing but rather

2. The 89-day-long Lok Sabha session ended on 10 May 1958.

suffocating to a slight extent, if you like, and that disturbed me more and more. After all, many of us came to politics not for the normal reason of coming to politics, to find a career, to get a job and all that; we came because it was part of the mission that we had undertaken—a part of it not the whole of it. Now I realise more and more that that mission part was disappearing as a whole. Now, individuals, of course, may have it more or less, but the whole background was changing.

Speaking of myself, I have a certain competence, a certain efficiency and I did my job, but more and more I began to feel unhappy about that, that is, it was the work more of some kind of robot or automation functioning efficiently if you like, without that deep sense of function, that sense of mission. Somewhere of course that sense of mission remains but somehow has rubbed up all the time the wrong way by this atmosphere that surrounded me. It is very difficult for me to describe that, what it was due to. There are many things, many things that you know that have been happening and it was not entirely confined to the Congress; it was not the Congress matter as such, it was rather a matter of the whole country. I do believe, although I am unhappy about the things that have happened to the Congress and in the Congress, but I still believe that the Congress is, from any point of quality, a superior organisation to the other parties in India. It is not that I think that the Congress is worse than them, of course not. But then we have always laid claim to higher standards, we have tried to live up to them even if we failed sometimes.

And so while I was disturbed at things that happened in the Congress organisation all over the country, the disruptive tendencies, the rather unseemly race for office or for post, the bitterness that is generated amongst comrades and Congressmen and all that, I was thinking not so much of the Congress but of what was happening in the country as a whole, the deterioration of our standards, a certain coarseness coming into our public life, a certain vulgarity coming into it. One does not naturally like such reactions and one resents them. It is not resenting any individual or any action, but this general feeling of vulgarity and coarseness in our public life—not in the Congress itself, I mean in the whole country, also in the Congress creeping in. Then I had a feeling also that Congressmen were obviously getting less idealistic, in fact idealism was rather fading out, not again in every individual, that is silly, but I am talking about the general atmosphere. And there was a certain, what I would call, revivalist feeling gradually creeping in, which I do not like at all, which is connected with utter reaction—a certain communal feeling creeping in even among Congressmen which I do not like at all, because that too means to me stark reaction. It was difficult to draw the line where it was just the atmosphere getting murkier, heavier and more difficult for a sensitive person to breathe easily. All these are things that I said are imponderables. You cannot catch hold of this or that; things grow and make one feel that, well, something should be done.

What is one to do? Frankly I do not know. It is all very well for people to say that we should strike out with the shining sword and cut down this head and that head. These things are not so easy as that. Our great leader Gandhiji, remember, was actually assassinated. I mean to say there are forces, all kinds of forces in the country, good forces, bad forces, forces of light, forces of darkness, everything mixed up, middle forces, and we are after all, all of us in the face of our great problems, small folk. Who are we to imagine that we can control destiny or change the face of things by some magic wand?

Anyhow, disturbed in mind I thought, thinking perhaps more about myself than about the other issues, that perhaps if I had a period away from office, not long, if you like a few months and if I could have this quiet time, I might be able to, well, make myself more suited or have a clearer mind as to what I should do about it. It was really a quest, a search within myself, not against anybody, any individual or anything and realising that it may well be that all my effort and quietness may lead me nowhere. It may lead to the same ferment and confusion in my mind continuing. It is quite likely after all.

I might tell you that the present international situation also added to the ferment and confusion in my mind. I am disturbed at it and distressed by it. There are certain good signs in it, I admit, but the bad signs are pretty bad, a sense of helplessness: one cannot do anything. It is all very well to pass a resolution or to deliver fine speeches or to condemn this person or this country or that, that is not good enough, it does not help at all, just as we in India are getting too much in the habit of condemning everybody, running down everybody. Our own people run down our Party or each other, it is a bad habit. I do not mean that we should tolerate any bad thing but it is just amazing how allegations are made here by Congressman against Congressman with the slightest justification or no justification at all, sometimes there is justification, let us make them. But the looseness, the casualness in which we make allegations against each other and broadcast them to the world newspapers, it just scandalises me. It is not the way. Leave out any kind of very high standards, the question becomes one of common decency, it is an ordinary standard of human beings, it is not high moral standards. I felt and I wrote the other day as I have often said that we in India suffer from a split personality, a real split personality: one part of us is of the highest moral standard, we talk about it and we believe in it, not that we don't believe in it; and yet another part of it forgets that completely and functions very, very far removed from that standard; and so this other part seems to be coming up more and more, making allegations, and pulling at each other, pulling down each other, knocking down so much. It has really been an extraordinarily painful thing. We have always said that if, there is bound to be, there is anything wrong we must not hide it, we must deal with it, deal with it fully. It will be completely wrong for us to try to cover up anything wrong done by any person in a responsible position but you know what has been happening all over.

Now with all these things crowding in upon me there was that powerful urge to which I referred that I must get away. It may be a weakness to get away and justify it. Well, after all you are only going away for a short time, you are not escaping, you are not running away and even when you are away you will be able to do something about it. Also, to some extent, though I hope not too much, an idea that my doing this might shake up people, make them think—that too was there, though I hope that was not the dominant motive.

So I put before you all this. Now I do believe and I am perfectly frank with you, I do believe, that the Congress organisation, that our All India Congress Committee, our President Dhebarbhai, they may have made mistakes, we all do. But not as Mr Govinda Reddy³ said about all of us⁴—you do not know what is happening or you function from a plane which has nothing to do with that practical plane. But I can tell you and I say so with some knowledge during the many years of my association with the All India Congress Committee office, I do not think it has ever functioned with that earnestness and hard work that it has functioned in the last three or four years under Dhebarbhai's leadership. That of course does not mean that mistakes have not been committed. I am not saying that, I have been connected with the AICC office in various capacities as President, as Secretary, well I do not know, for 20, 30 years and it has functioned, yet it has not produced the results you desire after all that function. So it is. Let us not pick faults with this individual or that; there is something wrong with the atmosphere, something wrong in all of us, maybe in which we all share. That is why I wanted to, well somehow to try to find, if it was at all possible, for myself how to deal with this situation and whether it was possible to deal with it. It is all very well for you to say, and it is very kind of you to say, and there is some measure of rightness in what you say, that I am popular and many people think well of me, give me of their affection in India. That is a remarkable fact which moves me and impresses me greatly but you know again we come up against this split personality that you can be popular but you may be helpless in changing any particular current or at any rate in diverting it very much.

3. M. Govinda Reddy (1907-1980); lawyer and politician; debarred in 1940 from practising in the High Court of Mysore due to participation in the Civil Disobedience Movement; Member, Mysore Pradesh Congress Party, Mysore Constituent Assembly and Mysore Legislative Assembly, 1947-49; Member, Mysore Government Land Revenue Revision Committee, 1948-50; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-68; Member of the panel of Vice Chairmen of Rajya Sabha, 1957-58 and 1962-64; Leader of the Indian delegation to the Atom and Hydrogen Bomb World Conference, held in Tokyo in 1958; Member of the Indian delegation to the UN General Assembly, 1959.
4. Govinda Reddy had complained that Nehru was not always accessible to those who were in direct contact with the people and that he depended too much on those who had his ear.

So all these things came to my mind and I could not find an answer and so I thought that perhaps having for a brief while, for a brief respite, getting away from all this it might help me and make me more fit to fight certain evil tendencies that have arisen amongst ourselves, in me, in others. And I found that because of this ferment in my mind, I was fit, physically fit, but I was getting rather querulous, sort of not having a grip on things because I was rather irritated at things. If a person is irritated and querulous, he cannot have a grip. So all these things that I said, contradictory as they were, each represented an aspect of my mind and feeling because we are all rather mixed personality and we are not a simple, straightforward thing, every human being is a very curious and a very mysterious thing.

Now, Mr Govinda Reddy made a proposal that after this session is over, those members who could afford to stay on two or three days might stay on and we could have leisurely talks. I welcome this, I would be very happy. But I would like to remind you that immediately after the session is over, the All India Congress Committee meeting is taking place for two days, presumably maybe two and a half days. So it is up to you to stay on after the AICC meeting, I shall welcome your staying on.

Yes, it is up to you.

Now I do not wish to take much more of your time. But in what you have said today specially and day before yesterday, also some others who have met me and many who have written to me, many members of our Party, many colleagues and comrades from other parts of India have written to me, certainly all this has brought up before me, more forcibly than I had a picture in my mind before, the possible consequences of the action I propose to take. In a sense they were before me but I realise some other aspects of that were not clear to me and in any event I had said even in my statement to you that I shall more or less abide by your decision. Therefore in all humility and with my deep feelings for what you have said, I shall not proceed to take the step that I suggested.

5. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
May 6, 1958

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I am very grateful to you for your letter of May 5th.

After meeting many of my colleagues in the Congress Party and hearing a number of their speeches at the Party meeting, I felt that it would be difficult for

1. JN Collection.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

me to adhere to my previous resolution. I thought at first that I might postpone a decision till the AICC meeting was over. But then it did not seem quite fair to me to keep this tension going. So I gave a decision.

I hope that the climate of Simla is suiting you and that you are keeping well.

It is my present intention to go from Delhi about the 19th of May or thereabouts to Manali at the end of the Kulu Valley. After spending a few days there, I shall go across to Rohtang Pass and to Lahaul for two weeks or so.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

II. AICC MEETING New Delhi 10-12 May 1958

1. National Memorial for Maulana Azad¹

The All India Congress Committee records and confirms the resolution of the Working Committee² on the passing away of their illustrious colleague, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and offers its homage to his memory.

The Committee approves of the decision of the Working Committee to organise a national memorial to further some of the causes that Maulana Azad had at heart and, in particular, to further knowledge and understanding of each other between the people of India and the peoples of Western Asia and to promote their cultural contacts.

1. Resolution drafted by Nehru, New Delhi, 9 May 1958. JN Collection.
It was moved by Congress President U.N. Dhebar in the AICC meeting on 10 May 1958 and was passed unanimously.
2. For the resolution of the Congress Working Committee, passed on 22 February 1958 on the death of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, p. 827.

The Provisional National Memorial Committee should consist of:

1. Shri U.N. Dhebar
2. Dr Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan
3. Dr Bidhan Chandra Roy
4. Acharya J.B. Kripalani
5. Dr Zakir Husain
6. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru
7. Shri Morarji Desai
8. Dr A. Ramaswami Mudaliar
9. Shri B. Gopala Reddy
10. Shri K.P. Madhavan Nair
11. Shri Humayun Kabir

} Secretaries

with power to add to their number.

The Committee appeals to the nation to respond generously to the appeal for this memorial.³

3. Speaking on the resolution, Nehru said on 10 May that "the Committee appointed for this purpose does not consist of Congressmen only, but others also. We have not made it a Party fund but a National Fund. The Vice-President of India and other eminent persons are members of the Committee. Having passed the resolution it is now our duty to realise the object of the resolution."

2. Need for Introspection¹

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, initiating the informal discussions, said that the procedure adopted in the current session of the AICC for discussing problems was different from what used to be followed in the past. It gave the members an opportunity to discuss frankly about themselves, about the organisation and about the Government. But discussing problems endlessly without coming to grips on any concrete problem was, he said, a dangerous thing.

He then made a reference to his idea of temporary retirement from Prime Ministership and said that it was not due to any physical weakness that he wanted to take such a step but that he felt an inner urge to be free from all sorts of official responsibilities so that he could think about the serious problems confronting the country. He did not mean total retirement.

1. Speech at the AICC meeting, New Delhi, 10 May 1958. As reported in *Congress Bulletin*, May 1958, pp. 280-283.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

However, he said that he had given up the idea to retire in deference to the wishes of his Party colleagues.

Continuing, he said, "The fault always lies with us and not with others." Congressmen must try to find out what the fault was and where it lay and should shake off the habit of shifting the responsibility on others. This habit was fundamentally wrong and would weaken the Party. He said that it was first of all necessary to have a grip over the problems and to determine where we stood. The problems of corruption, inefficiency, etc., in the Government could be discussed but not on the presumption that the Government was at fault. It would rather be better if we accused ourselves before approaching a problem. That would be the correct approach for the solution of any problem.

Continuing, Shri Nehru remarked that the standard of public life in India had gone down considerably in the last ten years. Standards of Congressmen were no doubt higher in comparison with other parties, but there was no denying the fact that Congress standards had deteriorated.

Referring to the policies laid down by the Congress in the domestic as well as the international spheres, he said that these were conceivably the best. But that did not mean that the Party could escape criticism. The opposition parties were there to find out the faults, firstly on the ground of nonimplementation of the promised programme. There was suspicion in the minds of the people that Congressmen were not really keen on implementing their programme for establishing a socialist pattern of society, as they had promised. The Congress stood for a secular society but the workers were slipping away from the principles of secularism and becoming more and more communal-minded. In the context of Indian politics, Muslims or other minority communities could not do any harm, he said, but majority communalism, e.g., Hindu communalism, which had spread over the country and poisoned the minds of the people, constituted a grave danger to national integrity.

It might be possible to check minority communalism, but majority communalism was beyond control. We cried about the voice of majority in democracy, but such democracy would fail if it unjustly suppressed the voice of the minorities.

Continuing further, he complained that Hindu communalism had definitely infringed the provisions of the Indian Constitution by the treatment accorded to Urdu and the minority problem had definitely injured the organisation in the elections. "We are drifting away from the Congress moorings," he reminded the Congressmen and warned them against communalism in India which would take the country backward. If the Congress won the elections, he said, it did so in spite of the adverse activities of some of the workers in the party.

Regarding the selection of candidates for the general elections, he said that a candidate should not be imposed on a constituency, but should be locally

selected on merits. Care should be taken to see that the men locally chosen were men of good stuff.

On the controversial question of relations between the organisation and the Government, he said that the Chief Minister must have authority and supremacy in his own sphere over the organisation in the Pradesh. The PCC chief should have his due honour, but not authority, otherwise democracy would fail. In this connection, he referred to the British parliamentary system of government and pointed out that the Prime Minister was the keystone of authority there. Dealing with the question of desirability of office-bearers continuing to hold office in the organisation for more than one term in succession, he remarked that this practice should be discouraged.

About the allegations of corrupt and irregular practices in the administration, Shri Nehru said that, by virtue of our being a great organisation and being in power, the eyes of the millions in India and the world were turned towards us and the smallest fault received widest publicity. Congressmen should not dwell on their past glory, but 'we have to create our own glory.' "We have to look to our own conduct and raise our standard; past glories cannot keep us up for long," he added. Though quality might be lacking in the Congress, there was certainly no dearth of quality in the country. But there was a danger of missing the same, he warned. An organisation like the Congress must be up-to-date in thinking.

He further said that the way the Congress President steered the Party during the term of his office was commendable. He warned that craving for power and office would create a bad impression on the minds of the people. An organisation like the Congress must be up-to- date in thinking, he urged. Concluding, he said. "If we do not remain up-to-date and reflect the changing content of the Indian society and the basic ideals we have held before us, we will be pushed out of the current of Indian life."

3. Strengthen the Roots of the Congress¹

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru summed up the informal discussions on organisational problems. He said that important and unimportant problems had been mixed up

1. Speech at the AICC meeting, New Delhi, 10 May 1958. As reported in *Congress Bulletin*, May 1958, pp. 298-300.

in the course of the discussions. We, ourselves, created certain conditions which were alarming for the organisation. The country was daily changing its face. But Congressmen did not change with time. Congress is playing a historic role in the reconstruction of the country and that was why the eyes of the people of the world were directed towards us. We should approach the problems on ethical and moral planes. Our life should be simple. He said that the character of the organisation was more or less the same as it was when he joined the Congress 45 years back.

If we wanted to revitalise the organisation, its roots must be strengthened. We must remember that it is only through strengthening the grass roots that the organisation could be strengthened. Our greatest weakness was that our roots were weak. Great importance should be attached to the Mandal Congress Committees because the future of the whole organisation depended on the successful functioning of the Mandals. Bossism should be checked by having strong Mandals. We should try to give chance to large numbers of people in the organisation and train them so that the base of the organisation might be strengthened. He said that running the government in India was a most difficult task.

The method of selecting Party candidates, he said, had not been very successful. In many cases candidates were imposed on different constituencies. Regarding Party discipline he said that it was undoubtedly necessary to observe strict discipline in the Party, but we must look into the causes which led to indiscipline.

Continuing, he said that socialism had not been imposed on the workers all of a sudden. We used to talk about socialism even in the early twenties. The concept of socialism was, however, not clearly defined. The intense desire of the socialists in the Congress to capture power in the organisation injured the cause of socialism. The old way of approach of the socialists could not do any good to the cause of socialism. Mental training is a fundamental necessity in order to bring about a socialistic order. The Congress wanted to pull the people with it on the path to socialism. We must think about our objective as well as the methods of achieving the same. Our concept of socialism should not be dogmatic. Most of the things that Marx preached were out of date today. Capitalism had shown enormous strength and resistance against the changing times. Slogans had no meaning now. Congressmen should be quite clear in their minds about their concepts and should not talk of socialism in the context of revivalism. We should discuss the content of socialism and the methods to achieve the same. The type of socialism that we were going to have depended on the type of training we gave to our people.

Regarding the distribution of wealth, he said that any attempt to distribute wealth without production was a futile attempt. The basis of socialism was production of more wealth. There could be no socialism on the basis of poverty.

Regarding the nationalisation of industries, he said that we should nationalise an industry wherever we felt the necessity, but all-out nationalisation was not good at the present stage. "I do not want state socialism which will control everything. The process of decentralisation is necessary in certain fields", he said.

4. Evils of Casteism and Communalism¹

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru said that there were very few among us today who remembered the time when Gandhiji was shining like a star in the political sky of India showing us light. It was Bapu, he said, who preached Indian unity and the unity between Hindus and Muslims about 40 years back. The two pillars of Gandhiji's 'grand strategy' were Hindu-Muslim unity and removal of untouchability. So long as we would not shake off the evils of casteism and communalism, we could not obtain real emancipation socially, politically or economically. A united and a cohesive nation was the foundation of our strength. To have social cohesion, we must get rid of diverse elements in the society. Referring to the scenes of communal riots in Delhi, Punjab and elsewhere, he said that those events were very ghastly. "No other event in my life gave such a great shock as these communal riots", he said. Gandhiji's sacrifice was the outcome of that communal hatred. He said that it was better to lose elections rather than compromise with communalism. There must be tolerance towards each other, otherwise there was no way out for us to save the country from this danger.

Regarding social cohesion and social equality, he said that equal opportunities must be given to all, high or low. Communalism and casteism were all opposed to the spirit behind the Constitution of India which stood for the strengthening of the bond of unity among all, irrespective of caste and creed, and for removal of inequality from the society, bringing about social cohesion in the country. The majority communalism which acquired the name of nationalism was dangerous to the interests of democracy and more dangerous than the communalism of the minority. He said that in India even Christianity was suffering from the evil of caste system, specially in the South. In fact, India had become the seat of sectarianism. Continuing his remarks, he observed that it was wrong

1. Speech at the AICC meeting, New Delhi, 11 May 1958. As reported in *Congress Bulletin*, May 1958, pp. 323-326.

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to think that communalism would be wiped out from the country after the division of India and added: "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. It is also necessary to face all forces which tend to weaken and separate us." It was the duty of the majority community to win the confidence of the minority community.

Dealing with the language issue, he said that some believed that Urdu was the language of the Muslims. It was a baseless idea, he said, and pointed out that our Constitution accepted Urdu as one of our national languages. Regarding the popularity of Urdu, he said that so far, except Hindi and Bengali, more periodicals in the country were published in Urdu than in other regional languages. Urdu, had been the language of many in Delhi, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and even Andhra. We must shake off our narrow-mindedness where the question of language was involved. In the NEFA area, the Government was encouraging the languages spoken by a few thousand only. The Urdu problem which had become a vital political issue in India should be solved satisfactorily and impartially, otherwise it would do immense harm to the country. Regarding Hindi, he said that Hindi was the only possible national medium of expression in India. If there was any attempt at sabotaging Hindi, it would have a very bad effect on the progress of the country.

Continuing his remarks he observed that minorities should be convinced that there was no difference between the majority and the minority. In respect of public services in the Government, he remarked that the representation of the minorities was going down and at present their percentage was not very high in the administration. Hindi being a subject in the examination for securing the Government service at present, it was difficult for non-Hindi-speaking people to find their way to government offices. Knowledge of Hindi should not be taken as the standard of qualifications for government services. In this connection he referred to the resolution of the Working Committee regarding the language issue.² He said that Hindi should not be made a compulsory subject for Service examinations. One should be allowed to learn Hindi after getting into Service rather than learning the language before getting into the Service. Hindi was not compulsory in the South, but in spite of that the South Indians in thousands were learning Hindi. Hindi in no case should be imposed on non-Hindi speaking people.

There was a feeling against the Christian community due to the activities of certain Christian missionaries, some of whom were no doubt indulging in improper activities, he said. As a result, however, the reputation of our country in the eyes of the world had suffered to a great extent. Regarding the communal parties in India, he observed that these parties did not have any political or economic

2. The resolution on examination for All India Services was passed in the CWC on 5 April 1954. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 25, p. 261.

programme. But their activities were based on religious fanaticism. So, it was the moral responsibility of the Congress to safeguard the interests of the minorities in order to attain social cohesiveness, the base on which the freedom of the country could be retained.

5. Significance of Planning¹

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru stressed that the Second Plan had been accepted after a great deal of consideration, and what was most important was the approach to the Plan. The aims and objectives behind the Plan, he said, were quite unique. They were intended to change the very face of India—its economy, its social structure. He pointed out that any attempt to draw a comparison between the Indian Plan and the Plans of Communist countries was futile, as the methods adopted in Communist countries were basically different from the methods adopted in India. Even the Western countries which were already very much developed adopted types of planning which were useless in the context of underdeveloped economies. He said that if at all any comparison was sought to be made, the Indian experiment could be compared to that of China since both the countries were big and underdeveloped. However, even in China the method and technique followed were different from ours. India was committed to respect individual freedom under its Constitution, because she believed that the country could not progress by resorting to methods of force and coercion. In a way, even the imposition of taxes and levies by authorities could be considered a sort of coercion. However, whatever view one might hold about planning as such, underdeveloped countries undoubtedly found in it a method for improving their lot. After Independence, India took up this technique and since then it had gone far ahead in this direction attracting worldwide attention.

Shri Nehru emphasised that while India could learn from others, she could not afford to imitate others blindly. We must see that our feet were strongly planted in our own soil and our techniques were rooted in our own traditions. Referring to the method adopted by the Communists, Shri Nehru bluntly said that the thinking processes of the Communists were out of date. They were always in the habit of referring to Lenin and Marx as their guides even though the

1. Speech at the AICC meeting, New Delhi, 11 May 1958. As reported in *Congress Bulletin*, May 1958, pp. 311-314.

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conditions and problems facing the country today were entirely different from those obtaining in the times of Lenin and Marx. He said that there was no difference between the thinking of orthodox people who were in the habit of repeating what was written in *Manusmriti*, *Shastras*, etc., and the Communists. Both of them have lost the power to think rationally and scientifically in the context of present-day conditions. Shri Nehru emphasised that he did not condemn the *Shastras* outright, since they contained a good deal of wisdom and truth. What was, however, needed was to keep the picture of the country before us and planning had to be conceived in terms of the basic realities in the Indian context. He stressed that we must look at the picture as a whole, and not only in its parts, as people were generally in the habit of looking at the Indian problems from particular angles. The real significance of planning would be realised when the whole picture was before the people.

Shri Nehru referred to the valuable suggestions made by Shri Govind Sahai² for creating a cadre of Congressmen for following up the Plan at the village-level and making the villagers understand the various implications of the Plan. He said that unless such a strong and conscious cadre was created, the organisation would find it difficult to give the right kind of inspiration and proper guidance to the masses of India in the matter of planning and other things. Shri Nehru also referred to the emergence of disruptive tendencies in the country which were trying to create chaos and said if communalism was allowed a free hand, the Second Five Year Plan would never succeed.

A more serious problem was the struggle going on in our minds as to what to do and where to go. Shri Nehru said that the society was divided into two kinds of people. One kind of people were so much proud of their ancient heritage that they were blind to the changing inner content of Indian life; while the other were reluctant to learn anything from the past. India's rich heritage was rooted in the past but since we had to live in the present, a more practical and balanced approach was necessary. Shri Nehru emphasised that in India the greatest danger was Hindu communalism. Generally the Hindus were gentle but they were arrogant about their past culture and heritage. Because they were in a majority they were not ready to make any compromise. They thought they were being graceful to the minority. This kind of majority communalism was creating disruption and not helping to bring integration of the country. There was, therefore, need for a radical change in the outlook so that minority communities might not have any fear of aggression from the majority.

Shri Nehru regretted that Congressmen were somewhat indifferent to the Plan and stressed that the Plan was not only aimed at economic development, but also the integration of the country on democratic lines. He also deprecated

2. Member, UP Legislative Assembly.

the tendency on the part of some Congressmen to harp only on the mistakes and defects in the Plan, forgetting completely its achievements. While it was true that there was a setback on the foreign exchange front and there were some miscalculations in the assessment of resources, there was no need to be pessimistic. India, he said, was on the march; the very inner content of Indian life was changing. Congressmen had to understand all this if they were to understand the implications of the Plan and to get down to the task of its implementation, using the experience gained over the past few years.

6. Our Concept of Socialism¹

There has been a good deal of reference to socialism and I would like to say a few words about it. It is said that socialism was suddenly imposed on the Congress programme. That is not a correct statement. In fact, it is absolutely wrong. Socialism has been talked about in the Congress not only by those who became Congress Socialists but by others ever since the Twenties. It is true that the content of socialism was not precisely defined, but the broad approach of the average Congressman was all along socialistic. Some of our Provincial Congress Committees passed resolutions precisely in terms of socialism even 27 years ago.

Then came the Congress Socialist Party.² It started off on a completely wrong footing. By remaining in the Congress, they could have done much for socialism but what they did was amazing. "We will drive out the 'old foggies' of the Congress and shall control and make the Congress socialistic", they said. But the 'old foggies' were not weaklings and they had very considerable influence over the millions of people of India and among them was Gandhiji. The result was that the Congress Socialist Party in its excessive desire to seize power from the Congress injured the cause of socialism in the country.

The Congress is not a small circle of persons with a creed. It wants to be a fellow traveller with the people of India. We have got to march step by step with the people and that is why we have often declared our goal as socialism. The communists and socialists tend to become sects. They have long theses,

1. Extracts from a speech at an informal meeting of the AICC, New Delhi, 11 May 1958. *AICC Economic Review*, New Delhi, May 15, 1958.
2. The Congress Socialist Party, formed in 1934, held its first All India Conference at Patna on 17 May 1934 under the presidency of Acharya Narendra Deva.

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long explanations, and many slogans. It is not good enough to talk too much about socialism. It is still in a state of flux and we must give harder thinking to it. The Congress is committed to certain methods—peaceful and democratic. These are legitimate and good methods. These are our inheritance.

Marx is a famous name and many things were done by applying his theories. But many of the things explained by him do not exist today. And many of his predictions have proved to be incorrect. Marx did not envisage the tremendously prosperous America. Capitalism has shown amazing strength to adapt itself to circumstances. Scandinavia is a semi-socialist, but fundamentally capitalistic State, with a higher standard of life.

The concept of socialism is changing even in western countries. Therefore, we in India have to be more wide awake, and the conditions ultimately are governed by the state of our people, state of their minds. In India, we are a very conservative people. In a sense, the Planning Commission does not discuss socialism but it has to keep the socialistic objective before it. Ultimately socialism will grow not by our resolutions but by the type of training that the people will get—industrial training, factory training, rural training, etc. It is these people, the young people, the *gramsevaks*, the engineers who form the content of active, vital, working in new India.

Socialism to some people means two things: one, distribution, which means cutting off the pockets of the people who have too much money and, second, nationalisation. Both these are desirable objectives but neither is by itself socialism. Any attempt to distribute by affecting the productive machinery is utterly wrong. To do so would be to weaken ourselves. The basis of socialism is greater wealth. There cannot be any socialism of poverty. Therefore, the process of equalisation has to be phased.

Secondly, there is the question of nationalisation. I think it is dangerous merely to nationalise something without being prepared to work it properly. To nationalise we have to select things. My idea of socialism is that every individual in the State should have equal opportunity for progress. I do not at all prefer State controlling everything, because I attach a value to individual freedom. I do not want state socialism of that extreme kind in which the State is all-powerful and governs practically all activities. The State is very powerful politically. If you are going to make it very powerful economically also, it would become a mere conglomeration of authority.

I should, therefore, like decentralisation of economic power. We cannot, of course, decentralise iron and steel, and locomotives and such other big industries. But you can have small units of industries as far as possible on cooperative basis, with state control in a general way. I am not at all dogmatic about it. We have to learn from practical experience and proceed in our own way.

7. The Indian Path to Socialism¹

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking on the resolution moved by Smt Kripalani,² remarked that the question which the resolution referred to could not be solved by forming a committee.³ He said that he would informally suggest an amendment to the resolution that its five sponsors should form a committee of their own and send their proposals for rectifying the present ills. He further said that academic approach to socialism would not help. When we were opposing the British machinery in India, the main point before us was one of principles and idealism for achieving freedom. But today Congressmen had to work in the field to solve economic and social problems and the work had to be carried through the Government. There was the Planning Commission, but in this planning a balance had to be maintained all the time between different things. "There has to be a balance between income and expenditure, a balance between agriculture and industry, heavy industry and light industry and village industry. These balances are not rigid. They keep on changing, depending on the circumstances of a given time," he added.

Referring to his visit to the Soviet Union, he said that he was impressed by his first visit to that country.⁴ He liked many things there, although some he did not like. The point, however, to remember was that Russia and America, although hostile to each other, were both in the same sphere of activity. Basically both capitalism and communism were in one sphere—the sphere of industry, the sphere of the machine age, the atomic age—although they competed with each other. Ultimately it was not so much a question of "isms" as of understanding the present-day techniques to solve the problems of the day through the genius of one's own people and not by imitating someone else.

1. Speech at the AICC meeting, New Delhi, 12 May 1958. As reported in *Congress Bulletin*, May 1958, pp. 338-342.
2. Member of the Lok Sabha from New Delhi.
3. The resolution moved by Sucheta Kripalani referred to the widespread public attention focused on the internal troubles of the Congress such as serious breaches of discipline, betrayals during elections to the Rajya Sabha and internecine wrangles within the Congress legislature parties in some States, which, it stated, were serious enough to warrant introspection and heart searching on the part of Congressmen at all levels, whether in Government or outside. It added that most of these troubles resulted primarily from the lack of full awareness of the socialist ideology. The resolution demanded the appointment of a committee to suggest ways to strengthen the unity of the organisation and to make Congressmen recapture the spirit of sacrifice and constructive endeavour.
4. Nehru first visited the Soviet Union for a few days in November 1927. For his impressions of the visit, see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 2, pp. 369-370 and 379-451.

Recently in the newspapers there had been rather fierce arguments, ideological arguments, in the Communist world. In the last year or two, much had happened effecting enormous changes in the Communist world; sometimes it was called democratisation. "Let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred opinions flourish" epitomised these changes. Then the reverse process had also taken place, and all the flowers became weeds to be pulled out. He continued, "I am not criticising anybody. I am not competent to do so. There has been, as you might know, a tremendous controversy in the Communist world and it has taken shape rather as between Yugoslavia, a Communist country, and the other Communist group of countries. They disagree with each other. But, broadly speaking, it is supposed to be Yugoslavia's offence that they have not fallen in complete line with the others, i.e., to some extent the right of going their own Communist way has not been approved of and has been condemned.

"It is almost like a religious head disliking and condemning a departure from orthodoxy. But it shows how differences of opinion come in conflict. Why this happens, why it was different a year ago or two years ago, one does not know. But it simply shows that within these countries, within the Soviet Union, China, Yugoslavia, etc., there are clashes of opinions constantly going on, but the countries being constituted as they are, they do not appear in the newspapers. The clashes take place behind doors and sometimes you are surprised to read a decision arrived at which does not seem to be in keeping with something said previously. The fact is, in every living country, living community, there are clashes of opinions all the time. In a Communist country the debate does not take place in the open, it takes place behind doors and suddenly you are surprised at the result of the debate.

"Another interesting thing is this, that the Communist Party of India sent a message of congratulation to the Communist Party Congress of Yugoslavia. Two or three weeks later, having no doubt discovered that the Communist parties of Europe, i.e., the Soviet Union and the Eastern countries of Europe, were not approving of what is happening in Yugoslavia, they sent a second message to the Yugoslavian Communist Party changing their first message and expressing their disagreement. It shows that for the Communist Party of India, its thinking apparatus lives outside India. When they saw that there was a certain trend of thinking elsewhere, they immediately sent a second message in variation from their first message, although the first message was of course only a goodwill message, dissociating themselves with the Yugoslavian communism. I am not entering into the merits of this, but I am merely pointing out that once you enter into this field of socialistic ideology, you enter into not a dead field of theory which you can learn at the School of Economics of Delhi or London, but you enter into a living field of human beings, changing human beings, who are different in growth, manners, customs and history in different countries. You cannot lay down in a hard and fast way that this is socialist ideology and if you

do, you become rigid and then you become absolutely intolerant of each other as we see in Communist countries.

"When we deal with these living problems, with a socialist ideology or the like, we either become rigid and intolerant of each other or, keeping to the principles by adapting them to changing conditions, we suffer from the difficulty of being in a flux, all the time in a fluid condition. We neither want to be rigid nor fluid. We have to be somewhere in between the two; adaptable and, at the same time, we want some anchorage. Therefore, I say, from all these experiments which we see in the Communist world, there is what we might say an interference in the domestic affairs of the country. The CPI here had in regard to Yugoslavia, within two or three weeks, to express its opinion in a different way simply because a different opinion was expressed somewhere else. In regard to domestic affairs in India too, their opinion may vary according to the views expressed by other countries. This becomes, to some extent, internal interference due to external causes.

"We used to say there may be many paths to socialism. That of course completely fits in with the Indian philosophical outlook—there are many paths to God and one can choose any one of them. We must remember that European socialism is the product of the European background, and if socialism is to succeed in India, it will not be a pure copy of the European socialism, but it must reflect the Indian basic philosophic outlook on it to fit in. If it has to succeed in China, I think it has to have some Chinese background to it.

"As I said, there is nothing in this resolution to which I can object, but it leaves me unsatisfied and, as for a committee, I do think that it is time that we thought of these problems not in a theoretical way but in a practical way in groups and otherwise. Any thinking group is always welcome. Let there be conflict of ideas in a friendly way. That is a good thing. As Churchill said, 'Even a swollen head is better than an empty head'.

"Tyagiji⁵ said something about the Working Committee, method of choice, etc.⁶ I welcome any method but I dislike the new practice that has grown in the Executive Committees in our Pradeshes, of somebody nominating them all the time. I do not like it at all. I think it produces the wrong approach to the problem.

5. Mahavir Tyagi, Member of the Lok Sabha from Dehra Dun, UP.
6. Tyagi had said that, compared to the pre-Independence period, "inspiration had given place to aspiration" in the Congress party. He also criticised the method of constituting the Congress Working Committee and said that election to the Congress Working Committee should not be restricted to a "limited few."

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"Tyagiji, with a feeling of nostalgia, referred to the old days when there was camaraderie. That, of course, in a movement like ours is always not only a desirable thing, but almost a necessary background. Once we lose that spirit of camaraderie, we become separate entities. That is, therefore, always necessary, and I entirely agree with him. Once the Congress loses that, it loses something very valuable."

8. To S.N. Mishra¹

New Delhi
May 14, 1958

My dear Shyamnandan,²

I have your letter of the 14th May.³ It is true that I was surprised and pained at your speech in the AICC. As I was there and listened to it myself, there can be no question of some words being taken out of their context. I thought the speech not only in very poor taste, but quite objectionable. To say that you did not mean Ministers alone, does not improve it. Even your manner and your turning towards some people in the dais when you made this reference, was most unfortunate. This is not my view alone, but quite a number of members of the AICC spoke to me about it.

I would gladly see you, but I just do not know how to find the time in the next two or three days. If I have time, you can come round to see me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Deputy Minister for Planning.

3. Having admitted that certain misunderstanding had been created by his speech at the AICC meeting on 10 May 1958, S.N. Mishra wrote to Nehru that he did say there was a need to replace the spirit of jobbery by the spirit of service. Mishra clarified that while speaking about the luxuries of a 'few', he did not mean Ministers alone.

III. ORGANISATIONAL MATTERS

1. To Rana Shivamber Singh¹

New Delhi
April 6, 1958

Dear Shivamber Singhji,²

I have today received your letter of the 5th April, 1958, and have read it. I remember very well our relations with your family and the House of Khajurgaon. From what you have written to me and otherwise, I have been made aware of some of your past activities in the Congress.

I have no personal knowledge about the recent selection of candidates for the Uttar Pradesh Council, as these matters do not come up before me. But I do not understand why you should take this to heart so much. If a person is not chosen as a candidate, it does not mean any slur on him. There are many good men and women who may become candidates, and some choice has to be made. This choice is often difficult. Inevitably, in making the choice some people are chosen, others are not. If the principle was laid down that a person once chosen must always remain there, then it would mean that no new person can ever come in, and the same persons continue indefinitely. That would be bad.

I remember that at the time of the general election last year, we laid down a broad but flexible rule that a number of new persons must inevitably be chosen. This was not by any means any slur on those who had to make room for new persons.

Surely, there are many ways of serving the State or the people, other than membership of legislatures. If service of the State was limited in this way, then this would mean that the vast majority of the people cannot serve the people at all.

I hope, therefore, that you will appreciate this situation and not consider it as anything done against you. As I have said above, I am personally unaware of what choices were made, as I have not concerned myself with them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Congress Member, UP Legislative Council.

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2. To Algu Rai Shastri¹

New Delhi
April 6, 1958

My dear Algu Rai,²

Your letter of April 5th with the anonymous letter. It is not true that I have refused to speak in Chandra Bhanu Gupta's³ election campaign. The question was never put to me. But, as a matter of fact, I do not participate in by-elections anywhere. If I had been asked to go to this particular election, I would therefore have expressed my regret. It is only in the general elections that I have taken some part.

In the recent Delhi Corporation elections, I took no part.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Member, Rajya Sabha and Secretary, Congress Party in Parliament.
3. Former Minister of Health and Planning, UP.

3. To Diwan Chaman Lall¹

New Delhi
April 11, 1958

My dear Chaman Lall,²

Your letter of the 10th April.³

It is true that the Central Parliamentary Board has chosen Mauli Chandra Sharma⁴ for the Gurgaon seat. They would have gladly chosen

1. Diwan Chaman Lall Papers, NMML, Also available in JN Collection.
2. Congress Member of the Rajya Sabha.
3. Chaman Lall questioned the nomination of Mauli Chandra Sharma, a former member of the Jan Sangh, as the Congress candidate for the Gurgaon Parliamentary seat, which had fallen vacant due to the death of Maulana Azad. The constituency had a sizeable population of Muslims as well as refugees from West Punjab and Chaman Lall feared that the nomination of Sharma might result in the Congress losing the seat as he had been involved in the killing of Meos during the communal riots in that constituency. He requested Nehru to nominate Mohammad Yunus in place of Mauli Chandra Sharma as the Congress candidate, as Yunus, being a refugee himself, had a better chance of winning in the election.
4. Mauli Chandra Sharma was the President of the Bharatiya Jan Sangh in 1953 but he resigned and joined the Congress in 1954.

Mohammad Yunus⁵ for this seat, but they were told that Yunus would have very little chance of success there. Also, the election would cast a heavy financial burden on Yunus, and especially in case of defeat, this would be a great blow to him. I cannot, of course, judge of the chances of success of any particular candidate there, as I do not know enough of the facts. We were informed that the people in Haryana were anxious to have a Haryana man, and that Mauli Chandra Sharma would have a good chance of success. So far as I am concerned, I would have welcomed Yunus as a candidate, but when I am told that his chances are little, I could not thrust him on others.

About Mauli Chandra Sharma's past career, I know that he was a very prominent member of the Jan Sangh, and I was strongly inclined against him in those days. But, more than three years ago, he broke completely from the Jan Sangh and repudiated it publicly. He did not do so because he was getting anything from the Congress, and we did not encourage him to do so. He got nothing from us.

During these three years, we have had many occasions when we could see how he functioned. He consistently opposed the Jan Sangh both as a party and as an ideology. In fact, he has become the most disliked person in the Jan Sangh as he is considered a dangerous and powerful opponent. Without getting encouragement from us in any way, he has done good work for the Congress and has certainly created a favourable impression on many of us. I think even the Maulana was favourably impressed by his activities.

The fact, therefore, that he was previously a leading member of the Jan Sangh hardly applies now or can affect the decision when he has publicly confessed his error and worked hard against his own old policy. Whether he is a good candidate or not for other reasons, is another matter. The Central Parliamentary Board gave much thought to this and decided, in the balance, in his favour.

It is not possible for me to overrule that decision which was formally taken.

Yunus's name was vaguely talked about, but it did not formally come up before us till almost the last moment. Another name had previously come for this particular seat. This was Ajmal Khan,⁶ and we felt that he would not be

5. Mohammad Yunus (1916-2001); principal aide to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, 1936-1947; imprisoned during the Quit India Movement; served in IFS, 1947-74; headed Indian Diplomatic Missions at Jakarta, Ankara, Baghdad, Madrid, San Francisco and Algiers; served as Adviser to the Joint Secretariat set up to organise the Bandung Conference in April, 1955; represented India in the Non-Aligned Summits at Lusaka, Algiers, Colombo, New Delhi and Harare; retired as Secretary, Ministry of Commerce, 1974; Special Envoy of Indira Gandhi, 1975; Chairman, Trade Fair Authority, 1971-89; nominated Member of Rajya Sabha, 1989-95; works include *Frontier Speaks*, *Kaidi Ke Khat*, and *Persons, Passions and Politics*.

6. Personal Secretary to Maulana Azad till his death in February 1958.

suitable as this would mean our thrusting an outsider on a Haryana seat. As you know, there is much feeling in Haryana on this subject. When Yunus's name was first mentioned to me, it was in connection with a Kashmir seat. But, apparently, that was not found feasible.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Algu Rai Shastri¹

New Delhi
April 11, 1958

My dear Algu Rai,

I have your two letters about Premlata.² It is clear from these letters that Premlata, in her anxiety to get the help of the UK High Commission to go to England on a study tour, has not behaved quite properly. I can understand her eagerness to go abroad, and I am told that she is a competent person. I have nothing against her. But it is a pity that she behaved in the manner she did.

Another thing that rather surprises me is that she wanted our Party to pay half her passage money and give her fifty pounds in addition. We had understood from the UK High Commission that they were paying her full passage money both ways.

It is obvious that we cannot give a loan to her for her passage money or for any other purpose. There are many people in our Party and elsewhere who would be happy to get this help from us. We should not, therefore, create a precedent unless there are very special reasons for it.

In the present case, therefore, you should tell her that we are unable to give her any financial help by way of loan or otherwise for this purpose. You have already informed her that you do not like the way she has functioned in this matter, as it is not dignified for her to go to the UK High Commission and try to get a free passage. However, having explained our attitude to her and to the UK High Commission, as I propose to do, we have otherwise no objection to her going if she can make her own arrangements. But we cannot recommend any foreign exchange to be given to her, as this is strictly controlled.

1. JN Collection.

2. Premlata, a teacher in St. Columba's School, New Delhi, had gone to England on the invitation of the UK Commonwealth Relations Office.

I am asking the Ministry of External Affairs to inform the UK High Commission accordingly.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. The Case of Premlata¹

I have enquired into this matter, more particularly the case of Kumari Premlata. From all accounts that I have had, she is a competent person and I have heard nothing against her. But she has not behaved properly in this matter. Perhaps, this was due to her over-eagerness. She is not a member of the All India Congress Committee, and if she gave that impression to the UK High Commission, it was wrong. It is true that she did some good work on behalf of the Congress during the last general elections.

2. I enclose two letters from the Secretary of the Congress Party in Parliament. You will see from these that he has already seen a Secretary of the UK High Commission and told him the facts. You will also notice there is some confusion about her passage money being paid by the UK High Commission. In the note you have sent, it is stated that the UK High Commission will pay her passage money both ways as well as the expenses in England. But, in one of her letters, she says that the UK High Commission will only pay her half the return passage and wants a loan for the rest of the money. No such loan is going to be given to her, nor can we recommend any foreign exchange for her.

3. We have made the position quite clear both to her and to the Secretary of the UK High Commission. If the UK High Commission want to send her for the study tour, we have no objection. But we cannot help in this financially. The girl, as I have said above, is a decent girl, and I do not wish to come in her way now, having made the position clear. It is a pity that she functioned as she did.²

1. Note to M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, 11 April 1958. JN Collection.
2. In another note to M.J. Desai on 26 June 1958, Nehru wrote that a hand-out of the British Information Service described Premlata as a member of the AICC although they had been specifically been told by the Indian Government that this was not true. Nehru asked Desai to inform Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit and the British Information Service about this.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

4. As for Shri Surendranath Dwivedy,³ as he is a member of the Praja Socialist Party, I did not wish to deal with him in quite the same way as I did with Kumari Premlata. I sent word, however, to the Leader of the Praja Socialist Party, Acharya Kripalani, about this, and he expressed his disapproval of these methods. At the same time, he said that he could do nothing about it.

5. This is the position which you may convey to the UK High Commission and leave it to them to act as they wish.

3. PSP Member of the Lok Sabha from Kendrapara, Orissa.

6. To Joachim Alva¹

New Delhi
April 12, 1958

My dear Alva,

I have just received your letter of the 10th April. It is supposed to be about R.R. Morarka² but, actually, the letter refers to many other persons and many other incidents. So far as R.R. Morarka is concerned, as far as I can make out, his chief offence appears to be, in your eyes, that he is related to some people who have a very bad reputation, and is himself a business man.

I do not myself see how these two reasons are adequate in dealing with a person. At the most, they may put one on enquiry. I have had no dealings with any Morarka, so far as I can remember. I have met R.R. Morarka only at Party meetings or some gatherings. I do not remember ever having had a personal talk with him. As far his relatives, I have not met any of them. I have vaguely heard that some of them are undesirable folk.

I do not know how he came to be nominated for Parliament. Having accepted him as a member of our Party in Parliament, I have to deal with him with justice and courtesy. I appointed him a member of the Committee two days ago³ at the suggestion of either T.N. Singh⁴ or Feroze Gandhi.⁵ I forget who first mentioned

1. JN Collection.
2. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Jhunjhunu, Rajasthan.
3. On the 12 April 1958, the Congress Parliamentary Party at its meeting discussed the question of parliamentary control over autonomous public corporations and other state undertakings. Nehru apprised the Party of the decision of the party executive to set up a ten-member committee of Congress MPs under the Chairmanship of V.K. Krishna Menon. See *ante*, pp. 126-130.
4. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Chandauli, Uttar Pradesh.
5. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Rae Bareli, Uttar Pradesh.

his name. I accepted it. The Committee itself has no executive or other power. I would have appointed any other person who is a member of our Party, if his name had been suggested. The only thing I was concerned with was that the Committee should be a fairly balanced one, which could deal with the subject with some knowledge.

However, Morarka having been appointed to that Committee by me at the instance of other members, your mentioning his name at our general meeting in the manner you did,⁶ appeared to me very odd and rather improper. It was certainly open to you to tell me about him what you knew. You should have realised that in the circumstances, it was quite impossible for me to strike out R.R. Morarka's name from the Committee. That would have put me as well as the Party in a very embarrassing position, and would have been a direct insult to Morarka. Thus you took a step more or less in public which could not prove effective, except for causing general embarrassment.

It was not necessary for you to tell me how you have yourself, at great loss, pursued a straight and narrow path. I had no doubt that you would do so.

The question of the future of the Congress is rather a large one. I agree with you that it requires very careful consideration.

You refer to what an Army officer told you. He deserves our sympathy. But you no doubt know that, except a few very rich countries, Army officers are paid more in India than in any other country. Also, that they have had fairly rapid promotions in India since independence. When Marshal Zhukov came here,⁷ he expressed his great surprise at the salaries we paid to our Army officers. Perhaps, you know also that we have made arrangements for employing Army officers who retire rather early, and hundreds have been so employed.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. For Alva's intervention at the CPP meeting, see *ante*, pp. 128-129.

7. He was in India in January and February 1957.

7. Tasks before the Congressmen¹

The history of the Congress has been the history of India's struggle for freedom. The task of the Congress did not come to an end with the achievement of freedom. And its task should not be restricted merely to the winning of elections, which are only the means for performing the more important duty of making the country prosperous.

If the spirit with which the Congress was built and nourished is absent, the Congress would cease to be the type of national party it now is. I have served the Congress and thereby the country for the last 40 or 50 years and I still have the desire and the energy to serve the organisation and the country for a long time. However, I will have no hesitation in quitting the Congress if I am satisfied that contesting elections and party factions within the organisation are the only tasks before Congressmen. I ask Congress workers to ponder over their weaknesses and try to remove them and find out the stage the country has now reached, the ideals before it and what they are doing to serve the nation.

The only thing which distinguishes the Congress from other lifeless parties like the Praja Socialist Party, the Socialist Party, the Jan Sangh, and the Hindu Mahasabha, is its aim of making the country prosperous by peaceful means. These parties have no programme and the Congress must not be reduced to their level. People have forgotten the lessons of brotherhood that Gandhiji taught them for 30 years. Congress should fight communalism tooth and nail which is doing immense harm to the country by retarding its growth. The Muslim League does not exist any more and the other communal organisations should be wound up. There is no place in the country for communal organisations like the Jan Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha which have the same spirit as the Muslim League. Pakistan is divided and disrupted because politicians there could not free themselves of the old Muslim League ideology. Anyway, I would very much like Pakistan to make progress like a modern country and be friendly with India.

The Communists believe in a policy and programme of violence and aims at class conflict, and do not care to do any constructive work. However, recently they have resolved to make some changes in the organisation, but essentially and basically they believe in violent method. If we give up our traditions of non-violence, we will let loose forces, which will do immense harm to our country.

1. Speech at a Congress workers' meeting, Meerut, 14 April 1958. From the *National Herald* and *The Hindustan Times*, 15 April 1958.

About 600 Congress workers of Meerut and Muzaffarnagar attended the meeting. The Finance and Revenue Minister of UP, Ch. Charan Singh, was also present.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

8. To U.N. Dhebar¹

New Delhi
April 14, 1958

My dear Dhebarbhai,

You may have seen an interview by Jayaprakash Narayan² in Bombay. This appears in *The Times of India* Bombay edition of the 14th April. Possibly, it may be in the Delhi edition also.

In this, Jayaprakash clearly proposes what he calls a merger of the Congress and the PSP. Parliamentary democracy, he says, had failed and it was because of this that he advocated the merger of the Congress and the PSP.³

Without accepting his argument, the fact remains that he has made a definite proposal, and we shall have to consider it and say something about it.

Jayaprakash was to have left for England tomorrow, but I understand that he has postponed his departure because of his wife's ill health.⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Sarvodaya leader and a leading member of the PSP.
3. Observing that India was at the crossroads of history, Jayaprakash Narayan, in his interview to the UPI, published in *The Times of India* on 13 April 1958, proposed the merger of all the democratic parties having identity of purpose so that the developing national crisis and the problem of reducing international tensions could be effectively tackled. He suggested "a type of coalition government" for which the initiative must necessarily come from the Congress, particularly from Nehru. He also made the observation that parliamentary democracy had failed and that the PSP and the Congress had a great deal in common.
4. Nehru had written to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Indian High Commissioner in London, to make necessary arrangements during Jayaprakash Narayan's stay in England but owing to his wife Prabhavati Narayan's illness, the visit was postponed. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 868-869.

9. To S. Nijalingappa¹

New Delhi
15th April 1958

My dear Nijalingappa,²

A most unusual and extraordinary situation has arisen because of the nomination of Professor Dionisio Antonio Ribiero as a Congress candidate from the Teachers'

1. U.N. Dhebar Papers (microfilm), NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Mysore at this time.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

constituency for the Rajya Sabha.³ He was recommended by you and, I believe, supported by Channiah.⁴ The Central Parliamentary Board knew nothing more about it at the time and accepted your recommendation. I do not know how matters stand now and when this election is going to take place.

The fact is that this man has been a suspect by us for a considerable time for anti-Indian and pro-Portuguese activities. Apart from everything else, he has repeatedly declared himself as a Portuguese national, although sometimes he has slurred over this fact in order to get things done in India. Whatever his previous career might have been in Dharwar, for the last four years or so he has become intensely anti-India and our information is that he is actually acting as an agent of the Portuguese Government here in some way or other. In fact, we were going to take strong action against him because of this when he left Bombay and went to Mysore State.

It is patent that we cannot possibly choose as a Congress candidate a man of this type. Even if there was some doubt about his activities, we would not choose a man like that. Apart from this, the mere fact that he must be considered a Portuguese national would rule him out. If by any chance he had gone to Bombay, he would probably have been arrested there.

In view of these circumstances, it is urgently necessary for him to be told that we cannot adopt him as a Congress candidate. This fact should be made clear. I do not think he would stand in any other capacity at all. The position is such that even if he got elected, we would have to dissociate ourselves from him completely.

Probably you know about his earlier activities at Dharwar and do not know much about his subsequent activities. Anyhow, it is quite clear that he must not be made to stand as a Congress candidate and if possible he must not be made to stand as a candidate for election at all. Will you therefore please take immediate steps in this matter? You should inform Channiah also about this message of mine. For the present I do not wish this to be talked about too much in public. You may, of course, anyhow say that as he is a Portuguese national, we cannot accept him.

I am trying to telephone to you, but in the meantime I am sending you this letter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. According to a report in *The Hindustan Times* on 7 April 1958, Ribiero was, in fact, nominated as a Congress candidate for the Mysore Legislative Council from the Teachers' constituency.
4. Sahukar Channiah, former President, Mysore PCC.

10. Nomination of D.A. Ribiero¹

I have enquired about this matter. It is true that Professor Ribiero has been nominated as Congress candidate for election from a teachers' constituency to the Rajya Sabha. It is obvious that this was done in ignorance of the facts contained in these papers. The people presumably are acquainted with his previous activities in Dharwar, etc. I am taking immediate steps to prevent, if possible, his election or rather his nomination as a Congress candidate. I do not know whether I shall be in time now. It would be quite improper for him to be elected to Parliament. Indeed, even as a Portuguese national, which he claims to be, this would be improper, apart from his other objectionable activities.

2. I have spoken to the Home Minister also on this subject and he agrees.

3. For the present, you must wait to see what happens about this election and then decide about the deportation order. I think that the deportation order should be given effect to, but before we do that we have to be clear as to what the position is. It would be rather odd for this man to be elected to Parliament and then to be deported.

4. I have written to the Chief Minister of Mysore and have just spoken to him on the telephone. I could not say much on the telephone, but I made it clear that Professor Ribiero should not stand for election. The Chief Minister said that he would immediately try to get him to resign or to withdraw.

5. We should wait for a few days to see exactly how the position develops.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, 15 April 1958. JN Collection.

11. Schedule of Congress meetings during visit to Kerala¹

I should like to visit this State Farm at Thaliparambu.² I take it this will involve altogether about one hour.

2. The programme that the Kerala PCC have sent is not a very good one. Apart from addressing the delegates, the youth and women, they have set aside

1. Note to M.O. Mathai, New Delhi, 15 April 1958. JN Collection.

2. Nehru visited the District Agricultural Farm at Thaliparambu, the oldest farm in Kerala situated 15 miles from Cannanore, on 27 April 1958.

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two hours for me to meet Congress workers in separate groups. This really is not my function. If the Congress President went there, he could do so. Anyhow, if I am supposed to meet the workers, I shall meet them in one group. I cannot discuss internal disputes and listen to accusations of each other.

3. Therefore, it should be quite easy to reduce this period by one hour. They can find this one hour after I have addressed the Delegates Session.

4. The more I look at this programme, the more I dislike the look of it. I am supposed to deliver the following addresses:

- (1) to the Delegates Session;
- (2) to Congress workers in separate groups;
- (3) to the Youth Conference;
- (4) to the Women's Conference;
- (5) discussions with KPCC Working Committee; and
- (6) to the Open Session of the Conference

Surely, this is far too much of speaking on my part. In fact, I do not see where the addressing of Congress workers in separate groups comes in at all. If by this is meant some private interviews for a short while, I might agree, more for courtesy's sake than for discussions.

5. I do not understand the difference between the Delegates Session and the Open Session of the Conference.

6. Normally, I do not visit exhibitions, because owing to the crowd I can see nothing.

7. I entirely agree that lunch and dinner should be private informal functions.

8. You might, therefore, please write to these people and point out to them the desirability of their lessening their programme for my speeches. I can only really deliver two major speeches. If I go to the Women's Conference, it is only to convey my goodwill. I cannot deliver an hour's speech wherever I go. It seems to me completely easy to find an hour, and indeed more, for the visit to the State Farm.

12. Stand Firm by the Basic Ideals¹

At present there is a lot of loose talk both by Congressmen as well as the opposition parties that the Congress has become weak. I regard this as futile and useless talk.

1. Speech at the Conference of Presidents and General Secretaries of PCCs, New Delhi, 20 April 1958. File No. G-57, AICC Papers, NMML, and also from *The Hindu* and *National Herald*, 21 April 1958.

The Congress organisation may have certain shortcomings here and there owing to wrong individuals getting into it. Moreover, any political party which is in power evokes public criticism which is quite natural. But I am quite confident that the way the Congress organisation has been functioning during the past few years under the Presidentship of Dhebarbhai, it has given ample opportunities to Congressmen for doing good work among the people.

There are certain weaknesses from which all political parties, including the Congress, suffer. I was going through my correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi 22 years ago.² Even at that time we were worried about the Congress organisation. But in spite of temporary setbacks the Congress has been able to render effective service to the nation both before and after the Independence.

The fact of the matter is that during the last few years, particularly after the Second World War, there has been certain amount of deterioration of political and moral standards of the nation as a whole and not of any particular section. It is, therefore, our duty, particularly of the Congress Party, which is the oldest and biggest party of the country, to raise the standards of public life and stand firm by certain basic principles even at the cost of temporary failures here and there.

I do not agree with the view that simply because we have lost a few elections in some parts of the country we would lose our strength. If we stand firm by our basic ideals, we are bound to achieve victory and the people would stand by the Congress.

I welcome the recent amendments in the Congress Constitution³ and feel confident that the Mandal Congress Committees⁴ would be able to function more effectively and give a new life to the organisation. During my recent visit to

2. The reference is perhaps to Nehru's letters to Mahatma Gandhi dated 5 July 1936 and 28 April 1938. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 7, pp. 309-313 and Vol. 8, pp. 387-389.
3. The changes, introduced in the Congress Constitution by the AICC in September 1957 and ratified by the Gauhati Session of the Congress in January 1958, aimed at strengthening and revitalising the organisation. The discussions regarding these changes started at the Indore Session of the Congress in January 1957, where the word 'Socialist' was added before the words 'Co-operative Commonwealth' in Article I, and continued at various levels. The most vital changes related to reorganising the base by making the Mandal Congress the pivot, by introducing indirect elections to the organisational levels above the Mandal Congress, and through functional representation enabling the emergence of a more broad-based organisation, where every section working inside the Congress would have a voice in the determination of Congress policy.
4. The Mandal Congress Committees were to cover an area having a population of about 20,000 and would consist of primary members of the Congress.

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Meerut⁵ I found that the unit was doing very well and hundreds of new Mandal Committees had been formed.

Socialism and communism are essentially the offspring of the Industrial Revolution but we are on the verge of an atomic revolution which is bound to affect our social and economic policies radically. It is no use sticking to some "isms" which were useful a hundred years ago but are now out of date. We should keep an open mind on all problems and tackle them in a broad-minded manner. Ultimately, the progress of the world or any country depends on the quality of the men and women who inhabit it.

5. Nehru went to Meerut on 14 April 1958 to unveil a war memorial at the Sikh Regiment Centre. See *ante*, p. 482. He also addressed the Congress workers. See *ante*, p. 536.

13. Historic Role of the Congress¹

Friends and comrades,

I have been in Kerala for four days now and in another hour or two I shall leave Cannanore and tomorrow morning I shall leave Kerala. These four days have given me a glimpse again of this beautiful land and I have been particularly fortunate that on the last of these four days, that is today, I came here to Cannanore and attended your Conference, and got to know something of the spirit of your people. I wish that many others from other parts of India had been here to see this great Conference and the enthusiasm of the people here, men and even more so women. It has become the fashion among some people, including Congressmen, to put on a sad and mournful look and bemoan the lot of the Congress. But if both men and women, who think that way, had come to Cannanore today or during these last two or three days, they would have thought of giving up this habit. It is not for me to tell you what you have been doing here during these two or three days because you have been participating in these discussions, deliberations and demonstrations. They were not empty demonstrations, I am sure. They represented a new spirit among Congressmen and Congresswomen in Kerala, among the men and women in Kerala, whoever they might be. And this rejoices my heart that I have also to some extent participated in them.

1. Address to the delegates to the Political Conference convened by the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, Cannanore, 27 April 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.

I have met here today the leaders of the Congress movement in Kerala and I have met many old friends and many new ones, I have met the executive of your Pradesh Congress Committee under the able leadership of Damodara Menon² and I have met many young men and women in the Seva Dal and otherwise. And meeting all these people has a cheering and refreshing effect upon me. And I want to congratulate you. But during the little time I have, I want to speak to you about the work ahead in India, in Kerala.

Do you realise the great task, the tremendous adventure, in which you and we and all of us in India are engaged today? Do you realise that it is about the biggest adventure? Do you realise the tremendous adventure in which all of us in India are engaged today? You in Kerala have your problems, intricate and difficult problems, but they are only small compared to the great problems and great adventures of India. Nowhere in the wide world today is such a tremendous task being undertaken as we in India have undertaken. We have not shouted about it so much but we know that today what we are doing in India and what we are going to do tomorrow is going to have a tremendous effect on 400 million people of this country. And a good part of the world is very much interested in them because that will affect the future of the world also. There may be atom bombs and hydrogen bombs, and there may be all the effects of war, terrible as they are. But in the final analysis it is the human being that will count and we in India today are engaged in building up 400 million human beings. So that is the big task and do not forget it. And in that task, we have got to work together, and we have got to work with a will and with a mission. The moment you forget that you have got a mission, your work becomes feeble. We have to be missionary in this great task of building up a new India just as we had a mission and we were missionary in the task of obtaining freedom and independence of India. We worked with a will then, because for us it was a mission and a crusade and we forgot the little things of life in that great effort.

Today we are engaged in an even greater effort to build up India, to build up 400 million people of India, and to catch up with the other nations who have gone ahead of us, and to build them up not only materially, not only to raise their standard of living, not only to get employment for the unemployed, but at the same time to keep true to our principles, to keep true to our ideals, to keep our roots in India and to move along those principles, those lines of action, moral, ethical and spiritual, which Gandhiji pointed out to us. So, it is a big task that we have undertaken, a great task, and it requires not only all the effort, all the hard work that we can put into it, but it requires also that fire in you, that crusading zeal that is necessary for great tasks. We have undertaken this task and we are determined to fulfil it. We took a pledge long ago and we fulfilled

2. President, Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee.

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that pledge, Independence pledge, fully 11 years ago. And then we took another pledge and we are going to fulfil that pledge also.

You might have read in the press that people speculate from time to time about my future. Is Jawaharlal going to retire? Is he going to take leave, is he tired and worn out? Is he feeling suffocated because of what is happening? And so on and so forth.³ Well, it is difficult for me to judge myself. And many things happen which annoy and irritate me, and more especially in my job as Prime Minister of India, things happen which I do not like or which tire me, the routine of it. And I want sometimes to freshen my mind. Why? Because I want to be a little stronger, a little tougher to face the problems we have to face. I have reminded you of the pledge we took many years ago and so long as that pledge remains unfulfilled there is no retirement for me from the fight. I may think new ways of fighting, of struggling, or surviving. I may try to think a little more calmly, to seek opportunities for calm thinking, as to how to face these tremendous problems of the world or of India. But there is no retirement for me, there is no sitting by and looking on for me. For in all these many years, 40 years or so, I have almost lost my sense of individuality, I have lost it in these problems and questions affecting India and our 400 million people. I am just one of the hundreds of millions and I cannot isolate myself from them or separate myself or think or rest when these problems affecting our millions still remain.

I am much older than most of you who are present here. And I have been engaged for a long period in the work of the Congress and in various ways of serving this country. But I believe that even now, old as I am, I have some strength and energy left in me. I have still that old little bit of fire in me and I want to share that strength and energy and vitality and fire with you, young men and young women, because I want you to spread that all over India. I want you to take up that task of keeping that flame alive and alight when people of my generation have passed away—because this torch must always be kept alight, because the young men and young women of today have a tremendous and exciting task before them. They have to carry this great and honourable burden of India when people of my generation have gone. But before we go we want to do as much as we can. Before I go I want to see as much progress made by the Indian people as it is possible. And therefore I am in a hurry and therefore I am impatient sometimes and therefore I am a little angry sometimes, but all that signifies only the desire to achieve, the desire for the Indian people to achieve.

I am not interested in your petty quarrels, in your disputes and whatever it might be. Every Congressman bears a name which is famous in India's history. Are you going to be unworthy of that name? You call yourselves Congressmen and Congress women. It has been the pride of men and women in India in the

3. Nehru announced his wish to take temporary retirement on 29 April 1958. See *ante*, pp. 501-502.

past 30-40 years or more to be allied to this great movement of the Congress, to be called Congressmen, words of honour, whether in India or anywhere else. And it is that honour which falls upon you, provided you keep true to the Congress ideals, provided that you do not sully them, provided you do not fall into your petty squabbles, provided you remember Gandhiji and his message. What else is the Congress? It is not my preserve or even the Congress President's preserve or of the Congress Working Committee or a few of us. The Congress is you and you and millions of the people in this country. The Congress is yours and you can make the Congress what you like. If it weakens somewhere, go and strengthen it; if it requires a change, go and change it. Congressmen may change but that does not mean that the Congress with its message for India has failed because the message cannot fail, because that message which we heard from Gandhiji came from the innermost, represented the innermost voice of India.

We live today in a revolutionary age. Revolution, not violent but the real revolution that comes when nature's forces are placed at man's disposal. We live in an age of atomic energy, hydrogen bomb and all that. That is going to change life or it is going to end life. And you who are young men and young women today will see in your life tremendous changes in the world unless the great powers and the small powers are mad enough to destroy the world with wars. So remember this that you live in this revolutionary age, and in this revolutionary age each one of you have got to play his or her part and India has got to play her part. What is India's part? We have not tied ourselves up to this great power or that. We have not tied ourselves up to atomic bombs or hydrogen bombs, not because we think we are superior or we are proud. No. We are inferior in many ways. Let us not be proud about it but we have one great advantage and that is that we have listened to Gandhiji's voice and heard his message. And it was not his voice and his message only but India's voice and message that came into our heart. What is our foreign policy today? It is not my creation. It has been the projection of the policy that the Congress has followed under Gandhiji's leadership in the last many years, long before we became independent. We fought against the armed might of the British empire peacefully, with a smile on our lips and peace in our heart. And we won. Today we try to follow those peaceful methods in foreign policy. Because we are convinced that it is not a bigger hydrogen bomb that will put an end to the smaller hydrogen bomb, because it is not a bigger weapon that will put an end to it. The biggest weapon has come. But because some other weapon has to be devised which is not a weapon of violence to meet these because we can only meet this terrible menace of atomic warfare by some other type of weapon, some type which will resemble Gandhiji's peaceful non-violence type. I do not presume to say that we are following everything that Gandhiji said or did. It is often difficult to do so. But, at any rate, we keep his lesson in our minds and hearts and try to interpret it as best as we can in present circumstances.

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There is another man roaming about India, Acharya Vinoba Bhave, a true disciple of Gandhiji, trying to work out his principles in his own unique way. We admire him, we revere him, and we ought to help him in his *Gramdan* movement to the best of our ability. Because that again is a supreme example of applying the peaceful non-violent technique to the solution of our problems. That may not solve all our problems. That is true and we have to do all manner of things like the Second Five Year Plan and a hundred and one things but we have got that inspiration from Acharya Vinoba Bhave and it is well that such a saint still exists in India to show us the right path.

If we seek to serve the world, if we indeed seek to serve ourselves, how are we to do so? By being ourselves, by learning from others, but by remaining ourselves. It was by remaining ourselves that we lived in the past which led to freedom and independence. It is by remaining ourselves that we are serving, in a small measure, the cause of world peace. If we cease to be ourselves and tie ourselves up with this military alliance or that military bloc, if we follow policies laid down by other countries, then we will cease to be ourselves. Then it will not be the voice of India that speaks but some reverberation, some echo of some other voice, some other thought. And if we lose ourselves what can we gain possibly to replace that? Therefore, it is important that whether it is in our foreign policy or whether it is in our domestic policy we remain ourselves. We take advice from others, we learn from others, but we decide ourselves and we think ourselves and we keep our roots in our soil. That is important because there are people who tell us many things and whose policies are based not on what they themselves can evolve here but on some stale imitations of some distant event or country.

We have framed five-year plans, we are living now in the middle of the Second Five Year Plan and we shall have many more plans, before we have achieved much, because it is a great task but these five-year plans are of our own making, we can change them, we can modify them, as we think best. We do not follow some rigid line of approach, except this that everything that we do should be for the benefit of the millions of India, of the masses of India, should raise them, should give them self-confidence and self-reliance, and they should grow in freedom and prosperity. Apart from these major objectives and ideals, we can make our plans as we like and fit them into Indian conditions. So we have evolved the community development scheme, the community development blocks, which I think is one of the most revolutionary things not only in India today but in the whole wide world. It is not successful everywhere, it has only been in existence for five and a half years. But I think during those five and a half years, it has brought about and is bringing about, a tremendous change in our hundreds of thousands of villages.

You have your particular problems of Kerala and naturally most of your work will lie in this domain. In some ways you are much better off than other

States. In education, in communication, in health service, you are far advanced than others. And because you have got these basic things, it is much easier for you to make good in the future, provided you work hard and together. Our problem in India today is food production. You are a deficit State in food, you can do much for that, I think. Your second problem is industry. I think especially small industry can grow here and should grow here. But all these things you can work out yourselves and of course the Central Government will do its best to help you. But, above all, you have to remember one basic thing, the basic thing, the unity of India. And the unity of India means forgetting those things that disrupt us whether they come in the form of religion or language or caste. Caste is a curse which must go. So must everything else that disrupts India. Caste has no place in democracy, caste has no place in socialism, caste has no place when we aim at evolving an equal society. So we must get out of these shackles and work in a united way and work hard, because, remember, whatever policy you may have, it is the hard work that counts, not a slogan or a resolution.

But, above all, I should like you to remember that the basic approach which Gandhiji taught us, the peaceful approach, because any other approach will disrupt us, however promising it might look. Any approach which creates divisions in India will inevitably hinder our progress and maybe even imperil our freedom. We have conflicts which you should solve in a peaceful way. We want to abolish caste warfare and to have a classless society but we are not going to abolish that by increasing caste conflicts and class conflicts. By increasing these conflicts we prepare for greater conflicts, for greater disruption and even for a civil war, if we are foolish enough to increase them. Therefore, you must remember this basic approach, peaceful approach, holding to your principles, and at the same time not cursing your opponent but winning him over by your arguments, by your hard work, by your sacrifice, if necessary, and by the working of your democratic structure of society. After all, we have democracy and we have individual freedom, and democracy means that ultimately the majority has its way.

Two things I should like to tell you. You know the food problem which has to be solved before we can do anything else. We have to produce more food, of course, but we have also to do one other thing, that is, have a more balanced meal. Today, most of the people in India, including you in Kerala, do not have a balanced meal. Your health suffers. You eat too much starch. Have a balanced meal that will help in solving the problem and giving you better health. The second thing is to moderate the growth of population. There are far too many people being born in India. The population is increasing too much and in Kerala I believe it increases more than any other part of the country. And therefore it is necessary for you to think of family planning and birth control.

And now it is clearly 9 o'clock and I have got to go. I must congratulate you again on what you have done here today and the day before. I must

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congratulate you on this mighty gathering which will remain in my mind for a very long time. This great concourse of people from Kerala, quietly seated here by the seaside, thinking of the work they have to do in future and, I hope, pledging themselves to carry on this work and carry on the old methods of Gandhiji and the Congress and of India forward wherever they may have come from. And I want to thank you also for your affection which you have given me in such an abundant measure. I hope I shall prove a little worthy of that affection. May it all be well with you and with Kerala.

Jai Hind! You say *Jai Hind* with me three times. *Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!*

14. To Shriman Narayan¹

New Delhi
April 30, 1958

My dear Shriman,²

I am writing to you about Pondicherry.³ I suppose you are in touch with this. Dhebarbhai has recently met some of the Pondicherry people. I do not know what decision he has arrived at.

One of our senior officers went to Pondicherry recently and has just come back. He reports that the situation there is pretty bad and the Congress Party is absolutely split into two parts. Indeed, one part voted against certain Government proposals and sided with the Opposition, and so new committees could not be formed.

There are complaints of corruption, etc., and I gather that Dhebarbhai has asked for particulars. This may certainly be done. But our procedure is so slow that all kinds of events will happen there before we arrive at any result after our enquiries. The present Council cannot go on.

What is suggested by our officer is that some urgent action should be taken and perhaps you could go there and in consultation with the Chief Commissioner,⁴ arrive at some settlement or new arrangement. As far as I can see, the only

1. JN Collection.

2. General Secretary, AICC.

3. In the elections to the Pondicherry Assembly held between 18 and 23 July 1955, the Congress won 20 seats out of 39 and formed the Government Council. Factional fight among the Congress members led to the resignation of six members from the Assembly on 6 May 1958.

4. The Chief Commissioner M.K. Kirpalani dissolved the Assembly on 23 May 1958.

course open is to have a new Council. Perhaps, Goubert⁵ may still be the leader; some others might change. Or, perhaps, someone else becomes the leader. I am not fully acquainted with the position there to be definite about this matter. The present Council is not a good one, though probably Goubert is in some ways superior to the others with all his faults.

Whether you can go there soon or not, I do not know. I think Goubert has written to you a rather long letter. My difficulty is that I have not been able to meet Dhebarbhai and do not know what his views are as to what should be done.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Edouard Goubert was the Chief Councillor and leader of the Congress Party in the Pondicherry Assembly.

15. To Sampurnanand¹

New Delhi
May 6, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,²

You wrote to me on April 24 about the anti-Congress orientation of the people who call themselves constructive workers. This is perfectly true and is a well-known fact. I suppose the Gandhi Ashram is to some extent influenced by Kripalani's³ personality. But all this opposition is much deeper than that. They imagine themselves as true successors of the Gandhi doctrine and are rather annoyed that they do not play the important role which is their due.⁴ This broad matter has been discussed on several occasions in the Congress Working Committee.

In Bihar there used to be a very large number of the so-called Sarvodaya workers paid handsomely out of the grant made by the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. Most of these people made a dead set against the Congress and the Bihar Congress had to oppose them practically openly.

1. Sampurnanand Collection, National Archives of India. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.
3. J.B. Kripalani, PSP Member of Lok Sabha from Sitamarhi, Bihar.
4. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 111-112.

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Most of Jayaprakash's followers, of course, were opposed to us. I wrote strongly to Jayaprakash on this subject and about his own rather woolly opinions some months ago.⁵ Vinobaji was also informed of all this.

Personally I have great respect for Vinobaji, which of course does not mean that I agree with all his opinions. I think that he is a big man and he has grown in recent years.

The Communist leaders of Kerala might try to exploit Vinoba. But as a matter of fact, the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, which is led by Communists and PSP people, has actually organised demonstrations against Vinobaji in Maharashtra.

I do not quite know what one can do about these "constructive workers". What you have said is a well-known fact and public reference has often been made to it. I do not think that their influence is very great, but of course it counts in some places. The criticism that they have had has had some effect in toning them down.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. For Nehru's letters, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 37, pp. 366-374 and Vol. 38, pp. 820-821.

16. To N.G. Ranga¹

New Delhi
May 7, 1958

My dear Ranga,²

Your letter of May 7 suggesting that Congress MPs might visit State undertakings. We have been encouraging them to do so for some years past and indeed many of them have done so. Normally a small group, say, not exceeding ten, is better than a very large group or just two or three persons. There should therefore be no difficulty in their going, when Railway travel is free for them.

I agree with you that we should be prepared to pay out of Party funds some relatively small sum to cover additional expenditure.

I do not quite understand what you mean by local situations. In such situations it may well be worthwhile for MPs to go there in the manner you suggest.

1. JN Collection.

2. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Tenali, Andhra Pradesh.

Any group of MPs going to visit a State undertaking or for some other purpose, can certainly present a report to the Executive Committee.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

17. To T.T. Krishnamachari¹

New Delhi
May 17, 1958

My dear T.T.,²

I was happy to receive your letter of May 16th.³ Please do not worry about me. My body is certainly tough, and I think my mind is also more or less in control.

Do write to me from time to time. I do not see why you should resign from the Lok Sabha.

I am leaving in a couple of days for the Kulu Valley. I am greatly looking forward to my stay there, which unfortunately will not be too long.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Congress leader and former Finance Minister of India.
3. T.T. Krishnamachari wrote that he had been perplexed by the reports in the newspapers about Nehru's retirement and would not precisely evaluate the reactions of his colleagues and of the Party to those happenings. He further wrote that he had decided to settle down in Kodaikanal and that his continuance as a Member of the Lok Sabha troubled his conscience.

18. To K. Hanumanthaiya¹

New Delhi
19th May 1958

My dear Hanumanthaiya,²

I have your letter without date.³

You refer to the meeting held with Vinobaji at Yelwal last year.⁴ At that meeting we subscribed to a statement which was issued. We did not necessarily subscribe to all that goes under the name of *Sarvodaya*. I hold by that statement that we signed.

It is true that *Sarvodaya*, as defined, sometimes differs from the normal approach to socialism. But there are many things about the *Sarvodaya* ideal which appeal to me. It is a vague ideal not worked out. On the other hand, there are some aspects of it with which I do not find myself in agreement. So far as Vinobaji is concerned, I think that he is a great man and I respect him.

You refer to what you call "bad opinion" about you in the Congress High Command. I do not know to what particular matter you refer. The "Congress High Command" is rather an unfortunate description of the Working Committee or the Parliamentary Board. Members belonging to these do not necessarily have the same opinion about every matter and they often differ. On some occasions they have disagreed with what you have said or the views you have expressed. I do not know of any tales being carried against you. At any rate, none such have come to me. If anything did come, I entirely agree with you that I should ask you about it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Mysore, 1952-56, Congress Member, Mysore Legislative Assembly at this time.
3. In his undated letter, Hanumanthaiya agreed with Nehru's concept of socialism as explained by him at the AICC meeting held on 10 May 1958 (See ante, pp. 518-519). But he doubted the correctness of the idea of *Sarvodaya Samaj* as expressed at the meeting with Vinoba Bhave at Yelwal on 21 and 22 September 1957 at which Nehru was also present. He added: "Socialism and *Sarvodaya* differ fundamentally, even as systems of music, Indian and Western, do." He also felt that a lot of "bad opinion" about him was persisting in the "Congress High Command circles" and stated that the Congress High Command ought to be "educative and not vindictive, and have recourse to Gandhian approach to persons and problems."
4. For details of Yelwal Conference of 21 and 22 September 1957, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 114-115 and Vol. 40, pp. 182 and 184.

19. To Birendra Bahadur Singh¹

Forest Rest House

Manali

21st May 1958

Dear Birendra Bahadur Singhji,²

I have received your letter of the 19th May about purses being given to senior members of the organisation. I agree with you that this method may often be abused. On the other hand, it is an old practice for money to be collected for the Congress by purses being presented to Congress Presidents and some other senior members. Anyhow, this matter should be considered more fully and I am forwarding your letter to the Congress President. I think that all purses given in this way should be sent to the public fund indicated. If it is the Congress fund, it should be sent to the All India Congress Fund or State Congress Fund and not kept by the individual concerned even though he might spend it for public purposes.

Anyhow, I am sending your letter to the Congress President.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Major Raja Birendra Bahadur Singh (1914-1971); became ruler of Khairagarh in 1935; rendered war service, 1935-45; after merger of the state with the Indian Union, appointed to the Indian Foreign Service, 1948 and served in Lisbon and Barcelona; Deputy Secretary, MEA, 1951-52; elected to Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly, 1952; Deputy Minister in the Home Department of the Madhya Pradesh Government, 1952-57; donated his palace to the Government for establishing the Indira Kala Sangeet University in 1956, named after his deceased daughter Indira; Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Raipur, 1957-62.

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20. To K.K. Shah¹

Manali

Kulu Valley

16th June 1958

My dear Shah,²

Your letter of the 13th June has reached me here at Manali.³ I have read your letter to Dhebarbhai.⁴

What you have said in your letter has force. But I think that our troubles are a little deeper or, if I may put it differently, our troubles are not just our troubles but they have a much wider influence. To some extent, they are troubles of the world and certainly of various parties in India, except to some extent of the Communists.

The Communists have two advantages. They have a rigid creed, like a religion, and they are, broadly speaking, in the opposition. Further, they bask under the sunshine of the actual or supposed successes of Russia and China. It is not for them to worry themselves about policies and programmes. They expect a steel framework and have only to fit into it. That obviously has an advantage because it casts no burden of thought. Also they are not burdened by scruples.

So far as the question of incentives is concerned for the Congress, this is important. But I think it is true that we often pull in different directions and thus confuse people. I have myself been thinking about this matter a good deal.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. President, Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee.
3. Shah wrote that the question of incentives to Congress workers was a very vital question, so he ventured to write to Nehru, who was holidaying in Manali at this time.
4. Shah, in his letter dated 12 June to U.N. Dhebar wrote about a "very vital" question as to "why should an ordinary worker of the Congress devote his life to Congress work and carry the burden of explaining the policy of the administration and its defects to the people even though he has neither the means nor the opportunity to study or influence them", and raised the issue of giving incentives to Congress workers to study the policies of the Congress. He also cited the case of the Communist Party in which the "organisation has more influence than the administration".

21. To Sayyid Ahmadullah Qadri¹

New Delhi
June 23, 1958

Dear Sayyid Ahmadullah Qadri,²

I have today received your letter of the 17th June.³ This deals with election matters and with nominations to the Council. I am completely out of touch with these matters and do not know what has thus far been done. All I can do is to forward your letter to the Congress President.

Whatever the result of all this might be, I do not understand why you should attach so much importance to this matter. Many good people do not stand for election or wish nomination or, even if they wish it, for some reason or other they do not get it. There can be no perfect system in this, and mistakes may sometimes be made. If made, they can be rectified perhaps later. There are many ways of serving the country. It is unfortunate, I think, that far too much importance is attached to entry into the legislatures.

However, as I have said above, I am forwarding your letter to the Congress President.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Editor, *Paisa Akhbar Daily*, Hyderabad.
3. Submitting his credentials to Nehru as a dedicated Congressman, Qadri had requested him to recommend his name to the Governor and the Chief Minister for nomination to the Legislative Council of Andhra Pradesh, and had written that it was his "deepest regret and sorrow that opportunists and counterfeit Congressmen who visit Delhi obtain tickets through fraud and flattery and feigning."

1. To Dinesh Singh¹

New Delhi
April 4, 1958

My dear Dinesh,²

Your letter of April 2. I think it is a good idea for a few Members of the Lok Sabha to visit the areas you mention. You have suggested that four Members should do so. I am glad that you have kept down this figure to four.³ A larger number entails a burden wherever they go. But four appears to me a good number.⁴

You can certainly visit the Naga Hills and Tuensang area, NEFA, Sikkim and Kashmir. Of course you will have to take into consideration the monsoon season to visit each area. This should be settled in consultation with our representatives in those areas and with the Kashmir Government. I think that you should make it clear that you do not wish to cast any undue burden on the administration there. All you want are some facilities for seeing the place.

As regards Nepal, I have no objection at all. But I would like this matter to be discussed with our Ambassador⁵ there.

If and when you go to Kashmir, it will be a good thing for you to visit the troops in some places at least. Here and elsewhere I should like this visit to be quietly arranged without any fuss or fanfare and not too much publicity.

There should be no difficulty at all in your going to Sikkim, as suggested. You might keep in touch with the External Affairs Ministry.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Banda, Uttar Pradesh.
3. Dinesh Singh, Sadath Ali Khan, Lt. Col. Manabendra Shah and Ahmed Mehdi visited Kashmir and Ladakh from 15 to 26 May 1958 and met Sadar-i-Riyasat Karan Singh, Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad and other Ministers.
4. For their report of the visit to Jammu and Kashmir, see *post*, p. 589.
5. Bhagwan Sahay.

2. Frank Graham's Report¹

...Finally, take this problem of the Jammu and Kashmir State. Recently there has been a report by Dr Graham.² Dr Graham had been here previously, and all of us who have had the privilege of meeting him, respect him.³ He is a man beaming goodwill and good intentions, and it is really a pleasure to meet a man like that. He came here on this occasion and he was our honoured guest, although we had informed the Security Council when they passed that resolution that we could not accept that resolution, nevertheless, if Dr Graham came, he would be welcome.⁴ So he came and he had some talks with us. In this report, he himself has stated the nature of our talks. I am not at the present moment going into this Kashmir question. It is too big and too difficult, and apart from that, this House knows very well what our position in regard to this issue is, what we have said in great detail in the Security Council and in India. And in this matter, I believe there are no two opinions in this House or in the country. There might be slight variations about emphasis, but, broadly speaking, there is none.

1. Extracts from the statement in the Lok Sabha, 9 April 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XV, cols. 9063-9069. For the remaining part of the statement, see *post*, pp. 683-701.
2. In his report, published on 3 April 1958, Frank Graham, the UN mediator, gave details of a five-point plan for the settlement of the Kashmir dispute which he had submitted to the Governments of India and Pakistan. In this plan he recommended (i) declarations by India and Pakistan appealing to their peoples to maintain an atmosphere favourable to negotiations, (ii) reaffirming the inviolability of the ceasefire line, (iii) evacuation of the Pakistani forces from Kashmir and stationing of a UN force on the Pakistani side of the Kashmir border, (iv) discussions between the UN representative and the two Governments on the possibility of a plebiscite, and (v) a meeting between the two Prime Ministers at the earliest date.
3. Graham was appointed as UN mediator for India and Pakistan in relation to the Kashmir dispute on 30 April 1951. He arrived in the subcontinent on 27 June and held consultations with leaders from both sides. He recommended in his report, submitted to the Security Council on 16 October 1951, that the Council should call upon India and Pakistan to avoid any increase of their military potential in the Kashmir State and also consider a fresh effort to obtain agreement on demilitarisation. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 16, Pt. II, p. 302.
4. In pursuance of the UN Security Council's resolution of 2 December 1957, Dr Frank Graham visited India and Pakistan three times during January and February 1958. He came to Delhi on 12 January and left for Karachi on 17 January. The second time he reached Delhi on 23 January and left for Karachi on 1 February. His third visit was from 7 to 13 February and later he went to Pakistan before returning to New York and submitting his report. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 636 and 645-646.

The trouble, according to us, in considering this matter has been that from the very beginning certain basic factors and basic aspects have not been considered by the Security Council, and because of that, the foundation of thinking and action has been unreal and artificial, and all this tremendous lapse of time has occurred without achieving any result.

When Dr Jarring came here representing the Security Council—that was before Dr Graham came—he presented a brief report.⁵ In that report, the House may remember, there was a recognition of certain factors, certain developments, certain facts of life which could not be ignored. He merely hinted at them, he did not go into that matter, it was difficult. Anyhow, this is the first glimmering that you see of what the problem is today. You can consider this problem in terms of 1948 and 1949 or in terms of today. You cannot consider it all the time, every little phase in between. I say 1948 and 1949 because it was in those years that certain resolutions of the Security Council were passed,⁶ which we accepted. The very first thing in those resolutions was that Pakistan and India should behave in a certain way, that is, peacefully and not curse each other, not create conditions of conflict. The second thing was that Pakistan should withdraw from the occupied part of Kashmir and so on and so forth. Remember, the basis of those resolutions was the recognition of the sovereignty of the Jammu and Kashmir State over the whole territory, that is to say, that the State was part of India and, therefore, Indian sovereignty. I am not going into that. Now, after that, much happened. A great deal has happened during these ten years, and even the papers that we have—I forget the exact number—run into 20, 25 or 30 volumes in connection with this Kashmir affair.

Now, we come to today. Keep, if you want to keep, those resolutions that we accepted, in mind; we do not want to go away from them. But remember that during all these ten years, the very first part of the thing has not been given effect to by Pakistan—neither the first, nor the second nor the third—and all discussions begin in the Security Council, ignoring all this, with something that is at the far end of the resolution, which was only to be thought of after everything else had been done.

Now, Dr Graham has been good enough to put forward certain suggestions. One is that we should reiterate solemnly—‘we’ meaning India and Pakistan—what we had said previously: we should make a new declaration in favour of maintaining an atmosphere of peace. I was perfectly prepared to make it, and I will make it once, twice, three times, a number of times more. But with all humility—I submit again that I am prepared to make it—we drew Dr Graham’s

5. For details of Gunnar V. Jarring’s report, submitted to the Security Council on 30 April 1957, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 38, p. 411.
6. The reference is to the UNCIP resolutions passed on 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949.

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attention to the type of declarations that were being made in Pakistan from day to day while he was there in Karachi. The declarations that were made there had no semblance of peace; there was the very opposite of it and all these bomb explosions organised from Pakistan are taking place in the Jammu and Kashmir State. So nobody can object to what Dr Graham has said. Let us have by all means declarations about maintaining an atmosphere of peace. But let us look at the facts, what is happening, what a former Prime Minister of Pakistan has just said, which is in yesterday's papers,⁷ and so on.

Then Dr Graham said—the second thing—let us also declare that we shall observe the integrity of the ceasefire line. I do not think anybody has accused us during these ten years of a breach of that ceasefire line. There it is. We do not recognise Pakistan occupation on the other side as justified in any way, but we gave our word that we would not take any offensive action against it, and we have not done so. On the other hand, you see, what I have referred to several times, organised sabotage across the ceasefire line in Kashmir.

The third suggestion of Dr Graham was about the withdrawal of Pakistan troops from the occupied part of Jammu and Kashmir State. Certainly, it is not up to us to withdraw, it is up to them to withdraw. It is not a question of our agreement to their withdrawal; we have been asking for their withdrawal all this time.

The fourth proposal was about the stationing of United Nations forces on the Pakistan border of Jammu and Kashmir State following the withdrawal of the Pakistan Army from the State.

Now, the proposal was or is for the stationing of UN troops, not in any part of Jammu and Kashmir territory, not in the part which is occupied by Pakistan now, but these forces should be stationed in Pakistan territory proper. Obviously, Pakistan is an independent sovereign State. If it wants to have any foreign forces, we cannot say 'No' to it. We cannot prevent that. We, for our part, do not like the idea of foreign forces anywhere. And more especially in this connection we felt we did not see any reason why the UN forces should sit in Pakistan on the Kashmir border. But, that is our opinion. It does not carry us anywhere because what is proposed is to be done in the territory of Pakistan. It is for Pakistan to agree, or not to agree; we have expressed our opinion.

Then finally, Dr Graham suggested that the two Prime Ministers, that is of India and Pakistan, should meet under his auspices. Now, it has been our practice

7. In a statement from Lahore on 6 April 1958, Chaudhary Mohammad Ali, the Prime Minister of Pakistan from August 1955 to September 1956, suggested that if India did not agree to a plebiscite in Kashmir or if the UN did not send a force there, then Pakistan should send her armed forces into Jammu and Kashmir Valley for what he called "the rescue of people of Kashmir in peaceful manner to protect them from indignities and tortures being inflicted upon them."

or convention always to be prepared to meet not only as Prime Ministers, but anywhere in any conflict to meet our opponent, to meet our adversary, to meet, of course, our friends also. So, there can be no difficulty and no objection on our part, or for me to meet the Prime Minister of Pakistan. But Dr Graham says that we should meet under his auspices, that is to say, the three of us should meet. That produces an entirely different type of picture. I need not go into it. Obviously, that is there.

First of all, it places us in a position of, let us say, equality in this matter with Pakistan. We have always challenged that position. Pakistan is an aggressor country in Kashmir and we are the aggrieved party. We cannot be treated on level. That has been our case right from the beginning.

Secondly, for the two Prime Ministers who meet, it would almost appear as if they have to plead with Dr Graham, under whose auspices they meet, as advocates for certain causes which they represent. This kind of thing does not lead to problems being considered properly or solved. So, we told Dr Graham that, while we are always prepared to meet, this way of meeting with a third party present, even though the third party may be so eminent as Dr Graham, was not a desirable way.

I have ventured to say something about Dr Graham's report because there has been a good deal of talk about it, and a good deal of criticism, rather ill-informed criticism, in the foreign press on the subject. Anyway, it is open to our friends or those who are not our friends to criticise us. I make no complaint. But I do wish that they would realise our position in this matter and what exactly of Dr Graham's report we rejected.

I told you the first point, broadly speaking, is to make a declaration of good neighbourliness. Nobody can oppose that and there is no question of its rejection. Our submission is that this thing has been totally lacking from October 1947 onwards and, even after we had made this statement, Pakistan has not. In fact, it is our primary case that the old resolution of 1948, the very first part of it, has not been given effect to by Pakistan.

The second point is about the ceasefire line. There is nothing to reject there.

The third was about the withdrawal of Pakistan troops. It is none of our concern. We want that to happen. We do not reject the withdrawal of Pakistan troops.

The fourth was the placing of UN troops in Pakistan territory. Well, I have told you it is up to Pakistan to agree or not to agree. If they want our opinion we can give it.

And, lastly, this question of the two Prime Ministers meeting. If my opinion is asked for I would say that a meeting should take place. Any meeting can take place when, if I may use the word, the omens are favourable, when the atmosphere is helpful. Otherwise, it is not likely to do much good. But apart from that, I am prepared to meet whatever the omens may be, but as I said, I do

not think it is the right way to approach this question, to meet in the manner suggested by Dr Graham, that is, under his chairmanship, discussing this matter between us. So, that is the position.

3. To Harold Macmillan¹

New Delhi

April 10, 1958

My dear Prime Minister,²

You were good enough to send me a message about Kashmir through your High Commission in Delhi.³ This was handed to me on the 2nd April.

In that message, you referred to Dr Graham's report on Kashmir which was released for publication subsequently, and expressed your great concern lest its publication might provoke a controversy which would make a solution to the matter more difficult to find. You suggested that we should try to avoid such a damaging controversy and, as far as possible, limit ourselves to the minimum in expressing publicly any opinion on the report until we had all had time to consider it.

You may have felt from some press reports that I had paid little heed to your suggestion and had, in fact, expressed my opinion about the report soon after its publication. I am sorry if I gave you that impression, because I certainly did not want to add to the existing controversies. I had really no intention then of making any statement, but in the course of my normal monthly press conference, a number of questions were put to me on Dr Graham's report and it was difficult for me not to give some kind of an answer.⁴ As usual, some parts of my answer were taken out of the general context and given special publicity.

Yesterday, I had occasion to speak in our Parliament on the Demands for Grants for the Ministry of External Affairs. As there was considerable feeling in Parliament about Dr Graham's report and many Members had asked me to make a statement on it, I spoke on the subject.⁵ I am taking the liberty of sending you

1. File No. KS-8/58, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

3. In his message Macmillan had written, among other things, that as there would be some interval between the publication of the report and its consideration by the Security Council, Nehru should let him know his thoughts on the report. He informed Nehru that he had sent a similar message to Firoz Khan Noon, the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

4. See *post*. pp. 737-741.

5. See the preceding item.

a report, taken from the records of Parliament, of that part of my speech which dealt with Pakistan, Kashmir and Dr Graham's report. I am afraid this is rather long, but it will give you a more correct appreciation of what I said and what I think about this subject.

I must confess that Dr Graham's report came as something of a shock to me, as indeed to many others here.⁶ You may remember a message I sent you in September 1957 in regard to Kashmir.⁷ I endeavoured to explain our position in that message and laid stress on certain basic facts which governed the situation. It has always seemed to me that an effort at a solution of this problem cannot succeed unless that effort is based on reality and takes into consideration all that has happened. Dr Graham appears to have forgotten all this and started a controversy in regard to some matters which is likely to come in the way of any constructive approach. Dr Jarring, the then Chairman of the Security Council, who had come to India to report on this very issue, had referred to certain developments which could not be bypassed.⁸ Dr Graham, unfortunately, was so tied up with some of the negotiations in the past that he could not get out of that tangle.

In the report of the speech I am sending you, I have referred to Dr Graham's various proposals. In regard to some of these, there was nothing that we could do. It was really for Pakistan to decide or to take action. His final proposal was that the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan should meet under his chairmanship. I told him that I was always prepared to meet the Prime Minister of Pakistan to discuss this or any other subject, but for us to meet under his chairmanship was not the proper approach for a variety of reasons and it could not possibly yield results.

I do not see what else I could have told him and it is this that I have repeated in my statements subsequent to the publication of Dr Graham's report.

In the course of my speech in Parliament, I referred to the basic difficulty which is constantly coming in the way of good relations between India and Pakistan. That is something more basic than the particular issues we consider, Kashmir, canal waters, etc. One may call it a conflict of ideologies, though I dislike the word. It is the heritage of the old two-nation theory of the Muslim League. It is this which has led to vast migrations from East Pakistan to India, which continues still. It is this which results in constant denunciation in Pakistan

6. Graham's recommendations were rejected by India on the grounds that they ignored Pakistan's failure to implement the resolution passed by the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) on 13 August 1948, and that they would "place the aggressor and the aggrieved on the same footing." However, Pakistan accepted Graham's recommendations in principle.
7. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 502-503.
8. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 38, pp. 23, 411 and 782.

of India and appeals for holy war. For us to accept that theory is to imperil the very foundations of our democratic and secular state. We have no desire to interfere with the internal or external policies of Pakistan. That is for the people of Pakistan to decide. But equally, we do not wish to be interfered with.

As I think you know, there has been a continuous campaign of sabotage in Jammu and Kashmir State, deliberately organised from Pakistan. Indeed, some responsible persons in Pakistan have publicly stated this and about a hundred bomb outrages have taken place in Jammu and Kashmir.⁹ There are indeed cases pending in the law courts of Jammu & Kashmir State in which Pakistanis are involved in connection with these bomb outrages.

I fully realise your own delicate position in this matter but I hope you will appreciate the heavy strain under which we live because of this campaign of violence and hatred in Pakistan. We have throughout tried to restrain the strong feelings that exist in India and have, to a considerable extent, succeeded in doing so. Indeed, the debate in our Parliament yesterday was rather remarkable as nearly all the Members who spoke, and they belonged to various parties, expressed themselves in terms of moderation and friendliness for Pakistan. But, on the basic issues they were firm. This debate was in marked contrast to what is being said in Pakistan. Whatever happens, we shall endeavour to continue this peaceful approach.¹⁰

The last two months have been a period of very heavy strain for me. Not only has work been heavy, but some events have occurred which have been particularly painful. I feel very tired and rather stale. As soon as the present session of Parliament is over, in the second week of May, I hope to take myself away for some time to some remote and almost inaccessible spot.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. Between 18 June and September 1957, about 38 bomb explosions took place at different places in Kashmir in which six people were reported to be killed and 17 injured. 16 persons, arrested in this connection, were being tried in Srinagar. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 498-499.
10. On 19 May 1958 Nehru received another message from Macmillan in which he wrote that "unwise things are said sometimes in the heat of the moment for internal political purposes" in Pakistan. However, as a result of his conversations with Pakistan leaders over the last year, he was convinced that at heart they wanted a settlement of outstanding differences with India. Nevertheless, Macmillan felt that tension would increase if the Kashmir issue became one of the major election issues in the forthcoming elections in Pakistan. Moreover, if Firoz Khan Noon, the Pakistan Prime Minister, pressed for an early meeting of the Security Council, it would further exacerbate the differences as a result of "controversial polemics in the Council and the possibility of a Russian veto." Macmillan, therefore, asked if Nehru and Firoz Khan Noon could meet to avoid further tension as suggested by Eisenhower to Nehru and Iskandar Mirza, the Pakistan President.

4. To Vishnu Sahay¹

New Delhi
April 11, 1958

My dear Vishnu Sahay,²

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received this evening from Sheikh Abdullah.³
I have sent a separate copy to Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad.⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. KS-25/58, MHA.

2. Secretary for Kashmir Affairs, MHA.

3. In his letter dated 11 April 1958 written from Srinagar, Sheikh Abdullah had stated, among other things, that Bakhshi and his supporters had been deliberately giving publicity to "false and mischievous" reports about his activities in order to cover up their past misdeeds, and that some of the most respectable persons were being taken to the interrogation centre of the Intelligence Bureau and tortured in a way reminiscent of the Nazi concentration camps. He added that the only way to end the ten-year-old dispute was to concede the right of self-determination to the people of Kashmir. He appealed to Nehru not to be misled by Bakhshi and his supporters to pursue a policy which, in the end, was bound to prove disastrous to all.

Sheikh Abdullah's letter to Nehru was also published in *The New York Times* dated 1 May 1958.

4. Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State.

5. To Mohammad Magray¹

New Delhi
April 12, 1958

Dear Mr Magray,²

Thank you for your letter of April 4th, which I have received today.³

1. JN Collection.

2. An employee of India House, London, and a member of the Kashmiri Association of Europe.

3. Magray drew Nehru's attention to the "inhuman, undemocratic and communal like" statements of Sheikh Abdullah who "had even the courage to challenge our Constitution. He equally scorns our Constituent Assembly, which voted for accession to India." Magray wrote that Kashmiris hoped that Indian nationality would give them true assurance of freedom, peace and democratic government, but all their hopes seemed to have shattered as they were challenged by disillusioned politicians like Abdullah. Magray stressed that "it should be the Indian democrat's inescapable responsibility to establish disbelief in the false and fanatical two-nation theory based on the premise that religion determines the nationality." Magray stated that it was surprising that no one could tell Abdullah that such communal statements could not be tolerated. He cautioned Nehru not to depend on Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, who did not have any kind of educational background and was "worse than an illiterate."

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

I can well understand your distress and anguish at some developments in Kashmir. Many of us here have felt the same distress and anguish. But you seem to imagine that we are not disassociating ourselves from what Sheikh Abdullah says or that we are treating him too gently and passively. As a matter of fact, very clear statements have been made about him in Parliament and elsewhere. Personally, I do not like entering into personal controversies with anyone, if I can help it. But I have made it perfectly clear that I think he is following a wrong and dangerous path. Others have spoken in much stronger terms.

But, surely, strong language does not necessarily help. Other things have to be done to meet a difficult situation. The fact is that our people, whether in Kashmir or the rest of India, are easily misled. Sheikh Abdullah, as you have yourself observed, is now following a policy which is narrow-minded, communal and very dangerous.

I am concerned, as you are no doubt concerned, with the larger causes we stand for with the help of Kashmir as of the rest of India, and not just with personalities. Unfortunately, difficult problems are not solved merely by an expression of opinion, however strong that might be. I hope, however, that we shall gradually get over the present serious situation within Kashmir. Pakistan, as you may have heard, has been carrying on a widespread campaign of sabotage there. Scores of bombs have been thrown by people coming from Pakistan. Large sums of money have been distributed. Some people have already been convicted in a court of law, and a major conspiracy case is likely to begin fairly soon.⁴ This may involve quite a number of important personalities.

I see no future for Kashmir, and indeed for the whole of India, except on the basis of secular democracy and national unity.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The reference is to the Kashmir Conspiracy Case in which Sheikh Abdullah and 24 others were implicated for organising a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. The FIR in this case was filed on 9 October 1957 and the charge-sheet was submitted in March 1958.

6. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi
April 14, 1958

My dear Bakhshi,

I have just received your letter of April 14th from Srinagar.² I am glad you have written and given me some facts about the arrests and detentions. We shall have to make a statement on this subject in response to numerous calling attention notices in Parliament here. The facts you have given will help us.

I have read the notes on interrogation of Ghulam Mohammad Chiken³ and Khwaja Ali Shah⁴ that you have sent.⁵ It is a little difficult for me to follow them as I do not know all the details. One fact emerges that large sums of money came through. But there is nothing definite to connect Sheikh Abdullah with all this.

In any event, I cannot obviously use any statements contained in interrogations. I do not know why there is such long delay in proceeding with this conspiracy case. I should have thought the sooner this was started, the better.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 14-3/58-KV, MEA.
2. In his letter to Nehru, Bakhshi had refuted the allegations of the Plebiscite Front as also of the Government of Pakistan that a "reign of terror" was let loose in the Valley. Bakhshi informed Nehru that there were only 33 detenus in the entire State and they were being looked after well, and added that 70 persons had been arrested in connection with the Hazratbal incident. He stated that Section 144 was not clamped anywhere in the State, and that the situation was being dealt with by the police without involving the army or the militia.
3. A trusted man of Sheikh Abdullah.
4. A confidante of Sheikh Abdullah, he was also released from jail on 8 January 1958.
5. According to the notes sent by Bakhshi, during police investigation in connection with the Kashmir Conspiracy Case, Ghulam Mohammad Chiken revealed that he had been in regular touch with Pakistan Intelligence Bureau officials since January 1956 and had informed them about the political detenus in various jails in Kashmir. Chiken had sought and received financial aid for the activities of the Plebiscite Front. Khwaja Ali Shah said that after he became President of the Plebiscite Front in 1956, he maintained regular contact with Pakistan officials, exchanged publicity materials and letters with them and received money from them for Plebiscite Front activities. Ali Shah also sent Sheikh Abdullah's letter addressed to the Security Council to Pakistan in mid-1956. See *Selected Works (Second Series)*, Vol. 36, pp. 343-344.

7. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi
April 14, 1958

My dear Pantji,

When Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad was here, he spoke strongly and feelingly to our MPs about Delhi being the centre of activities against the Kashmir Government and our policy in regard to Kashmir. He was evidently referring to Mridula Sarabhai's² centre.³ I really do not know what we can do about the matter. But, on the other hand, not to do something also seems to me wrong. MPs have repeatedly spoken to me about this.

The other day, I received, as you might have received also, a paper from Mridula Sarabhai, making very serious charges against our Intelligence and police about third degree methods being employed for interrogation purposes. I asked M.J. Desai⁴ to show this to Mullik.⁵ This was done, and Mullik was indignant about this and said that the charges were groundless and mischievous. In the course of his talk with M.J. Desai, he said that their investigations had shown that Mridula was spending Rs 22,000 per month to support these various anti-Indian activities. Other accounts which have reached me indicate that she is spending even more—Rs 30,000 or Rs 35,000 a month. I am told that her postage bill alone is Rs 7,000 a month. Then, she pays about Rs 1,000 for the house in which she lives, where a number of families live also. Lawyers have been engaged and paid fees, etc., etc.

The other day, I saw a copy of a letter she had sent to you in protest about something, and in this letter, she had said that her activities were an open book and she invited you to have them looked into. Would it be possible, on the basis of that letter to you or otherwise, to ask her to supply to us some kind of an account of the money she spends and how she collects it. She may be told that there are serious charges about this matter and, therefore, it is desirable that she should help us to find out the facts.

I am sending you M.J. Desai's note of his talk with Mullik.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. A freedom fighter who organised relief and rehabilitation work for the refugees, including abducted women, after Partition.
3. Mridula Sarabhai started a forum of all non-communal parties called 'Friends of New Kashmir Committee' on 10 December 1952 in Delhi to counteract the propaganda of Praja Parishad and Bharatiya Jan Sangh.
4. Commonwealth Secretary, MEA.
5. B.N. Mullik was Director of the Intelligence Bureau, Government of India.

8. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi
April 16, 1958

My dear Bakhshi,

I am much worried about one matter. Why is it that there is such delay in starting the Conspiracy Case² about which there has been so much talk for several months? This delay is having a bad effect on people who are beginning to say that we are in the habit of making vague charges without trying to establish them. If there is any further delay, I am afraid we shall suffer very much by it. As it is, the delay has not at all been to our advantage, and the psychological moment is rapidly passing.

Tomorrow, I am making a statement in the Lok Sabha³ about the recent complaint lodged in the Security Council by Pakistan.⁴ But the biggest answer would be the Conspiracy Case. There has been a good deal of comment in the foreign press, which is not in our favour. I sent you the other day a copy of a

1. JN Collection.

2. Sheikh Abdullah was included in the list of accused in what was known as the "Kashmir Conspiracy Case" in which the former Revenue Minister Mirza Afzal Beg and 23 others were facing trial for attempting to overthrow the Government by criminal force and for anti-State activities. According to the Intelligence Bureau, Abdullah's inflammatory speeches, his call to raise Razakars, the Hazratbal rioting and murder, the Plebiscite Front manifesto and the receipt of large sums of money from Pakistan by Begum Akbar Jahan Abdullah while Sheikh Abdullah was present in the house further strengthened the case. Initially Abdullah's wife was implicated in the case but her name was not included later.
3. It was, in fact, Lakshmi Menon, the Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs, who made the statement in the Lok Sabha on 17 April 1958. Informing the House that the Government had not received the authorised text of Aly Khan's letter (see the next footnote) to the Security Council, Lakshmi Menon stated that from the press reports it was understood that the letter was "full of false and baseless allegations" and was "part of the campaign of hatred and calumny which Pakistan pursues against India."
4. Pakistan's Permanent Representative at the United Nations, Prince Aly Khan, in a communication to the UN Security Council on 28 March 1958, referred to the announcements made by G.B. Pant, the Indian Home Minister. The announcements, reported in *The Hindustan Times* of 18 February 1958, were: (a) integration of the States' Services with the rest of India, and (b) extension of the jurisdiction of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India to the State. In fact, CAG's jurisdiction was extended to Jammu and Kashmir on 1 May 1958. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad also wrote to Nehru on 14 April 1958 that Aly Khan had sent a letter to the Security Council President on 11 April 1958 alleging that repression had been let loose in the Valley and thousands of people had been arrested during the previous few weeks.

letter which Sheikh Abdullah had written to me.⁵ I have no doubt that this letter will be produced before the Security Council. In this letter, there are two sets of charges. One is about widespread repression, including something in the nature of torture, etc., and the other is about the corruption of the administration. Both these charges produce effect on the public.

I am myself less concerned by what happens in the Security Council than by the reputation we get about the state of affairs in Kashmir, more particularly, about rough methods adopted by the police or others and about the charges of administrative corruption.⁶ These weaken us more than anything else.

I trust, therefore, that you will keep this in mind and have the Conspiracy Case started very early.

I saw Vishnu Sahay today and enquired from him why this delay had occurred in this case. He did not seem to know the reason for it.⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. For the gist of Abdullah's letter, see *ante*, p. 567.
6. Referring to the reports about corruption in the Kashmir State, Bakhshi wrote that "in this respect we are neither better nor worse than some other States in India or even some of the Ministries of the Central Government. But I am surprised that Sheikh Sahib of all the persons should have made this charge. I had thought it proper not to give out cases of nepotism for which he was directly responsible as Prime Minister of the State. I have facts and figures to prove how he used the resources of the State to advance the interests of his family and himself."
7. On 19 April Bakhshi replied that the delay in starting the Conspiracy Case was unavoidable because legal formalities had to be complied with and loopholes plugged so that the case could be presented in a fool-proof manner, particularly since "Sheikh Sahib and his wife were involved in this case," as also because "senior officers like our Chief Engineer is implicated."

9. Attitude towards Graham's Report¹

I do not see any reason why I should offer to make a statement in the Rajya Sabha on this subject. I would prefer this question to be postponed to a date when I am here.

1. Note to M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, New Delhi, 17 April 1958. JN Collection.

2. The answer should be, I think, relatively brief as follows:

Answer to question No. 192²

"Dr Graham has himself stated in general terms the Government of India's attitude to his Report. That attitude is governed by the basic facts of the situation. Unless these are recognised, a peaceful and lasting solution will not be found.

Dr Graham put forward the following suggestions:

(1) A renewed declaration by both parties in favour of maintaining an atmosphere of peace and observing the integrity of the ceasefire line. We are entirely in favour of maintaining peace and observing the ceasefire line, and we have adhered to this throughout these years. We pointed out, however, that such a declaration on our part might imply that there had been a breach of it on our side.

(2) Withdrawal of Pakistan troops. This action has to be taken by Pakistan and in our opinion should certainly be taken so as to vacate the aggression.

(3) The placing of UN troops on Pakistan territory along the Jammu and Kashmir border. This again is a matter for Pakistan to decide as the proposal relates to Pakistan territory only and not to the Jammu and Kashmir State. We consider the proposal to bring in foreign troops regrettable. It is for Pakistan to agree or not to agree.

(4) A meeting of the two Prime Ministers under Dr Graham's chairmanship. We are always agreeable to a meeting of the two Prime Ministers whenever this may be considered feasible and profitable. But we are not agreeable to such a meeting taking place under anyone's chairmanship."

To be answered by Deputy Minister

3. If the question is put after my return, I shall be present there to deal with supplementaries.³ I may even suggest placing a copy on the Table of the Rajya Sabha of part of my speech in the Lok Sabha⁴ dealing with this question. This will depend on circumstances. But I should have the copy with me. I am, therefore, placing a copy here in this file.

2. Jugal Kishore, a Congress Member of the Rajya Sabha from Punjab had sought to know the Government's attitude towards Frank Graham's report. Lakshmi Menon, the Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs, replied to the question in the Rajya Sabha on 5 May 1958 as directed by Nehru.
3. Bhupesh Gupta, the Communist Party Member of Rajya Sabha from West Bengal, asked during supplementaries whether India must continue this case in the Security Council or freeze it, pending the vacating of aggression and whether India should inform the UN Secretary General that it would be interested in participating in the deliberations of the Security Council only when it discussed the question of vacating the aggression. Nehru replied that the matter having gone to the Security Council, it was not entirely in the hands of any party to withdraw it and India had already expressed its views on this question at great length.
4. See *ante*, pp. 560-564.

10. The Kashmir Conspiracy Case¹

I have read the ten-page note at the end of these papers. It is for lawyers to assess the value of this evidence. *Prima facie*, there appears to be a good deal of documentary evidence to support the charge of conspiracy.

2. There has been talk about launching this Conspiracy Case for many months and some public reference has also been made to it. I have long felt that the delay in launching this Case was harmful to our interests. Some delay was perhaps inevitable in order to collect the evidence. But because of this delay an impression is now spreading that we have really no case and no substantial evidence. I have, therefore, recently written to Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad and spoken to Shri Vishnu Sahay urging them that the Case should be launched as early as possible.²

3. As for Sheikh Abdullah being involved in this case, I am inclined to agree with Commonwealth Secretary that it would probably be better to leave him out. If, later on, it is considered important to proceed against him also, presumably there will be no bar to it. As a matter of fact, to proceed against Begum Abdullah³ would itself be a great blow to Sheikh Abdullah.

4. You might show these papers to the Home Minister as early as possible and to the Law Minister as soon as he comes back.

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 19 April 1958. JN Collection.
2. See *ante*, pp. 571-572.
3. Begum Akbar Jahan Abdullah (1917-2000); married Sheikh Abdullah, 1934; organised Peace Committees in Srinagar, 1946; after Independence connected with several child welfare and women's welfare organisations; National Conference Member of the Lok Sabha, from Srinagar, 1977-79, and from Anantnag, 1984-89; Patron, National Conference, from 1982 till her death.

11. To S.K. Patil¹

New Delhi
May 1, 1958

My dear S.K.,²

There has been a long-standing complaint that no Kashmiris are employed in our airlines service which goes to Srinagar and Jammu or, rather, no Kashmiri Muslims have been employed. I think that in some capacity it would be a good thing to employ a few and remove the cause for this complaint.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Transport and Communications.

12. To S.A. Dange¹

New Delhi
May 1, 1958

Dear Dange,²

I have your notice today about the Kashmir situation. I suppose a discussion on this subject in Lok Sabha will not be quite in order as this is essentially a State matter. It is, of course, for the Speaker³ to decide. Personally I feel that such a public discussion will not help the situation, but you could discuss this matter informally. I am sure the Home Minister⁴ will be glad to do so.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. CPI Member of the Lok Sabha from Bombay Central, and General Secretary, AITUC.
3. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.
4. Govind Ballabh Pant.

13. To Asoka Mehta¹

New Delhi
May 1, 1958

Dear Asoka,²

Your letter of today's date about the Kashmir developments. I would gladly meet you, but I am afraid it is difficult to find time during the next two or three days. The Turkish Prime Minister³ is here, and the National Development Council will be meeting for two days afterwards, and the Congress Working Committee is meeting on the 5th. I do not know if Pantji will be free on any of these days.

Personally, I doubt if a public discussion in Parliament will be helpful.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Praja Socialist Party Member of the Lok Sabha from Muzaffarpur, Bihar.
3. Adnan Menderes was in New Delhi on 1 and 2 May 1958.

14. Integration of Services¹

V.K. Dhage:² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government are aware of the report which appeared in *The Times of India* of the 30th March, 1958, that Pakistan's Permanent Representative to the United Nations sent a communication to the President of the Security Council on or about the 28th March, 1958, objecting to the announcement made by India of the integration of Services in Kashmir with the rest of India; and
- (b) whether any communication has been received by India from the Security Council in this regard?

1. Extracts from reply to questions in the Rajya Sabha, 5 May 1958. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXI, cols. 1371-1374.
2. Independent Member of the Rajya Sabha from Bombay State.

Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) and (b). Yes. An authorised copy of the letter in question has been received in circulation.

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V.K. Dhage: The Pakistan Government has been charging that we have been violating the Resolutions of March 13, 1951 and of January 24, 1957, relating to the integration of Services. May I know what has been our reply to that?

JN: Our reply is to repudiate that charge and say that it is entirely baseless. In short, it is that. There were two points raised in their original letter. One was about the integration of Services with the rest of India and the other was with regard to the extension of the jurisdiction of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India to that State. These are only normal things which we have to do and which follow from the fact of the State of Jammu and Kashmir being a part of India. Whatever other things might be considered by the Security Council or anybody, they have no relation to our day-to-day connections with them. And that has been pointed out in our reply.

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V.K. Dhage: Sir, along with the objection that they have taken, they have also charged the Government of India with having done something. I want to know as to whether the Government of India has replied to that. In the letter of the Pakistan Government there are several things mentioned. They continuously keep on charging us with certain violations. I would like to know whether the Prime Minister has denied those charges, and whether we have also stated that the Pakistan Government has been encouraging certain sabotage and subversive activities in the Kashmir area.

JN: In this particular letter—I have not got every bit of it—I think we have dealt with this specific charge made. But in our subsequent letter we have dealt with a wider issue, and some kind of correspondence goes on, and there is nothing very unusual about it. We send any number of letters through our representative to the Security Council, and the Pakistan Government does likewise. We cannot, in every letter, state our entire case, because that was stated in the course of a twelve-hour speech by our representative there last year.³

3. V.K. Krishna Menon, the leader of Indian delegation to the UN, delivered his marathon speech spread over two days, 23 and 24 January 1957. Menon who was suffering from low blood pressure fainted during his long speech in the Security Council.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Jaswant Singh:⁴ Is it not true, Sir that these letters have already appeared in the press?

JN: I believe so, Sir.

V.K. Dhage: Sir, the point is that the Pakistan Government has been carrying on some propaganda by addressing certain letters and giving them publicity. Therefore, I would like to know as to what the Government of India thinks in regard to counteracting that kind of propaganda.

JN: As I said, Sir, it is true that the Pakistan Government carries on this kind of propaganda. If I may say so, quite recently, or in the last three or four days, the type of propaganda that is issued from Pakistan is even more amazing and virulent than previously. What does the honourable Member expect us to do to clear up everything? Of course, we cannot use the same language. I hope he will not like us to do that. All that we can do is to try to correct the false statements made by them.

4. Independent Member of the Rajya Sabha from Rajasthan.

15. To Vishnu Sahay¹

New Delhi
May 6, 1958

My dear Vishnu Sahay,

Complaints have reached me from time to time about the difficulties placed in the way of the defence of various people arrested in Kashmir recently.² Most of these, I suppose, were arrested in connection with the Hazratbal incident.³ I understand that even the lawyers who appeared for them were arrested and that it has become difficult for them to have a lawyer.

1. JN Collection. Also available in File No. KS-25/58, MHA.

2. See *ante*, pp. 570-572.

3. There were violent clashes between National Conference volunteers and Plebiscite Front and Political Conference workers on 21 February 1958 near Hazratbal. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, p. 644.

This kind of thing produces a very bad effect on the average person here and more particularly on a foreigner. If the facts are true, I do not at all like them. I think that the least that can be done is to allow proper facilities of defence to those who have been arrested. I wanted to tell Bakhshi Sahib myself about this, but I forgot to do so.

As I have told you previously, I think it is of the utmost importance that the major Conspiracy Case should be started without delay.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

16. To Asoka Mehta¹

New Delhi
8th May, 1958

Dear Asoka,

Your note reached me this morning. Immediately I tried to get in touch with you to fix up a meeting this afternoon at 5 p.m. to talk about Kashmir. I have just found that you have gone away from Delhi and are not returning for some time.

As I wrote to you previously, I was terribly busy with the National Development Council, etc., just then and I suggested that you might see the Home Minister.² I thought that probably you and others had met the Home Minister on this subject. I find that you have not done so. As I am perfectly prepared to meet anyone and as you are not here, I am informing the other members of the Opposition who had expressed a desire to see me that they can do so this afternoon should they so wish it.

As for the telegram from a lawyer in Srinagar, I am immediately enquiring into this matter. I entirely agree that full opportunities for defence should be given to any accused person.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, p. 576.

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17. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi

May 9, 1958

My dear Bakhshi,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from an MP.²

You will see that the Pakistan Government has made another complaint to the Security Council. This is chiefly based on Sheikh Abdullah's arrest.³ As you know, I have been very anxious for the conspiracy case to be started because otherwise I have no answer to give about this arrest. The press in foreign countries has been very bad from our point of view in regard to this matter.

I would suggest to you not to condemn anyone by name. This has led to a frequent criticism that all kinds of charges are made against persons and no attempt is made to justify them in a law court or elsewhere. It is better for us to bring out the facts.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Trilochan Dutta, the National Conference Member of Rajya Sabha, wrote to Nehru on 6 May 1958 that he feared that Bakhshi's criticism of G.M. Sadiq (see also *post*, p. 585.) in the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting held on 5 May might involve the Congress Party in an unhappy controversy between the National Conference and the Democratic National Conference, formed by Sadiq in 1957, both of which were greatly influenced by the Indian National Congress. He hoped that Nehru would prevent the recurrence of such incidents. Dutta also wrote that he had joined the National Conference on the advice of Nehru in 1940 and continued to be its active member since then.

3. Sheikh Abdullah was rearrested for his anti-India utterances at his residence at Sowra, a village near Srinagar, some time during the night between 29 and 30 April 1958, less than four months after his release on 8 January 1958.

18. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi
May 9, 1958

My dear Bakhshi,

Thank you for your letter of May 9th, which I have just received.² I have read the enclosures also.

I sent you a message about lawyers appearing for the defence³ because this kind of thing has a powerful effect on the foreign mind. It is true that the Democratic National Conference in Kashmir and the PSP and the Communist Party here are trying to give trouble. That, after all, is their function. But we have to meet that. As I wrote to you, we have had a very bad press in foreign countries recently and especially after Sheikh Abdullah's arrest.

It was because of this that I was anxious, and I am anxious, for the Conspiracy Case to be started.⁴

I have heard that Pir Gilani⁵ (I hope I have got the name correctly), who stays with Mridula Sarabhai here, is being left out. I was surprised to learn this because he is one of the principal parties concerned. I hope that he will not be left out.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Bakhshi wrote that the accused in the Kashmir Conspiracy Case had engaged five defence counsels and that their *vakalatnamas* had been admitted on 25 April. One of the counsels, Mohammad Amin, was given an exit permit to go to Delhi. However, attempts were made by some people, particularly the Democratic National Conference leaders, to propagate that the authorities were denying basic amenities to the persons connected with the Hazratbal incident.
3. Nehru had sent a message on 8 May (not printed) that he had "received references on behalf of defence of some of the accused in Srinagar. I trust that full opportunities for defence will be given to all accused. Should anyone wish to come to Delhi to move the Supreme Court, it would be desirable to give them the opportunity to do so."
4. On 19 June 1958, Sheikh Abdullah and others were charged with conspiracy against the State.
5. Pir Maqbool Gilani was among the 25 persons accused in the Kashmir Conspiracy Case.

19. False Reports in Pakistan Press¹

Shri Ghulam Mohammad Bakhshi saw me this evening. He told me that ever since the re-arrest of Sheikh Abdullah, the Pakistan Radio, Karachi, had daily given out so-called news of big-scale rioting, shooting and killing in Kashmir. The newspapers there had also given much publicity to this kind of thing. It is also stated that vast numbers of arrests have been and are being made in Kashmir. Most of these messages to the newspapers apparently go from correspondents in Delhi.

All these broadcasts and news items are completely false and without any basis whatever. According to Bakhshi Saheb, only four persons have been arrested, including Sheikh Saheb. There have been no demonstrations of any note, no lathi charges, no firing and no persons have been killed or injured. In fact the whole Valley has been remarkably undisturbed. Section 50 which had been applied to all the districts in the Valley for the prevention of meetings and gatherings has actually been lifted, except for Srinagar and two town areas.²

Thousands of tourists have gone there and are pouring in and life is normal.

Bakhshi Saheb suggested, and I agree with him, that we should do something to deny all this publicly with some force. Also that we should protest to the Pakistan Government about these false stories being broadcast by their official radio. I think we should take immediate steps to do both of these.

I understand that Shri Vishnu Sahay has come here from Kashmir today. You might discuss this matter with him and get the reports of the Karachi broadcasts as well as some of the newspapers which you must have. Specific quotations from broadcasts should be given as well as the newspapers and the actual facts, which are utterly different, should also be given. The Pakistan Government should be told that we are greatly surprised at this fabrication of news by the official radio station in Karachi.

Secondly, a note should be prepared to be issued to the press also, giving quotations from the broadcasts and the newspapers and separately the real facts.

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 10 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. Earlier, in a letter to Nehru on 14 April 1958, Bakhshi wrote: "As a result of the Hazratbal and other incidents, the District Magistrates in the three districts of the Valley have enforced Rule 50 of the Defence Rules in order to prevent lawlessness and acts of violence and rioting. This has completely restored peaceful conditions and no untoward incident has occurred after this action. However, Section 144 has at no stage been imposed anywhere in the State. The Army and the Militia have not been used at any time and the situation is being dealt with by the State Police. The strength of these forces continues to be the same as before August 1953."

Thirdly, I think that the Delhi correspondent of the Pakistan papers, who has been sending these messages, should be called and asked what he has to say about his completely false reports.

20. No Shooting Trips to Ladakh¹

This morning I met Shri Kamal Singh,² MP, and told him how I felt about this matter. I did not like the idea of pleasure trips for shooting purposes in Ladakh.³ He put another aspect of this before me. This concerned more the collection of flowers and the study of birds of a particular variety which apparently are not found elsewhere. These apparently are to be found on the long route from Leh to the Kulu Valley via the Rohtang Pass. He further said that they can be told not to shoot within a certain distance of Leh. He had given up the idea of going by road via Zojila to Leh, and now proposes to go by air and then start off on his expedition towards the Rohtang Pass, though he does not intend going all the way there.

2. In view of what he has said, I am prepared to allow his little party to go to Leh and then on the route towards the Kulu Valley. A certain distance round about Leh and indeed beyond should be clearly marked as outside the range of shooting. The expedition will be principally for other purposes as mentioned above and will keep more or less to the line of the route. It may go right through towards the Kulu Valley or return to Leh and back.

3. It should be clearly stated that no shooting will be allowed anywhere near the monasteries and the like if they are on the way, and care should be taken not to offend in any way the local inhabitants.

1. Note to V.K. Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister, New Delhi, 13 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. (b. 1926); Independent Member from Buxar, Bihar; former Maharaja of Dumraon, Bihar; founded Maharaja R.R.V.P. Singh College, Arrah, Bihar and President, Dumraon Raj School, Dumraon; Life member, Senate of Bihar University, Patna; Member, Council for Development of Industries, Bihar, Bihar Chamber of Commerce, Patna, and Lok Sabha, 1952-62.
3. In an earlier note dated 12 May to the Defence Minister, Nehru had written (not printed) that permission should not be given for shooting trips in Ladakh or anywhere near the ceasefire line as there was always a risk of local resentment to shooting, especially in Ladakh, which was populated largely by Buddhists.

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4. I have slightly changed my previous opinion because I like the spirit of adventure in our young men and I should like to encourage them to undertake these mountain trips. I am not at all keen on their shooting exploits there.

21. To Vishnu Sahay¹

New Delhi
May 13, 1958

My dear Vishnu Sahay,²

I am sending you a letter from Mohd. Amin Vakil³ addressed to me. With this, he has sent a number of enclosures. After consulting Pantji, I decided that it would not be desirable for me to give him an interview about legal or connected matters. Also, there is no doubt that if I gave such an interview, this would be much publicised. I have, therefore, asked my Secretary to send him a brief letter, a copy of which I enclose.⁴

Should Mohd. Amin wish to see you, you might meet him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Secretary for Kashmir Affairs.

3. Mohd. Amin was one of the five lawyers engaged by some of the accused persons in the Kashmir Conspiracy Case.

4. The Secretary's letter dated 13 May 1958 to Mohd. Amin said:

He (Nehru) is very heavily occupied during the next few days. But, apart from this, it is difficult for him to give an interview on legal and like matters to a lawyer appearing in a case. He has always avoided this as it might be considered a breach of propriety.

He suggests that, should you so wish it, you can meet Shri Vishnu Sahay who is in Delhi at present.

22. On G. M. Sadiq's Letter on Kashmir¹

Here is a letter from G.M. Sadiq.² It is ably written and there are many points of substance in it. And yet, even though I agree with some parts of his letter, I am not wholly impressed.

I am not replying to it as, if I did so, this would involve me in a long argument. Also I do not want any replies of mine to be publicised. The mere fact that I am carrying on correspondence with Sadiq will probably be given publicity and all kinds of inferences drawn.

After you have read it, you might pass it on to Vishnu Sahay.³

1. Note to M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 19 May 1958. File No. KS-34/58, MHA.
2. G.M. Sadiq, the leader of the Democratic National Conference, had written on 13 May 1958 that after the release of Sheikh Abdullah "the earlier frenzy and fury which attended his activities began to subside gradually and not only the people generally but he himself was in a mood to think things over once again." Then came the deliberately provoked Hazratbal incident which was followed by a ban on meetings and processions in the Valley. In the middle of April, Bakhshi in his speeches given at Bombay and Hyderabad alleged that huge preparations for violence and sabotage by the Razakars were being made at the instance of Abdullah. Abdullah denied these charges publicly and stated that he had no intention of defying the law and even wrote to Nehru about it but he was arrested. The whole development, Sadiq felt, was so painful that "the prestige of India had for the first time been impaired greatly in the public eye." Bakhshi rushed to Delhi and chose the forum of the Congress Parliamentary Party to utter a whole list of inaccurate statements justifying the arrest of Abdullah. He also dubbed the members of the Democratic National Conference as communists and pro-Sheikh Abdullah.

Sadiq was convinced that the Congress, as the premier political organisation and with a great past, should have chosen to intervene more in the interest of the people and their democratic liberties rather than in favour of an individual. He also wrote that the situation in Kashmir had become surcharged with tension and bitterness and the actions of the State Government were constantly adding to the general resentment amongst the people. Some persons were implicated in fabricated cases and the shopkeepers were harassed whenever they protested against government's high-handedness. Sadiq requested Nehru to do something urgent and drastic to prevent the entire mass of people from becoming sullen and hostile.

3. On 27 May 1958, Vishnu Sahay informed Nehru that Sadiq's statement that units of the Indian police had been used in forcing shops open was false.

23. To Mohammad Magray¹

Manali

30th May 1958

Dear Mr Magray,

Your letter of the 20th May has reached me.²

I entirely agree with you about the basic approach to the Kashmir problem. It is, however, not always easy to act up to the principles we lay down. All kinds of other factors intervene and then there is the personal equation. But the aim of our policy has been and is to win people's minds and hearts.

You refer to cheap rice and money being used as bribes. I do not quite know what you think is being done in Kashmir. Our Central Government prepares annual and five-year plans for each of our States. These are prepared by the State Governments in consultation with the Planning Commission and we have treated Kashmir on more or less the same basis as other States in regard to developmental schemes. The Central Government helps other States too. So it helps the Jammu and Kashmir State in regard to such schemes.

So also in regard to subsidised food. In any State where difficulties have arisen of food scarcity or high prices, we have subsidised foodgrains by opening cheap grain shops, etc. It is true that for some period the subsidy on rice in Kashmir was somewhat greater than elsewhere. It is somewhat less now. While it is true that the Central Government has tried to help the people in Kashmir State in regard to the supply of rice, which we have sent from our stocks at a subsidised rate, and have helped in developing the State by building some communications and encouraging industries, there is nothing very special about this. It may be said that considering the population of the State our help to it has been somewhat greater than to the larger States in India. There has been no question at any time of what might be called an attempt to win over people by

1. JN Collection.

2. Magray had written that he was quite convinced that Nehru was not aware of the conditions of the people of the Kashmir Valley who were being forced to live in an atmosphere of fear, distrust and suspicion. Communal-minded people like the so-called lion of Kashmir or illiterates like Bakhshi were responsible for this. There was no point, Magray thought, in pouring more and more cheap rice and money into Kashmir thinking that it was the answer to the problem. Magray felt that if a sincere attempt was made with faith and generosity, this problem could be solved but for that efficient social and political machinery under the direct command of Nehru was needed. Magray also pointed that in police interrogation centres Sikhs and Hindus tortured Muslims to make them confess that they were "on the payroll of Pakistan". He also requested Nehru "to interfere in the internal affairs and politics of Kashmir. Never mind, the constitutional difficulties."

spreading out favours. All our States are constantly pressing the Central Government for help. The burden of the huge development programme as envisaged in the five-year plans is largely borne by the Centre in all the States, which gives either grants or loans.

You refer to some letters that you have received about alleged atrocities committed on people by the police. When such complaints reached me some time ago, we enquired into the matter and found that most of these complaints were false or grossly exaggerated. I cannot, of course, guarantee personally that some policemen have not misbehaved. But we have issued the strictest instructions and I am sure that some of the police forces sent there from India are very much under our control and are not allowed to misbehave. Unfortunately, there appears to be almost a tradition of what might be called rough treatment in Kashmir by Kashmiris themselves. I remember that in Sheikh Abdullah's time I spoke to him about this on many occasions and I have done so subsequently. The rough treatment is not confined to policemen or Home Guards or the like, but is equally indulged in by their opponents. I cannot, however, believe what you have written in your letter as having taken place. I am afraid the reports that people make in Kashmir are seldom truthful and are grossly exaggerated.

The arrests made in Kashmir State in recent months have been of two kinds. One was in regard to Hazratbal where a small meeting of National Conference workers was attacked by the Plebiscite Front people and one person was killed and a large number injured and some automobiles were destroyed. A large number of people were arrested in that incident and many of them were subsequently released. There is a case going on about it.

The second lot of arrests may be said to be in connection with the new Conspiracy Case which has been launched. So far as I know, very few arrests have been made. When Sheikh Abdullah was re-arrested, three³ other persons were arrested with him and are detained. A few other persons have been arrested in connection with the Conspiracy Case. Probably they are not more than six or seven.

So far as this Conspiracy Case is concerned, the evidence is largely documentary and of some people from Pakistan who were arrested in Kashmir. The background of this case has been briefly given in the complaint. I have no doubt that there was a widespread attempt to terrorise the people of Kashmir by bomb outrages. All this is organised from Pakistan. Bombs were sent from there often of the Pakistan Army pattern and large sums of money also came. Across the border in Pakistan, regular schools were established for training people in sabotage and commando raids.

3. Kashyap Bandhu was arrested along with Sheikh Abdullah. However, Soofi Mohiuddin and one Dar were arrested from Sheikh Abdullah's residence a few days earlier.

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There are few things I hate so much as violence and it hurts me if the background in any country is one of force and suppression. But please remember that conditions are not normal on either side of the ceasefire line where armies stand face to face and constant attempts are being made from Pakistan to create trouble in Kashmir, and constant threats of major attacks.⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. On 5 June 1958, L. Zutshi, honorary secretary, Kashmiri Association of Europe, wrote that Nehru's letter to Magray was the most authoritative denial of the allegations made by Pakistan and reiterated in the western press, particularly the British press, which were beginning to be believed by even the Kashmiris. He, therefore, requested Nehru for its publication all over the world to correct the erroneous impressions. Zutshi also wanted to know the purpose and the strength of the police forces sent to Kashmir from India in order to interpret correctly the necessity for the presence of these forces in Kashmir and give an effective reply to the complaints of a police state having been created there. Nehru replied (not printed) to Zutshi on 9 June 1958 that he did not like the idea of his letter to Magray or any of his letters sent abroad being published but the facts stated in the letter could be used. He also wrote that he did not know the strength of police forces in Kashmir and was therefore sending Zutshi's letter to the Commonwealth Secretary to deal with it.

24. To Govind Ballabh Pant¹

New Delhi

June 7, 1958

My dear Pantji,

A few Members of Parliament visited Kashmir and Ladakh recently. They have sent me a report on their visit.² The report has been sent to me by Dinesh Singh of Kalakankar. I am sending you a copy of it.

Yours affectionately,

Jawaharlal

1. File No. KS-14/57, MHA.

2. In the 13-page report the MPs stated that the National Conference had the largest following in the State, but politics and administration were highly centralised and concentrated in the hands of Ghulam Mohammad Bakhshi. The report underlined the fact that although the Democratic National Conference, the splinter group of the National Conference headed by G.M. Sadiq did not have mass following the majority of intelligentsia supported them. "However Sheikh Abdullah is said to be the most popular leader in Jammu and Kashmir.... Prem Nath Dogra is respected in Jammu...but his party is dwindling. The Plebiscite Front has no real political backing and lives on the exploitation of communal sentiments," it added. The report further mentioned that "there is almost unanimous feeling in knowledgeable quarters that should there be a plebiscite again on the question of accession, religious sentiments will prevail and the verdict will be in favour of Pakistan." "While the writ of Bakhshi Government runs throughout the State, complaints of nepotism and corruption are not lacking. One often hears of the BBC (Bakhshi Brothers' Corporation) getting all the contracts and getting richer every day," the report stated. The delegation also went to Leh, and met Kushak Bakula, Minister for Ladakh Affairs, Jammu and Kashmir Government. While in Ladakh they got the impression that there was discontent in the region owing to economic and partly political reasons although the region was keen to see that closer relations were established between India and the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The report suggested that the solution of Jammu and Kashmir called for the consideration of the following measures: (i) Sheikh Abdullah should be treated as an ordinary political prisoner, and the jurisdiction of the Election Commission and of the Supreme Court should also be extended to the State; (ii) immediate steps should be taken to bring about integration of the State with India; (iii) there should be greater interchange of officials of All-India Services; (iv) attempts should be made to bring about a reconciliation between the National Conference and Democratic National Conference; and (v) there should be a planned economic development of Ladakh including construction of roads from Kargil to Leh and Ladakh to Kulu. The delegation also visited army units at various places and came to the conclusion that the Army was doing a fine job and was held in high respect by the civilian population but they required certain facilities, namely: (i) avoiding separation from their families for a long time; (ii) provision for separation allowance and arrangement for the education of their children; (iii) parity in terms of pay and promotion with their civilian counterparts; and (iv) adequate funds for practice with live ammunitions, restoration of the liquor quota to the original amount and suitable uniforms in difficult climatic conditions. The report underlined the need to improve the facilities and amenities provided for tourists to enhance tourism in the State.

25. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad¹

New Delhi

June 23, 1958

My dear Bakhshi,

I returned today from Manali in the Kulu Valley.

The case of Mian Abdul Hamid, an Executive Engineer in Pakistan, has been put up before me. It appears that he desires to return to Kashmir subject to two conditions, that (1) he is given a suitable post, and (2) that no stigma be attached to him for having served in Pakistan for about ten years.

It is further stated that you have no objection to his returning to Kashmir.

In this matter, you are the best judge about allowing him to return to Kashmir. But, there is one aspect of this, which I should like to put before you. If he returns to Kashmir and is immediately given a post, there can be no doubt that it will be said not only in Pakistan but elsewhere also that you have bribed him to leave Pakistan service and join you. There have been two or three cases of Muslim officers in India going over to Pakistan and being employed there. One case was of Brigadier Anis who retired and immediately accepted a post in Pakistan. These cases have been unfavourably commented upon not only in India but also abroad. In a recent book by W.C. Smith,² entitled *Islam in Modern History*,³ special reference has been made to the fact that Muslim officers and others in India have left their service here and gone over to Pakistan.⁴ Among the people mentioned are Josh Malihabadi⁵ and Brigadier Anis.

Because of this, I would suggest that you might be a little cautious in this matter. Of course, you can allow Mian Abdul Hamid to come back to Kashmir. You might even tell him that so far as you are concerned, no stigma will be attached to him for having served in Pakistan for ten years. But the question of giving him a post might be deferred for some time. An immediate appointment

1. JN Collection.
2. Director, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 1951-63.
3. Published in 1957 by Princeton University Press, New Jersey.
4. Smith wrote "Perhaps the most damaging incident was when a Brigadier General in the Indian Army, after having opted for India and been advanced to positions of responsibility and access to secret information, in 1955 voluntarily retired and at once settled down in Pakistan, accepting a Pakistan-government post.... Brigadier Anis's move has made it much more difficult for another Muslim to be appointed brigadier (and indeed, even to be appointed *chaprasi* or peon). The poet Josh's departure has meant that the prospects for Urdu in India, whatever they may have been before he made his decision, are much darker afterward."
5. Shabbir Hasan Khan alias Josh Malihabadi, an eminent Urdu poet, journalist and film lyricist migrated to Pakistan in 1956. For more information on his case, see also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 31, p. 266.

raises suspicions and is not good for the reputation of Mian Abdul Hamid or the Kashmir Government. The fact of a disgruntled person coming over to Kashmir from Pakistan is not in any sense an advantage to Kashmir from the political or propaganda point of view. I am writing this to place this aspect before you. I know nothing of Mian Abdul Hamid myself and am not in a position to judge. But, however desirable he may be, it would be preferable for some little time to elapse after his return to Kashmir before a post is offered to him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

26. Aid for a Ladakhi Village¹

Will you please find out when this grant was given.² I think it was more than a year ago. Normally, I send monies from the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund directly to Chief Ministers or Governors. So far as I remember, this amount was sent from our Discretionary Fund. Hence, the various difficulties that have arisen.

2. It is obvious that when I send help to any State or district or any area afflicted by a calamity, the argument can be raised that there are many other areas which are suffering equally. Nevertheless, I send help to that particular area. When Shri Kushak Bakula³ came to me, I promised to help him, even though this was for a particular village. I lost sight of this matter then, thinking that the help had gone. I could have sent that money directly to the Prime Minister of Kashmir. In order to expedite this business I decided to have it sent to Shri Kushak Bakula directly. As it happens, a long time, probably more than a year, has passed. The promise I gave has thus not been kept and it is now proposed to utilise this money for some other purpose like the harnessing of the glacier waters for irrigation purposes. This is a very laudable object and money, no doubt, should be found for it. But where does my promise come in and where does this tremendous delay come in?

3. Will you please therefore find out when this money was first sanctioned and what stages this matter has gone through?

1. Note to Private Secretary, New Delhi, 30 June 1958. JN Collection.
2. Private Secretary C.R. Srinivasan informed that a sum of Rs 10,000 had been sanctioned by Nehru for relief work in a particular village in Ladakh.
3. Kushak G. Bakula was the Minister of State for Ladakh Affairs and Trade Agencies in the Jammu and Kashmir Government. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, p. 502.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

I. BILATERAL RELATIONS**(i) Pakistan****(a) Indus Waters****1. Preparations for the Meeting in Rome¹**

I am not at all happy about the way our discussions with the Bank are proceeding in regard to this matter.² Step by step, we are dragged in a direction unfavourable to us. Even so, no agreement is in prospect and Pakistan does not commit itself to anything.

1. Note to M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, New Delhi, 6 April 1958. File No. F-38(1)-CWD/58, Ministry of Irrigation (I.T. Section) 1958. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Negotiations on the canal waters dispute between India and Pakistan through the good offices of the World Bank, also known as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), had been going on since 1952. For a speedy settlement of the question, India accepted the general principles of the World Bank proposals of 5 February 1954 [see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 25, pp. 344-345] as the basis for an agreement, even though the proposals demanded heavy sacrifices on its part. Pakistan accepted, on 28 July 1954, the Bank proposals in principle, but was reluctant to accept the "division of the waters" as contemplated in the Bank proposals. The Bank, in its Aide Memoire of 21 May 1956, suggested some storage on the western rivers as part of a replacement plan towards which India should contribute in accordance with the principles enunciated in the Bank proposal of February 1954. Since Pakistan did not make a clear statement on this, the Bank put forward, in June 1957, certain general Heads of Agreement as an approach towards a treaty but the proposal was not acceptable to Pakistan. Even though no agreement was reached, "the cooperative work between India, Pakistan and the Bank" continued from 31 March to 31 December 1957. The Bank throughout suggested that both countries should find a solution within the framework of the Bank proposal and the Aide Memoire.

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2. I agree with your note,³ and I really cannot understand what good can result from the proposed informal talks in Rome.⁴ At the same time, I realise that it will not be right at this stage for us to break off or refuse to go to Rome for these talks.

3. But, we cannot any longer deal with this matter in a vague, undecided and inchoate way. We must be clear in our minds. Therefore, it seems to me essential that clear instructions in writing should be given to our representatives in the form of a brief. The summary prepared is good enough as a background, but does not help from this point of view. (I agree that the last two sentences of the summary should be omitted).⁵ The summary has been prepared for the consideration of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet. I think that before that Committee considers this, there should be a small conference between representatives of the External Affairs Ministry and the Ministry of Irrigation

3. In a note dated 6 April, Desai had referred to the Irrigation Ministry's communication on the forthcoming joint meeting in Rome, summarising the discussions on the Bank proposals, but without indicating what was going to be discussed at the meeting. Desai felt that the only justification for attending the meeting was to cooperate with the Bank and secure a settlement of the canal waters dispute through its good offices. William A.B. Iliff, Vice-President, IBRD and its representative on the discussions regarding the Indus Waters dispute, had indicated at the previous meeting that India should continue to supply 2.5 million acre feet of Rabi supplies and also pay for the construction of link canals and the diversion tunnel at Marhu. Desai added that this would hold up the supplies to the Rajasthan Canal indefinitely and put the liability for construction costs on India without any overall settlement. He referred to a report published in *Dawn* of 3 April about Pakistan's counter proposal of finding money for its thousand-crore plan of replacement works from the western rivers. Desai pointed out that before the decision to participate in the meeting was taken, India should get from Iliff the reactions of Pakistan to Iliff's suggestion to India and Pakistan's reported counter proposals. While favouring a cooperative approach, Desai disapproved of any tentative discussion of piecemeal proposals without an overall settlement, which, he stated, would, like Kashmir, land India into unnecessary difficulties.
4. The IBRD had called a meeting, from 24 to 28 April 1958, in Rome for joint discussions in which India was represented by a three-member team led by Niranjan D. Gulhati, Chief Engineer (Special) and ex-officio Joint Secretary to the Government of India in charge of technical and secretarial work relating to the dispute, while Pakistan was represented by a four-member team led by Mueenuddin G. Ahmed, Chairman, Water and Power Development Authority, Pakistan.
5. The reference is to a note (not available) on the "Participation of Indian Representatives in a meeting called by the Bank for joint discussions with Pakistan on April 24, 1958 in Rome," sent by Secretary, Irrigation and Power Ministry, for the consideration of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet. M.J. Desai wrote that he had told the Secretary, Irrigation and Power Ministry that though the note was all right for discussion in the Foreign Affairs Committee, the last two sentences of paragraph 16 should be omitted.

and Power. The new Minister of Irrigation and Power⁶ should be requested to attend it. I shall try to be present also. The Defence Minister⁷ should also be invited. At this meeting, this subject should be rather fully discussed and our present and future attitude should be laid down in so far as this can be done. Thereafter, it will be easier to consider this in the Foreign Affairs Committee meeting.

- 6. Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim.
- 7. V.K. Krishna Menon.

2. To Eugene R. Black¹

New Delhi
June 5, 1958

Dear Mr Black,²

Thank you for your two letters dated the 12th May³ and 14th May, 1958. I have been away in the Himalaya mountains and have just returned after a brief holiday. I am taking the earliest opportunity to reply to your letters.

2. So far as your letter of the 12th May is concerned, I can assure you that the Government of India welcome the good offices of the International Bank in the attempt to reach a cooperative solution of the Indus waters question, and trust that these good offices will continue.

3. I have read with some surprise your letter of the 14th May, as this appears to hold the Government of India to blame, because of a certain speech delivered in the Lok Sabha by our then Minister for Irrigation and Power, Mr

1. File No. F-38(1)-CWD/58, Ministry of Irrigation (I.T. Section) 1958. Also available in JN Collection.
2. President, IBRD.
3. Black wrote that the Governments of India and Pakistan being agreeable that the World Bank should continue to extend its good offices in an attempt to find a cooperative solution of the Indus waters question based on the Bank proposal, "the continued discussions would, of course, be without prejudice, as they have been up to now." He also informed Nehru that he had sent a similar letter to the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

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S.K. Patil.⁴ So far as this speech is concerned, I have read the report of it again. I agree with it and I do not see anything in it which is contrary to our policy and to which the Bank or anyone else can take reasonable objection. I am enclosing an extract from that speech dealing with the canal waters dispute, for your information.⁵ The whole approach of Mr Patil was cooperative not only with the Bank, but with Pakistan also. But he had to point out the consequences of the repeated delays caused by Pakistan in dealing with this matter. I might draw your attention to the fact that what Mr S.K. Patil said on the 14th May was nothing new. He had made a statement on the 21st August 1957 in the Rajya Sabha to the same effect. I am enclosing a copy of this statement also.⁶

4. We are now in the eleventh year of this dispute and I think this is the seventh year of the Bank dealing with it. This long drawn-out controversy and the delays that have repeatedly taken place are not our fault. We have recognised throughout that there should be a fair deal with Pakistan, and we are anxious not to do anything which may cause any harm or suffering to the peasantry of

4. Black referred to a speech made in the Lok Sabha on 26 March 1958 by S.K. Patil, the then Union Minister of Irrigation and Power, on the Indus waters question in which Patil stated that India would not wait a day longer than 1962, the proposed year of completion of construction of the canal works for drawing water from the western rivers by Pakistan, irrespective of whether or not Pakistan was able to complete construction. Black added that it was impossible to construct a system of works capable of effecting replacements from the western rivers by 1962. Black felt that the original "transitional period" for constructing the necessary replacement works in Pakistan, as envisaged in the Bank proposal, was about five years, but subsequent studies had established that it must be of a longer duration.
5. Patil had said: "It is no ultimatum at all, 1962 is the year by which time we shall be ready with our Rajasthan Canal and Sirhind Feeder which are going to get water from these sources....they (Pakistan) have done half the work....they have already built up canals; we only say, do a little better and finish the other half of 5 million acre feet of water. Draw that water so that you may draw water from the western rivers and leave the other rivers to us.... We shall not wait a day longer than 1962. When our Canal and the Sirhind Feeder are ready we shall withdraw the water that now goes to Pakistan."
6. Patil stated that the Governments of India and Pakistan had entered into an agreement on the canal waters as far back as May 1948 on the basis of India progressively diminishing supply to Pakistan canals in order to give reasonable time to Pakistan to tap alternative sources. The Indus water dispute still remained unsettled owing to the unwillingness of Pakistan to settle it in the only manner possible, namely, by developing supplies from the western rivers to replace the pre-Partition withdrawals from the eastern rivers. He added that despite pressing needs India, with a view to promoting a settlement, had informed the Bank that she would be prepared to extend the transition period up to 1962, although under the Bank proposal of February 1954 this period would have terminated in 1959, and that India could not go any further without jeopardising the vital interests of millions of her own people.

Pakistan. But, you will appreciate that we are also concerned with millions of our people and that we have spent vast sums of money in the Bhakra-Nangal and Harike Projects⁷ and in the great system of canals that has been or is being built in connection with them. Mr S.K. Patil laid stress on both these aspects and pointed out that it was obviously not possible for us to wait indefinitely for an agreement with Pakistan, if they simply refuse to agree to any reasonable proposal made.

5. You will remember the Inter-Dominion Agreement of the 4th May, 1948, on the canal waters dispute, which was signed by leading members of the then Governments of India and Pakistan as well as of the State Governments of East and West Punjab. This Agreement stated:

3. The East and West Punjab Governments are anxious that this question should be settled in a spirit of goodwill and friendship. Without prejudice to its legal rights in the matter, the East Punjab Government has assured the West Punjab Government that it has no intention suddenly to withhold water from West Punjab without giving it time to tap alternative sources. The West Punjab Government on its part recognise the natural anxiety of the East Punjab Government to discharge the obligation to develop areas where water is scarce and which were underdeveloped in relation to parts of West Punjab.

4. Apart, therefore, from the question of law involved, the Governments are anxious to approach the problem in a practical spirit on the basis of the East Punjab Government progressively diminishing its supply to these canals in order to give reasonable time to enable the West Punjab Government to tap alternative sources.⁸

6. This Inter-Dominion Agreement was signed more than ten years ago, and we have consistently adhered to its terms and to the spirit underlying it throughout these years. The Pakistan Government, however, after a year or two unilaterally denounced this Agreement on the extraordinary plea that they had signed it under coercion. I need not go into this matter as you are fully aware of the circumstances.

7. Ever since then, the International Bank has been intimately connected with negotiations in regard to this dispute. The Government of India have tried

7. The Harike Barrage was built in 1950 three kms downstream of the confluence of the Sutlej and Beas rivers to improve the irrigation supply across the Sutlej river near Ferozepur.
8. For the Agreement signed on 4 May 1948, see also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 6, pp. 66, 69-70 and 73.

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their utmost to find a solution satisfactory to both parties, and I am grateful for the help that the Bank has given in this matter. During this period, we have made repeated proposals, and the International Bank has also suggested a basis for settlement. That basis called upon India to make heavy sacrifices but, as recommended by you in your letter of 8th February 1954, we accepted the principles of the Bank proposal in the interest of a speedy and constructive settlement.

8. For us to be told now that we are not acting correctly in this matter and that we are, therefore, in error seems to me to ignore all that has happened in these last ten years. Hence, my surprise at your letter.

9. The points raised in your letter of the 14th May had been discussed by Mr Iliff with our representative at the Rome meeting in April last. It was then clearly indicated to Mr Iliff that while the Government of India will, even at this late stage, be prepared to adjust their programme of irrigation developments in accordance with any agreement that may be reached within the next few months, they cannot indefinitely hold up construction of various works designed to feed the arid areas of Rajasthan. After this clarification given by our representative, it should not have been necessary to pursue the matter further or to have any apprehensions about the implementation of any agreement reached on the lines of the Bank proposal.

10. You will remember that when our representative communicated our acceptance of the Bank proposal on 25th March, 1954, he stated:⁹

I am giving this acceptance in the expectation that Pakistan will at an early date likewise accept the principles of the Bank proposal as the basis of agreement; my acceptance cannot, as you will appreciate, stand unilaterally for an indefinite period.

We have, since 1954, tried earnestly and patiently to arrive at a settlement with the cooperation of the Bank. We have continued to give water to Pakistan in accordance with the principles of the Bank proposal which we had accepted as a basis of agreement. Surely, all this is evidence enough of our earnest desire to act not only in conformity with agreements arrived at, but also to avoid any injury to the interests of the peasantry of West Pakistan. We shall continue firmly to follow that policy. But, we can hardly be asked to wait indefinitely on the pleasure of Pakistan.

9. The formal reply was sent by A.N. Khosla, the Indian representative on the Indus Basin Working Party, to Raymond Albert Wheeler, the Engineering Adviser to the Bank and the nominated Bank representative on the Indus Basin Working Party. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 25, pp. 345-346.

11. Instead of showing any earnestness in arriving at a solution and pressing forward diligently with the construction of replacement works, Pakistan has apparently even neglected the repairs of link canals constructed previously. Further, we are constantly subjected to an unsavoury agitation on behalf of Pakistan and to threats of war. With all the goodwill in the world, the Government of India cannot submit to such threats. We shall adhere to our policy of trying our best to find a solution of this problem, which is satisfactory to millions of people on either side of the border. We are interested in the well-being of the peasantry, whether it is in Pakistan or in India. But we cannot accept the principle of an indefinite delay because Pakistan chooses to create that delay.

12. We have shown by our past action that we have acted in a spirit of goodwill and friendship as laid down in the Inter-Dominion Agreement of the 4th May 1948, and we shall continue to do so. You will appreciate that our vast schemes in East Punjab and Rajasthan were undertaken at great cost and much pressure on our economy because of the urgent need to solve our acute problems of food shortage and rehabilitation. The whole purpose underlying them was to achieve certain results as rapidly as possible. The urgency of these new irrigation developments has always been an important factor in our approach to the canal waters question, and we have all along attached considerable importance to the "relatively short transition period", estimated in 1954 to be roughly about five years, as one of the basic features of the Bank proposal. Four years have already elapsed since the Bank proposal was made. I am, therefore, concerned at the suggestion in your letter that the "relatively short transition period", specified in the Bank proposal, might be of "considerably longer duration".

13. You have mentioned in your letter of the 14th May that the recent joint discussions in Rome have opened up a possibility of making substantial progress over the next few months.¹⁰ I hope so. But, I must say that, in view of our past distressing and frustrating experience of negotiations with Pakistan, it is a little difficult to be optimistic. But, in any event, we shall welcome every effort to achieve a cooperative solution of the canal waters dispute, and appreciate the good offices of the International Bank to this end.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. At the Rome meeting, it was agreed that Pakistan should be asked to submit a plan of works with supporting hydrologic studies, schedule of construction, schedule of yearly cost and schedule of additional Indian withdrawals. After ascertaining India's views on the plan, the Bank would proceed to negotiate a financial settlement between the two sides. Mueenuddin, the leader of the Pakistani delegation, agreed to submit the plan around 20 June 1958 and London was decided as the venue of the next meeting.

3. To Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim¹

New Delhi
June 7, 1958

My dear Hafizji,²

As you know, the Pakistan Government have publicly protested about what they call the stoppage of canal water in the Punjab in recent days or weeks.³ This protest is being given a good deal of publicity in India and abroad. I understand that we are issuing a note on this subject, denying the allegation and explaining the facts.⁴

In such matters, it is always difficult to catch up with a wrong statement which is given worldwide publicity, because the canal waters question has become almost an international one. It often happens that the Pakistan Government makes wrong statements and then we try to catch up to them and correct them. It is

1. File No. F-31(3)-CWD/57, Vol. II, Ministry of Irrigation (I.T. Section) 1958. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Irrigation and Power.
3. According to a press note issued on 6 June 1958 by the Water Development Organisation, Ministry of Industries, Pakistan, and published in *Pakistan Times* on 7 June 1958, India had considerably cut down the supply of water from the Beas and Sutlej rivers during the last few months, with the result that cotton could not be sown in vast areas of Multan, Lahore and Bahawalpur Divisions. The cotton season was coming to an end which would mean that Pakistan would be deprived of one of her main cash crops. On the same day the West Pakistan Chief Minister, Muzaffar Ali Khan Qazilbash, said at a press conference in Lahore that this action of India was unilateral and in contravention of the international law and conventions and if the stoppage of water continued, the entire economy of West Pakistan would be shattered and there would be no drinking water for human beings and animals. He added that the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Firoz Khan Noon, had taken up this matter with Nehru and the World Bank President, Eugene Black.
4. Describing Pakistan's charges of irregular supplies of water, as "baseless" the Ministry of Irrigation and Power, in a press note issued on 12 June, said that the supplies in the Beas, the Sutlej, and the Ravi had been much below normal and, as a result of the shrinkage in supplies, sowing operations on the Indian side had received a serious setback and a situation of drought prevailed over large areas of Northern India. On the other hand, the Pakistan cultivator had been in a much better position as the Sutlej valley canals had had the advantage since 1955 of an additional source of supply from the Chenab through several link canals. The note further said that the total volume of water given to the Dipalpur Canal at Ferozepur during May 1958 was more than what this canal had received in the same period in any year prior to 1947. The note also pointed out that the additional withdrawals made by India during the latter part of May 1958 were less than those provided for this period in the agreement for 1958.

seldom easy to catch up to this type of agitation and approach. We have, therefore, to be vigilant at a much earlier stage, and take steps, in so far as we can, to prevent such an accusation being brought against us. To say that we cut off canal water is a very serious accusation which not only creates prejudice against us, but affects the merits of the canal waters question.

This question has its technical and engineering aspects which are important. But, it has obviously a political aspect, which has, in the past, come in the way of a settlement. We have, therefore, always to keep in mind the political aspect.

In the present instance of the reduction of water supply on both sides because of the shrinkage of the river itself, the proper course would have been for us to announce this publicly before Pakistan could have protested. Indeed, the first step should have been to inform Pakistan about the facts even before the reduction took place, and then to issue a public note to this effect. If all this had been done, then it would have been difficult for Pakistan to protest.

I should like, therefore, some such policy to be pursued in future in any matter affecting the supply of canal water to Pakistan, or indeed in any matter connected with this question. The political angle always has to be kept in view. Even normal work has to be seen from that point of view. The engineers in charge of the supply of water to Pakistan must be told clearly that nothing should be done in any way affecting the promised supply, without previously informing your Ministry and the External Affairs Ministry. We can then prepare the ground for any kind of a change by informing Pakistan as well as possibly issuing a public statement.

I would suggest to you that it would facilitate matters if, whenever any question relating to canal waters arises, you send for our Commonwealth Secretary, M.J. Desai, who could advise from the political point of view what steps we might take. Anyhow, it would be desirable for the External Affairs Ministry to be kept informed in this way.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

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4. To Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim¹

New Delhi
June 9, 1958

My dear Hafizji,

Thank you for your letter.²

I do not know if you see Pakistan and foreign newspapers. The former are full of what they call "Bharat's aggressive designs" and unilateral act in stopping canal waters and the terrible misery being caused by them, etc. There is a tremendous agitation on this issue, and the foreign press is being affected by it. In one message it is stated that "Bharat has refused to supply data to Pakistan to substantiate her contention that supplies from rivers Sutlej and Beas have been stopped due to low volume of water in these rivers".³

I am surprised to read this, as I presume that your engineers must have supplied this data. Such information has necessarily to be given.

As I wrote to you in my previous letter, these matters have a way of assuming big dimensions. Our denial in strong language does not help much at a late stage. Once before, I issued a very definite directive to the Punjab engineers looking after these canal supplies that on no account must any lessening of supply to Pakistan take place without previous information to us. So far as I know, this was not done in this case. I want to make it clear again, and I shall be grateful if you inform these engineers, that it will be considered a serious dereliction of duty if any such thing is done in future without previously informing us and getting our permission. The whole point is that if this is to be

1. JN Collection. Also available in File No. F-31(3)-CWD/57, Vol. II, Ministry of Irrigation (I.T. Section), 1958.
2. Ibrahim wrote on 8 June that he would try to get information on the canal waters and that on receipt of information, timely action would be taken. He also informed Nehru that he had visited Bhakra recently and the Minister in charge of irrigation there had told him that the Punjab Government had imposed a duty of 25 per cent on electricity consumption through an Act and that the Act also empowered the Government to exempt any sort of consumption. Ibrahim therefore discussed with the Minister the necessity of giving exemption to agriculture.
3. It was reported in the *Dawn* on 8 June 1958.

done because of circumstances beyond our control, we have to take certain steps previously, before that is done, and to state our case to Pakistan and the public.⁴

I enclose a cutting from the *Dawn* of Karachi.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim wrote to Nehru the next day that Pakistan had distorted facts and that in fact some steps were taken by his Ministry to give publicity to the circumstances which made a reduction in the supply of water to the Pakistan canals inevitable. The Indian press carried accounts of the shortage of water in the eastern rivers and the hardships faced by the Indian cultivators. The Pakistan canal officers were also promptly informed by their counterparts in India about this. But Ibrahim felt that a formal communication to Pakistan explaining India's position would have been a better option. He added that the last *ad hoc* transitional agreement between India and Pakistan, which provided for the exchange of data, expired in April 1957 and after that the engineers were authorised to adopt certain specific figures for these additional withdrawals based on Pakistan's ability to replace the 'historic' supplies from the eastern rivers. That authorisation was given for both the years, 1957 and 1958, and it was unfortunate that this important matter was not brought to Nehru's notice, Ibrahim added.
5. The *Dawn* reported that "the World Bank has already asked, or will shortly ask, Bharat to supply the data, and it is expected that Bharat will not say no to the Bank, as she has done in the case of Pakistan's request for the data, as the World Bank has been using its good offices for the past five years for solving the canal waters dispute.... After the Bank is in possession of the data, and after it has been established that the Bharati contention of low volume cannot be substantiated, the Bank is expected to ask Bharat to restore the supplies."

5. To Firoz Khan Noon¹

New Delhi
June 10, 1958

My dear Prime Minister,
Your High Commissioner in Delhi² delivered a message from you for me to our

1. File No. F-31(3)-CWD/57, Vol. II, Ministry of Irrigation (I.T. Section) 1958. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Mian Ziauddin.

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Commonwealth Secretary on June 4th.³ I saw this subsequently. This message dealt with the gradual diminution of water supplies from the rivers, Sutlej and Beas. I am sorry for the small delay in answering that message of yours. I wanted to look into this matter carefully and have done so now. I need not tell you that it has always been our desire that we should avoid taking any action which might cause injury to the agriculturists in Pakistan. I was, therefore, much surprised and pained to learn from your message that you were accusing us of unilateral action in this matter and action which was against the spirit of the current negotiations which are going on under the auspices of the World Bank. Nothing could be farther from our policy and intention.

I can only conclude that you have not been correctly informed of the exact position. With all the goodwill in the world, we are helpless, as you also are, in the face of nature's vagaries. It is a fact which none can deny that owing to various causes, the level of many rivers has fallen very low. The normal supply from melting snows has also been far less than usual. In fact, we are facing a very serious situation of drought in a large part of northern India. Agriculture, of course, has suffered very greatly, but even drinking water is difficult to procure in many areas. We have had to seek the help of our army trucks to carry drinking water from place to place. Our seasonal sowings have naturally suffered greatly and we have to face now a serious food situation.

I can well understand and appreciate your anxiety about your cultivators. I share it with you and would like to do everything in my power to help your cultivators during this difficult period. But I am sure that you will appreciate our grave difficulties and the plight of our agriculturists.

This is the general situation here in great parts of north India. The same conditions prevail in the areas which are normally watered from the canal supplies from the Sutlej and Beas. There is no mystery about this and your representatives can verify this and we shall help them in doing so. Ever since the beginning of

3. Noon wrote that there had been a gradual diminution of water supplies from the rivers of Sutlej and Beas to Pakistan since April 1958. The Executive Engineer, the Deputy Irrigation Commissioner and the Chief Engineer of West Pakistan had repeatedly lodged protests with their counterparts in India without any effect. Pakistan had taken up the matter with New Delhi but was informed that the reduction in supplies of water was because of very low supplies of water in the Sutlej and Beas rivers. Noon argued that this explanation appeared strange because the discharge data spread over several years proved that the water level could not have reached such an unprecedented low level. This was, according to Noon, tantamount to a unilateral action by India and ran counter to the spirit of ongoing negotiations under the auspices of the World Bank. Noon also pointed out that the Sutlej Valley project areas in Lahore had been seriously affected and there was no sowing in vast areas in that region. He added that he would be grateful if Nehru intervened in the matter immediately to have the supply of Pakistan's share of the Sutlej and Beas rivers restored forthwith.

May, the water level of the Sutlej and Beas has been considerably below normal and the supplies have been and are now only about 38 per cent and 47 per cent respectively of the average of the past ten years. A number of channels in India have, in consequence, remained dry. *Kharif* sowings have been retarded in this area and there is a great deal of discontent among the cultivators who depend upon these supplies. In spite of this, our engineers have done their best to meet Pakistan's needs.

Our engineers met the full indent for the Dipalpur canal made by your engineers up to 10th May. In response to your Suleimanki Executive Engineer's telegram No. 58 of the 13th May, 1958, asking his Indian counterpart to close the Dipalpur canal from the 15th May, this canal was closed.

It remained closed from the 15th May till the 26th May. On a request being made for its reopening, this was done on the 27th May. You say in your message that Pakistan got as little as 400 cusecs on the 16th May. This was natural as the canal was closed in accordance with the request of your engineers. When the canal was reopened on the 27th May, at the request of your engineers, an indent was made upon us for 6,950 cusecs against the earlier indents of 2,500 cusecs. We were quite unable to meet this indent when the supplies in the river had been falling so fast.

As you know, the Indian and Pakistani delegations had, during the discussions under the auspices of the World Bank, arrived at three agreements on *ad hoc* transitional arrangements, according to which supplies were delivered from April 1955 to March 1957. No such agreement was arrived at for 1958. Nevertheless, our engineers continued to deliver water to the Pakistan channels even though this entailed serious hardship to our cultivators. This delivery of water to the Pakistan channels continued during the latter part of May and the first part of June in accordance with the spirit of the three previous agreements on *ad hoc* transitional arrangements. Not only has there been no attempt on our part to take any unilateral action to reduce the historic supplies to Pakistan from the three eastern rivers, but we have taken action to restrict and deny supplies to our own cultivators in order that we can release supplies and make them available to Pakistan in accordance with the spirit of our negotiations and the previous agreements. I am sure that when you examine this matter, you will realise that the statement you made on the 7th June, as reported in the press, was not justified.⁴

4. Firoz Khan Noon stated on 7 June 1958 in Lahore that 50,00,000 acres of land in Pakistan was lying unserved due to the arbitrary and unilateral stoppage of waters by India and that the Indian action was counter to the spirit of negotiations which were being conducted under the auspices of the World Bank.

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I understand that the supplies in the Chenab this year have been relatively better than in the eastern rivers and the Pakistan cultivators, who get supplies from the Chenab through the link canals, are in a better position than our cultivators who are suffering serious hardship owing to the extremely low supplies in the eastern rivers. Our cultivators in these areas have no alternative source of supply to rely upon.

May I draw your attention to the fact that your engineers were kept informed of the situation throughout this period? Press notes also have been issued on this subject. There was no secrecy about this and we were anxious to keep your people as well as ours informed of this difficult situation that had arisen.

We have always endeavoured to look at this question of canal water supplies from the human point of view. We are convinced that it can only be solved satisfactorily if both India and Pakistan cooperate and keep this viewpoint before them. You will not find us lacking in the spirit of cooperation.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Noon replied on 16 June 1958 welcoming Nehru's offer to allow Pakistani representatives to verify the situation and accordingly instructed the Irrigation Commissioner of Pakistan to contact his Indian counterpart to secure an exchange of data which should be helpful in obviating misunderstandings with regard to water shortage. Noon also informed Nehru that the Pakistani representatives were meeting in London on 23 June under the auspices of the World Bank to prepare plans on the basis of the World Bank proposals. After the Indian engineers examined these plans, it should be possible to instruct the Pakistani representatives to settle this matter to the mutual satisfaction of both the parties. He appreciated Nehru's attitude to look at the question of canal waters from the human point of view and wanted him to send an observer to the affected areas in Pakistan to witness the scope and nature of the human misery. He also agreed with Nehru's assertion that the human point of view alone "holds the key to most of the outstanding problems between our two countries...."

6. To Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim¹

Manali, Kulu Valley
12th June 1958

My dear Hafizji,

I received your letter on the eve of my departure from Delhi.² That evening I wrote my reply to the Prime Minister of Pakistan. This must have been sent yesterday morning and a copy would have been sent to you.

I have not got your letter with me here in Manali but I remember your mentioning something in it to the effect that we cannot supply readings about the water level, etc., to the Pakistan engineers because this might induce them to suggest joint readings and even joint control. I think that we are not right in taking up this attitude. I believe I have pointed this out before. We are certainly not going to allow them to interfere on our side in any way and there can be no question of joint control. But not to allow them to have accurate information, when our figures are challenged, seems to me a wrong and weak attitude to adopt. We should be completely above board in this matter and not only supply them with accurate information but also, if and when we consider it necessary, allow them to see it for themselves. We cannot adopt a petty-mind attitude in such matters.

In my letter to the Prime Minister of Pakistan, I have made a vague reference to there being no mystery about this and our giving particulars to the Pakistan authorities or engineers to verify.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. On 10 June 1958, Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim wrote that there was no objection to giving Pakistan information regarding the reduction in the supply of water to the Pakistan canals. But the moment India made this gesture Pakistan would come up with a demand for joint observations and ultimately for joint control of the headworks in India's territory. Ibrahim also wrote that after the expiry of the last agreement in April 1957, which provided for the exchange of data about the water level, etc., the Indian engineers were authorised to adopt certain specific figures for the additional withdrawals. This authorisation was given for 1957 and 1958 in consultation with the Ministry of External Affairs.

(i) Pakistan
(b) Other Issues

1. M.A. Gurmani's Letter to Vallabhbhai Patel¹

As much publicity has now been given to the story of the alleged Gurmani letter,² I think you should write immediately to Shri Badruddin Tyabji³ and ask him for his account of what happened when he saw Mr Shuaib Qureshi.⁴ Send him the evidence of Mr Shuaib Qureshi before the High Court. I attach the

1. Note to M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 2 April 1958. JN Collection.

This issue was discussed in the Union Cabinet on 2 April 1958.

2. On 17 May 1958, Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani, former Governor of West Pakistan, won a defamation case in the West Pakistan High Court against Z.A. Suleri, Chief Editor, and Omar Kureishi, Resident Editor, of *The Times of Karachi*, which had published on 2 September 1957 a letter allegedly written by Gurmani in 1947 to the then Indian Home Minister, Vallabhbhai Patel, offering accession of Bahawalpur State to India. Gurmani was the Prime Minister of Bahawalpur State from 1947 to 1948. The West Pakistan High Court held that the letter was forged and sentenced the two editors to two years' simple imprisonment. The Court also held Firoz Khan Noon, who was the Foreign Minister of Pakistan at the time of the publication of the letter, responsible for giving orders for its publication. The Court mentioned Gurmani's letters to Sardar Patel dated 4 August 1947 and 23 August 1947 and also to C.C. Desai, the then Joint Secretary in the States Department dated 14 August 1947 enclosing a standstill agreement 'duly signed' by him. However, on Pakistan High Commissioner's request in March 1958 for providing them copies of this correspondence, only Gurmani's letter to C.C. Desai dated 14 August 1947 could be traced in the Government of India records.
3. India's Ambassador to Iran, who had served in the External Affairs Ministry as Joint Secretary from 1950 to 1952 and Commonwealth Secretary from 1952 to 1953.
4. Shuaib Qureshi (1891-1962); lawyer, politician, journalist and diplomat; member of the Indian medical mission to Turkey led by Dr M.A. Ansari during the Balkan War, 1912-13; General Secretary, AICC, 1924-28; member, All Parties Conference Committee which produced the Nehru Report, 1928 but being the lone member to dissent from the Report retired from active politics, 1928; served in Bhopal State Service, 1929-48; Pakistan's envoy to Soviet Union, 1949-53, India, 1953, and Iraq, 1955-59; Minister for Information, Government of Pakistan, 1953-54; edited *Young India*, *Independent*, *Muslim Outlook* and *New Era*.

report from the *Pakistan Times*,⁵ which may be sent to him. You should also send him a copy of the Gurmani letter which we have got (a copy of which we sent to Prime Minister Noon).⁶ Also, remind him of such facts as I noted previously⁷ when the matter was referred to us by the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

2. I have little doubt that this matter will be raised in our Parliament and I shall have to give an answer. I can, of course, give an answer straightforwardly, but it would be a good thing if we had Shri Tyabji's reply. Please, therefore, write to him by air mail immediately and ask him to send a reply soon.

3. I suppose that what happened then was that Shri Tyabji, in protesting against Gurmani's speech, mentioned this letter from Gurmani and exaggerated its significance.⁸

5. The *Pakistan Times* reported on 2 April 1958 that Shuaib Qureshi deposed before the West Pakistan High Court dealing with Gurmani's case that he had been shown a letter, said to have been sent by Gurmani to Sardar Patel, by the Joint Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of India, in 1953.
6. Firoz Khan Noon was the Prime Minister of Pakistan from 16 December 1957 to 7 October 1958.
7. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 667-668.
8. The reference is to the following report of M.A. Gurmani's speech in the *Dawn* of 18 November 1952: "We were completely isolated and Bahawalpur was on more than one occasion threatened by the Indian authorities of even aggression and of even sending their forces, and my reply to them was—and all these things are on record, I am not saying any thing which I cannot substantiate—my reply to Pandit Nehru was that if a single Indian troop enters the soil of Bahawalpur, I will take it as an act of aggression and I shall deal with it with the limited resources that I have as much." The Indian High Commissioner in Karachi lodged a protest with the Pakistan Foreign Office regarding this report.

2. Approach to Developmental Projects¹

Our approach to such questions should normally be cooperative and need not be governed by our strained relations with Pakistan.² That is to say, we should not object to what Pakistan does merely for the sake of objection. We should find out how exactly we are affected by their project.³ If this does not do much harm, then there is no reason why we should object merely because it floods a certain part of the Lushai Hills. Anyhow, the whole thing should be carefully examined and our attitude should not be merely of saying 'no'.

1. Note to M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 4 April 1958. JN Collection.
2. This was regarding the multipurpose project in East Pakistan on the Karnafuli river which rises in the Lushai Hills in Assam and enters East Pakistan through the Chittagong Hill Tracts. India's concern was that the extent of submergence of Indian territory in the Lushai Hills due to the construction of the dam and reservoir had to be determined on the basis of the statistics provided by the Pakistan Government. In his note of 2 April 1958, M.J. Desai gave details of his meeting with the US ambassador, Ellsworth Bunker, over the upcoming Karnafuli Dam project financed by the US whose reservoir would submerge some Indian territory in the Lushai Hills District. In this regard the US wanted India to allow Pakistan to conduct a topographic survey within the Indian territory. Desai also wrote that Pakistan has "consistently refused to supply any information and their latest approach is a bare request to the Government of India to permit the representatives of the Government of Pakistan to carry out necessary surveys in lands adjoining the Karnafuli river on the Indian side of the border". He further pointed out that "the Government of Pakistan have consistently been secretive and obstructive in this matter" and had not given the necessary data to India. However, he assured Bunker that India would "certainly consider very carefully the request made by the State Department."
3. The project report enclosed by Desai indicated that if the dam had a height of 100 feet as was proposed in 1949 it would have submerged about 40 square miles of Indian territory. However, the Pakistani press reports in 1955 suggested much higher height of the dam, 140 or 153 feet. In that case, the extent of submergence of Indian territory could not be accurately determined in the absence of detailed information about the project.

3. To Renu Chakravarty¹

New Delhi
April 4, 1958

Dear Renu,²

Your letter of the 2nd April about the seven of our nationals arrested by the East Pakistan Police.³ We have taken this matter up with considerable vigour with the Pakistan Government in Karachi as well as with the East Pakistan Government. Our representatives have called on the Prime Minister⁴ and senior officials. We have been sending repeated telegrams. I believe we did shake them up and they all promised to enquire immediately into the matter. The people in Karachi said that they knew nothing about it till we informed them. They have told us that they are now in communication with East Pakistan.

I do not know if any fresh development has taken place in the last two or three days. But anyhow we expect to hear more about this matter soon. I am asking our Commonwealth Secretary⁵ to let you know if any new development has taken place.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Communist Party Member of the Lok Sabha from Basirhat, West Bengal.
3. On 6 March 1958, some Pakistani military personnel trespassed into the Indian side of river Kalindi in the 24-Parganas and kidnapped four Indian nationals along with their boat loaded with jute. Again on the next day Pakistani soldiers kidnapped three more Indian nationals with their boat loaded with paddy. The Government of West Bengal had lodged a protest with the Government of East Pakistan regarding the incident and asked for the immediate release of the kidnapped persons along with the articles seized. The Indian High Commissioner had also taken up the matter with the Government of Pakistan.
4. Firoz Khan Noon.
5. M.J. Desai.

4. Displaced Persons from East Pakistan¹

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Seth Govind Das:² Is the honourable Minister aware that the persons who come from East Pakistan are generally in the Sealdah station at Calcutta and their number is sometimes even up to 12,000 to 14,000, there is a big crowd there, and that there is dirtiness there? Is any effort being made to rehabilitate these persons who come from East Pakistan to Calcutta?

Jawaharlal Nehru: May I say something about it? What the honourable Member says is largely correct. It is most unfortunate. On several occasions, in the past years, Sealdah station has been cleared and these people were taken to camps, etc. The last time it was cleared—I am not sure of the date—was, I think, in November last. Subsequently it was filled up, and then cleared. It has not been filled up again. But ever since November, the rate of refugees coming from Pakistan is relatively low. I should think that the number was much because of the others who have gone there. A census was taken once, some kind of census, of people there. It appeared that 56 per cent of those at Sealdah station then were not refugees at all. Most of the others were refugees who had been taken away sometimes to camps, sometimes to other places, and they had come back. It is a mixture. This is the difficulty to be faced, when non-refugees come. We removed them at every time and put them in camps. So Sealdah station becomes a kind of way, a camp, for doles for all kinds of people, even for those who are not refugees. This is the difficulty.

D.C. Sharma:³ May I know if any meetings at ministerial level have been held in order to discuss this problem of exodus and, if so, when was the last meeting held?

JN: There have been several meetings previously, but I do not think there has been a meeting in the last year and a half or more, maybe a year and nine months. But so far as the exodus question is concerned, the honourable Members would have noted that the actual exodus has fallen much below the previous figures.

1. Extracts from reply to questions in the Lok Sabha, 8 April 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XV, cols. 8733-8734.
2. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh.
3. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Gurdaspur, Punjab.

5. Firing by Pakistan in Surma Region¹

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Jawaharlal Nehru: Day before yesterday my colleague the Deputy Minister made a long statement about this very situation in the frontier between north-east India and Pakistan.² Nothing has happened since then for me to add to that statement.

I am afraid bits of news prominently displayed in newspapers come up. Sometimes they are stale news; sometimes they are vague news, sometimes they are wrong news, sometimes they are right news, but they come from various parts, and immediately I am asked to make a statement from day to day about the same set of occurrences. I can say nothing new. That statement that was made day before yesterday was a full statement, and I repeat that to my knowledge nothing has happened since then that I may add to it.

The fact of the matter appears to be that all over that several hundred mile border, nerves are in a strained condition on both sides of the frontier, and charges are made, and have been made, on both sides of the frontier, and charges are made, and have been made, on both sides constantly because of this variation of the river. Now it has been decided, as was said on the other day, that there would be an enquiry by outsiders apart from the local commissioners. We have sent an officer from here and the Pakistan Government has sent an officer from Karachi. The two have been conducting an enquiry together with the local officers about all these matters.

1. Extracts from the discussion on the adjournment motion in the Lok Sabha, 17 April 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XV, cols. 10428-10429.
2. Lakshmi N. Menon, Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs, made a statement in the Lok Sabha on 15 April regarding firing by Pakistani troops across the Sylhet-Cachar border. According to the statement, sporadic firing had been going on in the Surma region from 27 March to 7 April. There was an exodus of about a hundred families from the Bhanga area caused by the intensity of firing and collecting of vegetables on both sides of the Surma stopped. As a result of a meeting between the Divisional Commissioners of Assam and East Pakistan a cease-fire agreement was reached on 9 April. Despite the cease-fire agreement, Pakistani forces opened fire and Pakistani villagers began violating Indian territory by fishing in Indian waters of the Surma river. The Assam authorities had lodged a protest with the East Pakistani authorities and Indian High Commissioner in Karachi had also taken up the matter with the Government of Pakistan. Both the Governments agreed to hold a joint enquiry into the entire series of these incidents.

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Therefore, to imagine, to say that there is some kind of, what shall I say, widespread invasion on either side is a bit of an exaggeration.

I do not know what relevance the reference to Mr Mohamed Ali's speech, what an ex-Prime Minister of Pakistan said on another occasion, has. I have nothing to say about that except to regret such irresponsible statements.³

N.G. Goray:⁴ Do we understand that this news about the massing of large troops in that area is not true, and there is nothing to worry about?

JN: I cannot say what internal small movements of troops might take place, but so far as I know, there is no massing of troops on either side of the border. There may be, of course, some platoon or some company moved here or there. I do not think we should exaggerate this. We should be, of course, vigilant on our borders as we are vigilant but we should not allow that vigilance to make us constantly nervous as to what things will happen.

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3. Chaudhary Mohammad Ali, the Prime Minister of Pakistan in 1955-56, spoke on 6 April about sending troops into Kashmir. See also *ante*, p. 562.

4. Narayan Ganesh Goray, Praja Socialist Party Member of the Lok Sabha from Poona.

6. Indian and Pakistani Enclaves¹

I think it is absurd for these enclaves to continue.² It is still more absurd for enclaves within enclaves to exist.³ This position is not only illogical and unreasonable, but must also cause a good deal of trouble and inconvenience to both the Governments and to the people living in these enclaves. I do not know how government functions in the enclaves and how taxes are collected or any expenditure on social services or public works incurred. I have long been of opinion that this question should be solved and that we should not hold out on minor points.

The present position appears to be that the actual number of Indian enclaves in Pakistan territory is 122. Out of these, three lie within Pakistani enclaves in India. Altogether, therefore, there are 119 Indian enclaves with an area of 17,157.72 acres.

There are 95 Pakistani enclaves in Indian territory. Out of these, 24 lie within Indian enclaves in East Pakistan. There are thus 71 Pakistani enclaves with an area of 11,725.70 acres. This means that in a straight exchange, India will have to part with an excess territory of 5,432 acres.

1. Note to M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 23 April 1958. JN Collection.
2. Lying between the borders of East Pakistan and West Bengal, these enclaves were the scattered and fragmented estates within the Cooch-Behar princely state. In the aftermath of Partition and the accession of Cooch-Behar to the Indian Union on 28 August 1949, there came to exist Indian enclaves in the Pakistan territory and Pakistani enclaves in the Indian territory, many of them overlapping each other.
3. After meetings at Karachi and New Delhi in July and August 1953 between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan, it was agreed in principle that the Cooch-Behar enclaves should be exchanged and that a conference should be held in Calcutta to work out the necessary details. An Indo-Pakistan Conference was held in Calcutta from 30 September to 3 October 1953. No agreement was arrived at at the Conference as the Government of Pakistan declined to compensate West Bengal for the extra area that East Pakistan would get as a result of the exchange of enclaves. The Government of Pakistan also did not agree with the view of the West Bengal Government that the real problem was not the difference in area, but the extra population that would come to West Bengal as the Muslims in the Pakistani enclaves wanted to become Indian citizens and the bulk of the Hindus in the Indian enclaves that would go to East Pakistan would want to come over to India as refugees. On 23 April 1958, M.J. Desai, wrote to Nehru that he would ask B.C. Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, whether he would be agreeable to the exchange of enclaves, provided Pakistan agreed to the exchange of population as well.

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I do not think it is worthwhile for us to hold out on compensation for this excess territory. I should like the question of compensation to be raised and I would accept even some relatively nominal compensation, but I would not like this matter to come in the way of a final exchange.

I do not at all like the idea to ask for an exchange of population. The principle is not good, but I suppose we shall have to provide for such persons as wish to come away. Generally speaking, people should be encouraged to stay where they are and thus not to add to problems of rehabilitation, etc.

The matter is essentially for the West Bengal Government to decide. We cannot overrule them. The West Bengal Government should, therefore, be approached about this question and our own views indicated to them.

7. Proposed Return of the Sheikh of Mangrol to India¹

I have spoken to the Home Minister on this subject. We both agree that the course suggested by you should be followed. I do not think that we should be in a hurry to accept the Sheikh of Mangrol² as our citizen³ with all the consequences that flow from it. The Sheikh is now undoubtedly a citizen of Pakistan and, if he desires to become an Indian national, various procedures, etc., will have to be followed.⁴ These take some time. We need not tell him that we rule out the

1. Note to M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 1 May 1958. File No. 3/48/58-Poll. III, MHA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Sheikh Abdul Khaliq Mia became Sheikh of Mangrol in 1941 after the death of his father Sheikh Jahangir Mia Sahib.
3. Mangrol had acceded to India after a referendum was held on 18 February 1948. The Sheikh of Mangrol himself handed over the Instrument of Accession to the Secretary, Ministry of States. Later he went to Pakistan but in 1958, being "unhappy and disgruntled in Pakistan", he wanted to return to India.
4. Regarding the proposed return of the Sheikh of Mangrol from Pakistan to India, M.J. Desai expressed his doubts as to whether the Sheikh would be able to adjust himself to the conditions prevailing in India. He added that if the Sheikh returned to India, "Pakistan will exploit the Sheikh's return by alleging that he has been bribed into returning to India. Apart from a pension of Rs 5,000 per month, the Sheikh is bound to make tall claims about the return of all his property which we will not be able to meet." He suggested that India should not commit itself to accepting the return and rehabilitation of the Sheikh at this stage and requested Nehru to discuss the matter with Home Minister G.B. Pant, and perhaps also with Defence Minister V.K. Krishna Menon.

possibility of his becoming an Indian national in the future. Therefore, we should suggest that we cannot commit ourselves to his being made an Indian national and our undertaking rehabilitation, etc., at this stage. We shall, however, gladly give him a visa to come to India for some time to see this country for himself.

8. Cable to C.C. Desai¹

I have just learnt of a terrible tragedy at Palam airfield where a Pakistan Civil Lines Convair aircraft burst into flames as it was going to take off this evening.² I am afraid that many lives have been lost. I have no detailed particulars yet. Apparently there were 38 persons on board. Of these 16 were pulled out. Three of these died on the way to hospital. The others are in hospital. Our Air Force did everything in their power to fight the flames and to rescue people. We shall of course continue to give every kind of help.

I should like you to convey to the Prime Minister of Pakistan my deep sorrow at this tragedy.

1. New Delhi, 15 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. A Convair aircraft belonging to the Pakistan International Airways, had crashed at about 8.20 p.m. on 15 May and caught fire immediately after it hit the ground in the open fields 500 yards from the end of the runway. The aircraft carried a crew of six and 32 passengers.

9. US Offer to Mediate between India and Pakistan¹

This evening (May 16th) the US Ambassador² came to see me. He handed over to me a letter from President Eisenhower, a copy of which I enclose.³

1. Note, New Delhi, 16 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. Ellsworth Bunker.
3. For Nehru's reply to Eisenhower's letter of 14 May 1958, see *post*, pp. 624-626.

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2. I told him that I was thankful to the President for his letter and I could well appreciate his anxiety about the unfortunate relationship of India and Pakistan. We had always been convinced that India and Pakistan had to live together in friendship and cooperation and we had kept this aim in view. But unfortunately, various developments had taken place which had come in the way of this. We intended to continue our policy and hoped that ultimately there would be friendship between the two neighbour countries. Meanwhile it was a distressing and frustrating experience to deal with Pakistan.

3. I said that while it was true that some of our Defence expenditure was conditioned by Pakistan's aggressive policy and threats, in effect it was not true to say that we were devoting an excessive amount to our Defence services, etc. Our major articles of expenditure were on Defence personnel and on certain Defence industrial undertakings which we were building up. Our Army was, for a large country like India, small in numbers. We wanted to build up our industry. We might have saved some money in our purchases from abroad especially of aircraft, etc. But in view of the threats from Pakistan we could not take the risk of not being prepared for any contingency. Indeed, our not being prepared itself might induce Pakistan to launch on aggressive adventures.

4. I told him that while Kashmir, canal waters, etc., were important issues, the fact remained that the conflict between India and Pakistan was more basic and resulted from the continuation of the old Muslim League policy of hatred and the fact that there were no firm political or economic policies in Pakistan. The Government there, which changed frequently, relied principally on a policy of hate for India and of threats of war. It was impossible to expect peace and friendship until this background changed.

5. I reminded the Ambassador that even now this campaign of hatred and falsehood was being carried on in the Pakistan official radio and in the newspapers there. Totally false statements were made daily about large-scale arrests, lathi charges, firings and deaths in Kashmir. All these reports were absolutely without foundation and life in the State was completely normal. There had not even been any demonstrations there. There had only been four arrests during the last three weeks, that is, Sheikh Abdullah and three others.⁴ There had been no conflicts of the police with the crowd, no lathi charges, no shooting and no killing.

6. Then there was the organised campaign of sabotage prepared in Pakistan and scores of bomb outrages had taken place in Jammu and Kashmir State.⁵ According to our information, commanders were being trained in Pakistan. I

4. Abdullah was arrested during the night of 29-30 April 1958.

5. Between June 1957 and February 1958, there were 38 cases of bomb explosion in Jammu and Kashmir.

hinted that soon there was likely to be a conspiracy case which would bring out some of these facts.⁶

7. I referred to Chaudhuri Mohammed Ali's speeches calling for immediate war against India and further demanding not only Kashmir but large bits of the Punjab and UP. I told the Ambassador something about the Pakistan agitation against the Radcliffe Award⁷ and all that and their denunciation of Lord Mountbatten accusing him of changing that award.⁸

8. Then I referred to canal waters. We had agreed to the World Bank dealing with this matter and had been patiently carrying on for the last five or six years. As for the Kashmir issue, we had made repeated efforts during the past few years. Every suggestion of ours was rejected and then made into a commitment. We had therefore decided not to make any further suggestions till some of the basic facts were recognised. We had accepted the 1948 resolution of the Security Council which called for a cessation of aggressive propaganda and for the military potential not to be increased on either side. Further, Pakistan had not removed all her forces from the occupied part of Kashmir. It was only when all this was done, some other steps had to be taken. After all these many years Pakistan had not even carried out those first conditions and we were asked to forget or ignore them.

9. I said that when Dr Graham had suggested that the two Prime Ministers should meet under his chairmanship, I had replied that I had no objection to meeting the Prime Minister of Pakistan, but that I did not think that Dr Graham's chairmanship or presence at the time would be helpful.⁹ In a sense we had had such talks previously when others were here, like Dixon.¹⁰ In such talks with a third party present, that third party inevitably became some kind of a judge or umpire and the other two were supposed to plead their cases. We were not prepared for that. When the right time came, we would be prepared to meet each other directly without a third party's intervention, which could not possibly help and might make matters worse. We did not wish to be treated on a level

6. For details of the Kashmir Conspiracy Case, see *ante*, pp. 568, 571-572, 574, 578.
7. The Radcliffe Award, stipulating the boundary between India and Pakistan, was published on 17 August 1947. The Indo-Pakistan Boundary Dispute Tribunal or the Bagge Tribunal was constituted in 1949 to adjudicate the disputes arising out of the Radcliffe Award.
8. Pakistan accused Mountbatten of having got the line of partition in the Punjab altered before the announcement of the Boundary Commission Award on 17 August 1947 by putting pressure on Cyril Radcliffe, the Chairman of the Commission, to give Ferozepore to India, as also three *tehsils* (sub-districts) of Gurdaspur District so as to allow India a road link with Kashmir.
9. See *ante*, pp. Kashmir.
10. Owen Dixon, the Australian jurist and UN mediator in the Kashmir dispute in 1950, had held discussions with Nehru and the Prime Minister of Pakistan in New Delhi from 20 to 24 July 1950.

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with Pakistan in this matter. Because of all these, I did not see how it would help for a representative of President Eisenhower to become that third party.

10. The Ambassador said that he could well understand our position and he had not expected us to agree to Dr Graham's proposal about his presiding over a meeting of the two Prime Ministers. What President Eisenhower was suggesting was something entirely different and was not concerned with any particular question but rather the entire bundle of Indo-Pakistan conflicts and issues. If they were taken as a whole, it might perhaps be easier to have a package deal. He referred to the Trieste dispute with which he himself had been concerned and how quite confidential talks first at lower levels and then at higher levels had taken place chiefly in London for many months before a settlement was arrived at.¹¹ I said that I did not think that the suggestion was at all feasible. Naturally, anything that President Eisenhower said deserved all consideration and I would send him a reply later.

11. I then referred to the report that the United States Government were going to make a gift of jet bombers to Pakistan because India had bought some jet bombers last year. I said that this clearly meant that the supply of these jet bombers was related to Pakistan's position vis-a-vis India. That seemed to me not only unfortunate but rather opposed to what the United States Government had said. The Ambassador agreed with me that this was unfortunate, but that it was part of the original agreement. He further seemed to say that they would like to get out of this and were trying to do so.

12. There was some brief talk about the situation in France, which was very distressing.¹² The Ambassador further referred to conditions in the Middle East, especially Lebanon, but not much was said about them.

13. I told the Ambassador that as I was going away in another three days' time¹³ there might be delay in my sending an answer to President Eisenhower. He said that he quite understood that.

14. He then went away, but immediately returned to tell me that the President had informed the UK Government of the letters he had sent to me and the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

11. Trieste, an Austrian port city, was annexed by Italy after the First World War. Yugoslavia claimed control over it after the Second World War on the ground that the population outside the city was predominantly Slovenian. The Free Territory of Trieste was declared an independent city state under the protection of the UN in 1947 and divided into two zones: zone A governed by the US and UK forces and zone B under Yugoslav military administration. In October 1954 it was dissolved and zone A was handed over to Italy and zone B to Yugoslavia. Ellsworth Bunker was the US Ambassador to Italy from 1952 to 1953 and played a significant role in the negotiations over Trieste.

12. For developments in France, see *post*, pp. 671, 674-675.

13. Nehru was at Manali from 20 to 31 May 1958 and again from 10 to 23 June 1958.

10. To C.C. Desai¹

New Delhi
May 18, 1958

My dear C.C.,

I have received your letter of May 16th, and read it with great interest.² I have not yet seen the judgment in the Gurmani case, but a brief report indicates that Firoz Khan Noon has not come out well.³

I suppose Mian Iftikharuddin has already left for Europe. He is, of course, welcome to come to Delhi whenever he wants to come, and his wife will be also welcome. There is no chance of my going to Europe this year, as far as I can see.

Today, at about 12.15 noon, I got a message from the Pakistan High Commission to say that a most immediate message had come from the Prime Minister there for me, and they wanted to deliver it by 1 o'clock. I told them that I was prepared to see them at 1 at my house. Soon after 1, the Charge there came over to my house and apologised. He said that after he had telephoned to me, he had received a telephone message from Karachi asking him not to deliver the previous message, as it was being revised. I have no idea what this most immediate message was.

1. JN Collection.
2. Writing about his conversations with political leaders in Pakistan, Desai had stated that Mian Iftikharuddin was "thoroughly disgusted with the state of affairs in Pakistan" and wanted to meet Nehru either in Delhi or abroad as he was leaving for Europe in a day or two for about two months. Iftikharuddin was the founder-member of the National Awami Party of Pakistan and a left-wing Congressman close to Nehru before Partition. Iskandar Mirza, the President, had expressed his condemnation for "every personality, party and situation in Pakistan" to a friend of Desai and wondered "where the country was drifting to." Following the judgment in the Gurmani's case, Desai felt that there might be a political crisis in Pakistan and Noon might have to make way for another Prime Minister. Yusuf Haroon, the former Minister for Kashmir Affairs, believed that some people in Pakistan were responsible for the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah as they had started negotiating with him despite Haroon's warning against doing so. Haroon also told Desai various "stories of corruption and bribery involving both Ministers and senior officers in the Central Government." Qasi Isa, General Secretary of the All Pakistan Muslim League, felt that "Kashmir is a dead issue" and was convinced that there was "no peace, prosperity or progress for Pakistan except on terms of friendship and good neighbourliness with India."
3. In its judgment in the Gurmani defamation case on 17 May 1958, the West Pakistan High Court stated that along with others Firoz Khan Noon had also played an active role in publishing the forged document in *The Times of Karachi* on 3 September 1957 and added that Gurmani could proceed against him in a criminal court or a civil court.

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President Eisenhower is making another approach in regard to Indo-Pakistan matters. As usual, this is to both the Prime Ministers. Nothing will come of it, of course, and we do not propose to encourage him.

I am leaving for the Kulu Valley day after tomorrow.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. To Dwight D. Eisenhower¹

New Delhi
June 7, 1958

My dear Mr President,

Ambassador Bunker handed over to me on the 16th May your personal letter of the 14th May.² I am grateful to you for your personal interest and concern in matters affecting us. I hope you will forgive me for the delay in sending a reply to your letter.

Soon after I received your letter I left Delhi for a brief rest in the inner valleys of the Himalayas. Ambassador Bunker himself suggested that there was no necessity for an immediate reply to be sent to you and that this could wait till my return. Apart from my absence from Delhi, the suggestions you were good enough to make in your letter required very careful consideration by us, as they raised important issues.

Even before I left Delhi, I had a long talk with Ambassador Bunker on the subject of your letter and pointed out to him the various aspects of the problems and the difficulties we had to face. On my return from the mountains, I had another long interview with Ambassador Bunker. He was good enough to give

1. File No. 13-11/58-KU, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. In his letter of 14 May 1958, Eisenhower had expressed concern over the economic problems of India and Pakistan "during the last few years" and "admired the resolute manner in which both the countries have tackled the complex difficulties facing them." However, he found it a "source of real concern" that the "effective economic development of both countries is being hindered by the continued existence of unresolved political and economic issues" and that both the countries were "devoting increasing amounts to their defence budgets at the expense of development." Emphasising his deep personal concern with this problem, he considered it necessary for both the countries to find "mutually acceptable solutions of the major outstanding issues" and for this purpose, he added, he would be "glad to designate a special representative to visit India" if India agreed to it.

me a note amplifying the proposal made in your letter. We discussed this also. I have no doubt that the Ambassador has communicated to you what I said to him on both these occasions.

I need not, therefore, write at any length now. But I am taking the liberty of enclosing a copy of the report of a speech I made in our Parliament on April 9, 1958.³ This deals with Indo-Pakistan relations and I attempted to give in it our approach to all the problems that had arisen between India and Pakistan. It deals, in particular, with the basic difficulty we have faced throughout these years in our dealings with Pakistan. There is also reference in it to the report that Dr Graham made to the Security Council after his recent visit to India.

This speech will, I hope, make it clear to you how anxious we have been ever since Independence to have normal and friendly relations with Pakistan. We had hoped that the old conflicts and the policy of hatred and violence, pursued by the old Muslim League, which indeed had led to the Partition, would cease. It was obviously to the advantage of both countries to live in peace and friendship with each other and to devote themselves to their social and economic development which was so urgently needed to give a social content to our freedom and independence. Unfortunately for us and for Pakistan, our hopes were not realised and the Pakistan Government continued to pursue that old policy of hatred and violence. Every Government that comes into power in Pakistan bases itself on this policy of hatred against India. It is this basic fact that has to be recognised. In our opinion, the settlement we so ardently desire cannot come if this policy of hatred continues.

Military pacts and military aid have made Pakistan think in terms of coercing India. No self-respecting country can submit to this, much more so when that country is an aggrieved party and the other country continues to profit by its aggression. Unfortunately, the encouragement that Pakistan has received, in the Security Council and elsewhere, has led her to continue her policy of aggressive intransigence.

I realise fully that whatever the rights and wrongs may be in regard to these disputes, it is highly desirable to settle them and turn the course of events in the direction of peace and cooperation. I entirely agree with you, Mr President, that we should make every effort to this end. The question that arises is how best this can be done, because a wrong step may well lead to further difficulties. We have experience of trying to explore various avenues and making proposals for discussion, which found no response from Pakistan and led to further confusion. Indeed, we were made to suffer for every step that we took in the hope of facilitating a settlement. Despite all this, it is our desire that our two countries should resolve their differences and develop friendly relations with each other.

3. See *ante*, pp. 560-564 and *post*, pp. 690-693.

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To this end, we shall continue to work, but in doing so we cannot submit to what we consider basically wrong, for any such submission would not solve any problem and would only aggravate our conflicts.

We have always been of the view that a settlement of our various issues with Pakistan can only be arrived at satisfactorily by direct contacts between the two countries. If third parties intervene, even though that intervention proceeds from goodwill, the position becomes entirely different. The aggressor country and the country against whom aggression has taken place are put on the same level, both pleading before that third party. It is this difficulty that has faced me in considering the proposal that you have made. Ambassador Bunker has told me that it is not intended that any person should act as a judge or umpire. Nevertheless, by whatever name the third person might be called, his intervention would tend to be regarded as of that kind and might well add to the present difficulties. Any visit of such a person could not be kept secret and the result would be greater public excitement.

Kashmir, canal waters and other matters in issue between India and Pakistan are the result and not the basic cause of Pakistan hostility to India. The atmosphere between the two countries has been worsened further by the incitement by Pakistan authorities of subversion and sabotage in Kashmir and by speeches by Pakistan leaders advocating holy war against India. Pakistan authorities have been responsible for frequent border incidents; early this week, seven of our border police were shot down in cold blood while negotiating under the white flag with their Pakistan counterparts along the border.⁴

I have ventured to point out frankly the difficulties that face us. At the same time, I appreciate greatly your concern and I am anxious to explore all possibilities which might lead to happier results. I do not think, for the reasons I have given above, that a visit by a special representative, as suggested by you, would be helpful. Ambassador Bunker is in touch with us and we shall gladly discuss with him any development that might arise or any avenue that might offer itself for exploration.

May I again express my gratitude to you, Mr President, for your personal approach to these matters which concern us intimately. I know that you and your country mean well by us and we are happy that there has been a growing understanding between our countries.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. On 4 June 1958, one sub-inspector and six policemen of the Indian Border Police were killed during an exchange of fire between India and Pakistan at Fazilka in Ferozepur district.

12. To Harold Macmillan¹

New Delhi
June 7, 1958

My dear Prime Minister,²

Thank you for your personal message which reached me on the 19th May just as I was going to leave Delhi for the inner valleys of the Himalayas. I returned from there a few days ago.

2. I need not repeat here what I said in my last message to you and in my speech in our Parliament which I sent you. That speech was my public approach to this question and not merely the expression of a private wish. It indicated our anxiety to have better relations with Pakistan and a sense of frustration that, in spite of our efforts to that end, we should have thus far failed. We shall, of course, continue these efforts.

3. We have no particular desire to see the Kashmir issue discussed again at an early meeting of the Security Council. But if Pakistan raises the question, we cannot object. As for the Pakistan elections, they are still rather far off and indeed it is by no means clear when they will take place.

4. You ask me if there could be some basis agreeable to both the Pakistan Prime Minister and me on which there could be direct discussions between us. So far as I am concerned, I shall always be prepared to have these direct discussions with the Pakistan Prime Minister not only on the Kashmir problem but any other pending matter between us, or on what you refer to as the "root of the misunderstanding and difficulty". I fear, however, that any discussion by me on this root problem might well be considered as some kind of interference in the internal politics of Pakistan.

5. Pakistan was conceived on the two-nation theory—a nation being interpreted in religious terms. That was a theory which we refused to accept and could not possibly accept at any time without discarding our nationalism and our conception of national unity. As a result of this two-nation theory, we have had continuing migrations from East Pakistan to India, because the non-Muslims in East Pakistan feel that their future is not safe there. No such question now arises in West Pakistan because practically all the non-Muslims came over to India in the early months after Partition. For us this insistence on the two-nation theory is a serious matter because we have over forty million Muslims in India.

6. There is another difficulty to which I refer with some hesitation. There have been rather frequent changes in Pakistan Government and there has

1. JN Collection.

2. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

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consequently been no continuity or stability. This also rather comes in the way of effective talks.

7. As you know, I received President Eisenhower's message some time ago, and I have given very careful thought to it because anything coming from him deserves the fullest consideration. Also it is naturally our desire to find some way which would lead towards better relations with Pakistan. But his suggestion to send a special representative to visit India, and presumably Pakistan, to discuss matters does not seem to us at all likely to help. As I have previously said to you, the intervention of a third party is not going to be helpful.

8. There is also the difficulty caused by the military pacts to which Pakistan is a party and the military aid which she has received. The leaders of Pakistan have made it perfectly clear that they have joined these alliances and received military aid primarily to use this additional strength against India. They now openly say that they must get jet bombers as part of US Defence aid as India has recently purchased Canberra bombers.

9. I have written to President Eisenhower that his Ambassador in Delhi is in touch with us and we shall gladly discuss any development that might arise or any avenue that might offer itself for exploration.

10. But I must confess that I do not see how we can ever get out of this tangle if Pakistan continues to hold on to the territory she has invaded and to speak frequently in terms of war. There has been no abatement of this campaign in Pakistan and indeed recently it has become worse. A war psychosis has been created in Pakistan. This campaign has led to serious border tension and, earlier this week, seven of our border police were shot down in cold blood while negotiating under the white flag with their Pakistani counterparts along the border. In my last letter to you I referred to Pakistan's campaign of sabotage in Kashmir. This has been intensified and frequent border incidents have taken place for which Pakistan is responsible.

11. I spent ten days in the mountains last month. I hope to go back there early next week for another ten days.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

13. Cable to Firoz Khan Noon¹

Thank you for your message which was handed to our Commonwealth Secretary by your Chargé d'affaires last evening.

As the two Commissioners are meeting today, I shall await their report.² Meanwhile, I should like to point out that the facts are somewhat different from what have been supplied to you. Our police were actually having the usual negotiations under the white flag when firing took place upon them, resulting in the death of seven members of our Border Police.

May I remind you of the agreement of 1956 between the two Prime Ministers that exchange of areas following joint demarcation was to take place on an agreed date after the entire boundary was jointly demarcated. We have, therefore, to wait for such exchange to take place from both sides.

I entirely agree with you that we must put an end to incidents along our frontier and I can assure you that we shall do our best on our side to prevent recurrence of any incident.

1. New Delhi, 9 June 1958. JN Collection.

2. The three-day Indo-Pakistan meeting of joint inquiry into the firing incident at Fazilka on 4 June 1958, in which seven men of the Indian Border Police were killed by Pakistanis, had commenced at Sulemanki on the Indo-Pakistan border on 9 June 1958. Accompanied by other senior civil and police officers, the Indian side was led by Gian Singh Kahlon, Commissioner of Jullundur Division, and the Pakistan side by Atta Mohammed Leghari, Commissioner of Multan Division. The outcome of the inquiry was not known as strict secrecy was maintained.

(ii) Lebanon

1. UN Observation Group in Lebanon¹

I have just received your message about the UN Observation Group going to Lebanon² and our designation of Rajeshwar Dayal³ as the Indian representative for a short period.

2. I agree generally with the instructions you propose to give Shri Rajeshwar Dayal. I also agree to the proposal that we should spare ten military officers for work with the observation teams.

3. Shri Rajeshwar Dayal is an experienced and well-informed officer in our Foreign Service. He knows not only our general policy, but our special friendly relations with Egypt. He realises no doubt that the work that is being entrusted

1. Message for S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary, read out over the telephone by M.C. Gupta, PA to PM, from Manali, 16 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. Ever since its independence in 1946, Lebanon was plagued by internal rivalries which was sought to be managed through a unique political system known as confessionalism, a power sharing mechanism based on religious communities. The formation of Israel in 1948 and the migration of some 70,000 Arab Palestinians into Lebanon disturbed the demographic equilibrium of the largely Christian Lebanon. The formation of United Arab Republic by the union of Egypt and Syria in February 1958 disturbed the international environment around Lebanon. Syria had never recognised Lebanon and had in fact supported anti-ruling party forces within Lebanon. After the Suez crisis, the growing popularity of Nasser among the Lebanese Muslims perturbed many Christians. President Camille Chamoun, maintaining that Muslims were violating the National Covenant regarding power sharing among Christians and Muslims, began to move closer to the West. The 'rigged elections' of 1957 saw Chamoun retaining power, with his opponents stunningly defeated. Lebanese politics now moved into the street. On 8 May 1958, Nasib al-Matni, editor and owner of an anti-Chamounist newspaper *al-Telegraph*, was assassinated in Beirut. A general strike was called the next day demanding Chamoun's immediate resignation and widespread agitation followed. The Arab League offered to mediate. But President Chamoun rejected the offer and instead approached the UN Security Council. The Lebanese Government charged Syria and Egypt of sponsoring, financing and arming the movement against Chamoun. On 11 June 1958 the Security Council appointed an Observation Group.
3. Prior to this assignment, Rajeshwar Dayal was Indian Ambassador to Yugoslavia and Greece from 1954 to 1958.

to him is highly delicate, and at the back of this Observation Group lie major conflicts of the cold war. He must resolutely refuse to be drawn into this cold war approach. Shri Rajeshwar Dayal should keep in constant touch with us.

2. Conflict in Lebanon¹

I agree with you generally. You might inform our Ambassador in Cairo² that the general attitude he should take up with President Nasser is as follows. We shall be glad to know what President Nasser thinks about the situation in Lebanon³ and what the developments there are likely to be. We attach a value to his opinion in this respect. We hope that the situation in Lebanon will be peacefully dealt with and decided in accordance with the will of the Lebanese people.⁴ A continuation of conflict there would be unfortunate and might lead to other complications, such as active interference from foreign countries which we would deplore.⁵

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 31 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. Ali Yavar Jung.
3. The disturbances in Lebanon spread to Beirut, Sidon, much of the Bekaa Valley, large hill areas of northern and southern Lebanon and almost all areas adjoining the Syrian frontier during June and July 1958. The opposition forces led by Saeb Salam, Rashid Karame and Kemal Jumblatt, opposed the pro-western policy of the Lebanese Government, resulting in a civil war.
4. On 22 May, the Lebanese Government asked the UN Security Council to call an urgent meeting to consider its complaints about destruction of life and property in Lebanon by armed bands from Syria and about press and radio campaign in the UAR to overthrow the Government in Lebanon.
5. In his note of 30 May, Foreign Secretary S. Dutt wrote, among other things, that large-scale assistance to the opposition elements by Syria could not be doubted but those elements seemed to think that assistance by a friendly Arab neighbour did not amount to interference in internal affairs. He added that official circles in Lebanon had requested that India might deplore any foreign interference in Lebanon as it had done in the case of Indonesia. He also suggested that the Indian Ambassador, in his meeting with Nasser, should deplore any foreign interference in Lebanon and state that the Lebanese people should be left free to decide their future and that it would not be in the interest of West Asia and the Arab countries to let the present situation in Lebanon continue.

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2. For the personal information of the Ambassador, you might add that I am having a press conference on the 4th June.⁶ If I am asked about Lebanon, I shall say that I hope there will be no interference by foreign countries and the matter should be left to be decided by the people of Lebanon.

3. I think it would be better for our Ambassador not to say anything about President Chamoun. In fact, he should, as you have suggested, rather listen than make any suggestions himself.

6. See *post*, p. 768.

3. On Security Council Resolution on Lebanon¹

I have received your message about the Security Council accepting the Swedish resolution² to despatch an Observation Group to Lebanon.³

2. Whenever we have been asked to participate in a dispute between two countries, it has been our invariable policy that both parties to that dispute should desire our presence. In the present case, as far as I know, the complaint of the Lebanese Government is against the United Arab Republic. Therefore, the question of our participation can only arise if the two parties approve of it. We may presume, in the circumstances, approval by the Lebanese Government but we cannot presume Egypt's or UAR's approval. That has to be specific.

3. If Egypt desires our presence in this Observation Group, then it will be difficult for us not to participate on plea of inability to find a suitable officer. We may not be able to release Rajeshwar Dayal, but we shall have to try to find some senior and experienced officer.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, Manali, 12 June 1958. JN Collection.
2. The Swedish resolution, adopted by the Security Council on 11 June by 10 votes to nil with the USSR abstaining, called for the urgent dispatch of a UN Observation Group to Lebanon to ensure that "there is no illegal infiltration of personnel or supply of arms or other material across the Lebanese border." Through India's Permanent Representative at the UN, Arthur Lall, the UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold requested the Government of India to choose a top-level diplomat with political experience to join the Group and suggested Rajeshwar Dayal's name.
3. S. Dutt wrote that India should not get involved in this dispute as she would only be blamed for finding fault with either of the two countries. Moreover, India should not be associated with any committee unless her presence in it was desired by both sides to the dispute.

4. I agree generally with line of reply to Arthur Lall that you have suggested in paragraph 4 of your message.⁴ Stress should, however, be laid on agreement of parties to our participation. The other two points should also be mentioned, that is, difficulty of finding a senior diplomat at short notice and our dislike to an arrangement under which our representative would merely act in an advisory capacity. Some indication might also be sought as to probable period during which observation group is likely to function.

5. I presume you have communicated with our embassy in Egypt to find out reactions of the UAR Government.

4. S. Dutt had suggested that Arthur Lall might be asked to convey to Hammarskjold that it would be extremely difficult to spare a senior diplomat at such a short notice and that Rajeshwar Dayal was wanted urgently for an important diplomatic assignment. He also wanted it to be conveyed that "we do not like an arrangement under which our representative would merely act in an advisory capacity."

4. India's Participation in the Observation Group¹

I have just seen your message today about the Supervisory Observation Group for Lebanon.²

2. In view of the assurance given by Hammarskjold and Egypt's desire that India should participate in this Observation Group, I agree that we should do so.³ I also agree that Rajeshwar Dayal should be asked to join this group as early as possible. This will be on the clear understanding that he is going there for a relatively brief period. He should, therefore, be asked to go immediately.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, Manali, 14 June 1958. File No. 9(33)-WANA/58, MEA.
2. UN Secretary General Hammarskjold announced on 14 June 1958 the appointment of a three-member Observation Group, with Galo Plaza (former President of Ecuador) as Chairman, Odd Bull (Commander of the Royal Norwegian Air Force) as executive member in charge of military observers, and Rajeshwar Dayal, an Indian diplomat, as a member. Hammarskjold envisaged the operation of the Group at two levels—an "observation group" as well as a "servicing group" to be recruited from the staff of the UN Truce Supervision Organisation in Palestine.
3. Dutt informed Nehru that Hammarskjold had urged India to release Rajeshwar Dayal for two or three weeks and had stated that all the three members would be on an equal level. Dutt apprised Nehru of the Egyptian view on the issue that it was an internal dispute which President Chamoun of Lebanon was trying to internationalise by making false charges against the UAR. Their main concern was, Dutt added, that the "observation should not be used as an umbrella to give UN protection to one side against another in an internal dispute." The UAR hoped that Indian participation would somehow help clarify the position with regard to interference by foreign powers.
4. Dutt informed Nehru on 16 June that Hammarskjold had expressed warm appreciation to the Government of India for accepting his request. He also told Nehru that according to Arthur Lall's information, the Observation Group would be assisted by 60 military officers and 300 army personnel.

(iii) The USSR

1. Message to Nikita Khrushchev¹

May I send you my good wishes and congratulations on your assuming the high office of Prime Minister of the Soviet Union.² Under your leadership, the Soviet Government has taken many steps to further the cause of world peace to which we are so greatly attached. I am sure that your efforts for this great end will continue and I earnestly trust that the fears and tensions which afflict the world today will be removed so that all nations, even though they might differ from each other in many ways, will live peacefully and cooperatively and devote their energies to the advancement of humanity.

It has been a [source of] happiness to us to see the growth of friendship between the Indian people and the Soviet people. I am sure this will continue for the good of our two countries and for the peace of the world.

1. New Delhi, 2 April 1958. File No. 8(72) Eur-E/58, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Nikita Khrushchev succeeded Nikolai A. Bulganin as Prime Minister of the Soviet Union on 27 March 1958.

2. Soviet Concern over Military Preparations in Pakistan¹

The Soviet Chargé d'affaires came to see me today at 6.15 p.m. He told me that his Ambassador² could not come as he was in Calcutta handing over some medical equipment which was a gift from the Soviet Government to the West Bengal Government.

2. He said that he had come to convey a message to our Government from the Soviet Government. He did not give me anything in writing.

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, the Secretary General, MEA, and S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 19 April 1958. JN Collection.
2. P.K. Ponomarenko.

3. He said that on the 14th April last, the Soviet Ambassador in Pakistan³ conveyed a message to the Pakistan Government about the military preparations that were being made there on a big scale. The Soviet Government entertained friendly feelings with all countries of the East. They believed in the five principles of recognition of independence and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in internal matters, mutual respect, etc. It was their firm belief that their relations with Pakistan should be based on these principles. But at the last meeting of the Baghdad Pact, it was reported that Pakistan had demanded arms of the latest type from the Western Powers.⁴ This could only mean atomic weapons and the like.

4. According to the Soviet Government's information, intensive work was being carried on in West Pakistan, not far from the Soviet border, in Quetta, Gilgit and Peshawar for building ramps for the purpose of launching guided missiles. Also huge military airfields were being constructed or re-constructed at Karachi, Sargodha, Peshawar, Risalpur, Quetta and one or two other places. These were four kilometres long and thus capable of receiving the latest type of aircraft. This work of building these airfields was under the immediate direction of US Air Force engineers and was being carried out by a US firm (he mentioned the name of the firm, but I do not remember it). These airfields were obviously meant for strategic bombers which Pakistan did not even possess.

5. When asked why this was being done, it was said that it was for defence. As no one was going to attack Pakistan, this answer was not adequate.

6. In view of the proximity of the Soviet border, the Soviet Government could not ignore these developments. They were, therefore, making a friendly appeal to the Pakistan Government to make an estimate of the present situation more soberly and to calculate the consequences. As the Soviet Government had previously stated, in case there was any aggression on the USSR, the latter would retaliate on the countries from which the aggression came or where there are bases for such aggression.

7. The Soviet Government wished to keep the Indian Government informed of these developments.

8. I told the Chargé d'affaires that I was grateful for this information which fitted in with our own information on this subject. We were well aware of the construction of these great airfields at various places and other military constructions which were taking place. So far as we were concerned, we had made it perfectly clear that we would on no account have any military operations against Pakistan, unless we were attacked. In fact, for several years past we had

3. I.F. Shepedko.

4. The fourth meeting of the Baghdad Pact countries was held in Ankara from 27 to 30 January 1958. For details, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 19, 637 and 689.

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offered to sign a "no war" declaration which would state that on no account would either country engage itself in war with the other, whatever problems we might have. Pakistan, however, had not agreed to this.

9. The Soviet Chargé d'affaires then said that a report had appeared in the Indian press to the effect that our Vice-President, Dr Radhakrishnan, had made a statement during his recent tour in the United States.⁵ This statement was to the effect that if Pakistan was attacked by the Soviet Union, India would help Pakistan in defence.

10. I replied that I had not myself seen any such statement reported, and I was quite sure that our Vice-President would not have said anything like it. The report I had seen was to the effect that India and Pakistan were neighbouring countries and they should be friendly and have common defence and other common policies. This had no relation to any contemplated attack, but was merely a desire of friendly relations between India and Pakistan as neighbour countries. In fact, the question had probably arisen because of the American supply of arms to Pakistan and the complaint made that India was also arming herself.

11. The Soviet Chargé d'affaires thanked me for this elucidation and said that he was sure that our Vice-President could not have said anything against the Soviet Government in this connection and the report in the press must have been incorrect.

5. S. Radhakrishnan toured USA for four weeks starting from 14 March 1958.

3. To Nikita Khrushchev¹

New Delhi
10 May 1958

Dear Mr Khrushchev,

I was happy to receive through your Ambassador your letter² and I am very grateful to you for your personal interest and your good wishes. It is true that I had expressed a wish to leave my post for a few months, but I had no intention of retiring permanently or of trying to escape the responsibility that I shoulder. All I wished was to go away to some quiet place and have an opportunity not

1. JN Collection. This message was sent through Indian Ambassador in Moscow.
2. Khrushchev wrote that the people of USSR welcomed Nehru's decision to continue as Prime Minister. He added that Nehru's name was "indissolubly linked" with the successes of independent India and the Soviet people highly appreciated his contribution to the cause of strengthening world peace, and assured Nehru that in the future too he would always find "true and reliable friends in the Soviet Government".

only to rest but to think quietly about the many problems of our country and the world. These problems are, as you well know, of vital importance and, as I wish to utilise such energy as I have in serving my country and the cause of world peace, I wanted to refresh myself, and my mind especially, for these tremendous tasks. My colleagues, however, were insistent that I should not resign even for a short while, and I have submitted to their wishes.³ I hope however to go to our mountains for a few weeks.

You know how greatly we value the friendship of the Soviet Union and how grateful we are for the help that we have received from it in various ways. To you personally, I am particularly thankful for your kindness and good wishes.

I earnestly trust that the efforts that are being made for a lessening of world tension will bear fruit and that the cold war will gradually give place to an era of international cooperation and friendship.

May I request you to convey my deep gratitude to your colleagues and to accept it yourself.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See *ante*, pp. 501-513.

4. To Nikita Khrushchev¹

New Delhi
3 June 1958

Dear Mr Khrushchev,

Thank you for your personal letter of May 31st and your kind invitation to me to visit the Crimea or the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus for rest.² I am deeply grateful to you for this kind thought which I appreciate very much. I remember very well the beautiful and restful surroundings in the Crimea and I would indeed have liked to pay another and a longer visit there. Indeed, I look forward to another visit in the future to the Soviet Union to have the pleasure of meeting you and your colleagues again.

Much as I would like to go to the Crimea, I am afraid it is difficult for me to go far now or to leave my country for any length of time. You will no doubt

1. JN Collection. This message was sent through Indian Ambassador in Moscow.
2. Khrushchev wrote this letter after having come to know from press reports that Nehru had decided to take a break for rest during the summer.

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appreciate my difficulty as we have to face difficult problems not only in India, but in the domain of international affairs. We are passing through a crisis in human destiny, and I earnestly trust that the outcome of this will be a relaxation of the tensions that afflict the world and a hopeful outlook for peace for humanity.

Your friendly personal letter has given me much pleasure. I appreciate it not only for personal reasons, as I do, but also as symbolic of the friendly relations between our two countries.

With sincere regards and good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(iv) Ceylon

1. Trade Relations with Ceylon¹

I do not like the tone or the substance of the letter from our High Commissioner in Colombo.² While we must adhere to our principle, there is no need to be rough and offensive about them.

1. Note to M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 17 April 1958. File No. 4(3)-BC(c)/58, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. In a letter to M.J. Desai on 14 April 1958, India's High Commissioner in Colombo, Y.D. Gundevia, referred to the impending visit of the Ceylon Trade Delegation to India, starting from 28 April 1958. Gundevia wanted India not to concede the delegation's demand to relax India's ban on import of coconut oil and suggested that "the Ceylon Delegation must be made to return empty-handed". Gundevia also wrote about the reported recommendation of the Cabinet Sub-Committee of Ceylon to introduce legislation "to make it virtually impossible for non-nationals to obtain any employment in Ceylon, thus compelling them to ask for Indian nationality and quit the island." However, Desai wrote in his note of 17 April 1958 to Nehru that he had advised the Ministry of Commerce and Industry to be "courteous and pleasant" and to listen to the Ceylon delegation while adhering to the ban and explain to the delegation the impossibility of removing it due to India's foreign exchange position which did not admit of any relaxation.

Further, the question of our relaxing the ban is not for our High Commissioner to decide, but the Government here, that is, the Ministry of Commerce & Industry. If the Ministry of Commerce & Industry are clear that they cannot relax the ban for various reasons, we should convey this to the Ceylon Delegation when it comes. Indeed it will be for the Ministry of Commerce and Industry to do so. But they should be asked to do so in a friendly and courteous way. No reference in this connection should be made to the question of people of Indian descent in Ceylon.

I have an impression that the attitude taken up by our High Commissioner frequently is much too rough.

2. Message to N.R. Pillai¹

I have received your message this evening about the demand for Defence stores from Ceylon.² I have no doubt in my mind that we should furnish such stores as we can spare in the normal way. I do not personally see any advantage in reducing the number of rifles from 2,000 to 1,000. If our action is criticised, the number of rifles sent will not make much difference. However, in this matter the Defence Minister and you can take all factors into consideration and decide as you think fit.

2. Probably it would be better to send these stores by surface transport.

1. Manali, 13 June 1958. JN Collection.

2. Pillai mentioned about the requests received from the Ceylonese Government for the immediate supply of Defence stores to be air-lifted by Ceylonese aircraft. These requests were discussed with Defence Minister V.K. Krishna Menon, and a limited list of stores to be supplied were finalised. Pillai also pointed out that recent events in Ceylon had caused great excitement in Madras and any large supplies of arms at present would provoke public criticism and further exacerbate the situation in South India. Since India could not go back on the offer, it was decided to supply the stores but by reducing the number of rifles from 2000 to 1000. Pillai further added that the stores should be moved in the normal way by surface transport as air-lifting would be politically undesirable and therefore should be ruled out.

3. To C. Subramaniam¹

New Delhi

June 28, 1958

My dear Subramaniam,²

I am writing to you about the situation in Ceylon.³ We have all naturally been much exercised over happenings in Ceylon and I can very well understand the anxiety felt in Madras. I can also understand how this situation can be exploited by the communal elements in Madras.

Recently you have had a visit from Sunder Das who went from our High Commission in Colombo and gave you an account of what had happened. I understand also that a copy of a letter from our High Commissioner dated June 24th has been sent to your Chief Secretary.⁴ This letter gives the latest information of the position there.

You will have learnt that during all these troubles our High Commission was very much alive and alert and gave every help and protection to Indian nationals there who are mostly from South India. Our High Commissioner was in constant touch with the Prime Minister⁵ and other authorities in Colombo. He himself toured these riot-affected areas and opened camps where people could come for security and relief. These naturally dealt with Indian nationals only and it was not possible or desirable for our High Commission to deal with Ceylon nationals, even though they might be Tamils. Any such interference with Ceylon nationals would have been an unwarranted interference on our part which would have been deeply resented and objected to, and which would have put us in a most embarrassing position.

So far as Indian nationals were concerned, it appears that one of them died during these riots. There was, however, a good deal of damage done by arson and looting to shops. Strictly speaking, we are not entitled in the case of civil commotion to ask for damages that might have occurred even to our nationals. We shall however try our best to see what can be done about rehabilitating these people and bring this matter before the Ceylon Government.

1. JN Collection.
2. Finance Minister in the Government of Madras.
3. Following the decision by the Government of Ceylon to make Sinhalese the sole State language, the Federal Party, an organisation of Tamils, launched, on 29 March 1958, a campaign demanding equal status for the Tamil language. According to official records, in the ensuing strikes and violence which also involved the pro-Sinhalese groups, 159 people were killed by the armed forces and the police between 26 May and 26 June 1958.
4. M. V. Subramanian.
5. Prime Minister of Ceylon, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike.

You know, of course, that there are three categories of persons in Ceylon who have been in the past or are now connected with India. The first category is that of the Ceylon Tamils or the Jaffna Tamils who have been there for hundreds of years and who, though they look up to India naturally for cultural reasons, take no political interest in India. Indeed they have studiously kept aloof in the past over the question of the large body of estate labour which is principally Tamil. They made it clear that they were Ceylonese and not particularly interested in these other people.

The second category consists chiefly of the estate labour which has been in existence there for a long time. The so-called Indo-Ceylonese problem relates to this estate labour which, according to our reckoning, is fully entitled to Ceylon nationality. These people themselves wish it but the Ceylon Government has put many obstructions in their way and only a relatively small number have thus far succeeded in being registered as Ceylon nationals. In effect, therefore, most of them are practically Stateless persons, that is, we do not recognise them as Indian nationals and the Ceylon Government has thus far not accepted them as Ceylon nationals. That is a big question between India and Ceylon. We are always in a slight difficulty in dealing with these people. If we claim special rights and privileges for them, it is immediately said that this proves that they are Indian nationals. If once this is accepted, the Ceylon Government will no doubt push out large numbers of them from Ceylon. The representatives of the Tamil labour population in Ceylon have even asked us on several occasions not to interfere too much and leave it to them to settle with the Ceylon Government as all interference from us rather weakens their standpoint. We have thus to tread rather warily over this matter. We are naturally interested in them and want to help them. We cannot accept the Ceylon Government's proposal to take steps which would ultimately push them out in large numbers. At the same time, we cannot deal with them, for obvious reasons, as if they were our nationals.

The third category is that of Indian nationals in Ceylon. For them we are naturally responsible and in recent troubles we tried to help them to the best of our ability. Some of them wanted to come back to India and we made arrangements for this.

The real trouble in Ceylon has been between the Sinhalese elements on the one side and the Jaffna Tamils on the other, both full Ceylon nationals. I think that the Ceylon Government's attitude on the language issue there has been unreasonable and unwise and I can well understand the irritation of the Jaffna Tamils. But to some extent the Jaffna Tamils have not behaved wisely. They have deliberately thrown down the gauntlet and challenged the Sinhalese in many ways. I imagine that during these disturbances the Jaffna Tamils have suffered a good deal, though I have no precise information. As a result of this they tend now to think a little more of India. Previously they deliberately and ostensibly kept aloof.

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It is exceedingly difficult for us, and I think wholly undesirable, to interfere in the language controversy in Ceylon, whatever our views and sympathies may be. In fact, even the slightest hint at interference results in widespread propaganda against us and in fact it endangers the cause of the Tamils there. Therefore, we have kept studiously aloof in this matter. There is no other course.

Some statements made in Madras on behalf of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam to the effect that an independent Tamil land will be established and should include the Jaffna Tamils, have been made much of in Ceylon by the Sinhalese, to show how we in India were imperialists. It has vaguely been hinted at also that during these recent troubles some arms were supplied to the Jaffna Tamils from South India. So far as I know, this is completely without foundation. It is only a way of trying to find fault with others in order to have an excuse for one's own incompetence.

We have always to remember that we are in a difficult position in Ceylon. Any demands that we make so far as the Indian nationals are concerned lead to increased pressure by the Ceylon authorities for the repatriation of Indian nationals from Ceylon. Any demands that we make in regard to the estate labour, or the so-called "Stateless persons", lead to greater difficulties for them and pressure on them to become Indian nationals so that they can later be pushed outside Ceylon.

During the past year or so, Indo-Ceylonese relations have been slightly better than previously, although we are nowhere near solution of our problems. These moderately better relations have been due chiefly to the present Prime Minister, Bandaranaike, who is trying to follow a broad policy internationally in line with ours. As a result of this, the tension there over the Indo-Ceylonese question has been somewhat less. So far as we are concerned, we have avoided bringing pressure to settle the question immediately because the result of that was no settlement and greater hardship on the "Stateless persons". In a sense, it is a little better for time to elapse because every lapse of time makes it more and more difficult for the Ceylon Government to deal with these so-called Stateless persons as aliens. This is gradually being recognised. In other words, the question moves slowly towards some kind of a solution. The real difficulty, of course, has been that Ceylon, in common with other countries, is suffering from economic depression and growing unemployment and every Indian is supposed to take the bread out of the mouth of the Ceylonese.

I have written to you at some length explaining the position in Ceylon to assure you that we are very much alive to our responsibilities there and our High Commissioner, if anything, errs on the side of throwing his weight about too much.⁶ Sometimes this pays but not always.

6. See also *ante*, pp. 638-639.

I think that, insofar as the law and order situation is concerned, conditions in Ceylon are relatively calm now and getting back to normality. But the damage done remains and bitterness created between the Sinhalese and the Jaffna Tamils will take a long time to be removed. Naturally all this affects us in various ways and affects the other populations of Indian descent in Ceylon. But, broadly speaking, the estate labour did not get too much involved in these troubles which were as well. We have to tread rather carefully so that all this internal bitterness is not turned against India. Some people are trying to do that in Ceylon. But on the whole I believe they have not succeeded. In the final analysis, we cannot compel the Ceylon Government to do anything against its will. We cannot bring trade or economic pressures on them as they react against us. Any action that we take injures the people of Indian descent in Ceylon. In effect, Ceylon has a large number of hostages and this puts us in a weak position to deal with them. The very smallness of the country makes it difficult for us to take up too strong a line. If we do so, they fall more and more into the lap of other countries who might exploit them to our disadvantage.

I hope you will show this letter to Kamaraj⁷ and to your other colleagues. We shall keep you informed of developments in Ceylon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Chief Minister of Madras State.

4. Responsibility of the Ministry of External Affairs¹

I have written a long letter to the Finance Minister of the Madras Government,² copy enclosed. This is in effect an answer to the letter we expect from them asking us to protest, etc. When that other letter comes, you can refer them to my letter, in addition to answering any point raised in their letter.

I agree with you that it will not be desirable for our High Commissioner in Ceylon to deal directly with the Madras Government and he should not send copies of his reports to them. But he might be asked to send extra copies of his reports to you. If you think it desirable, you can forward that copy to the Madras Government or you can send a summary. That is to say, there should be no direct contacts between our High Commissioner in Ceylon and the Madras

1. Note to M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 28 June 1958.
JN Collection.
2. See the preceding item.

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Government. It is our Ministry that should deal with the Madras Government. It will be desirable for you to send them either copies of our High Commissioner's reports or summaries of them so that they may feel that they are being kept fully informed.

Our High Commissioner also suggests sending copies of his reports to the Kerala Government. It is true that there are a fair number of Malayalee people in Ceylon. But I certainly do not think it desirable for him to send copies of his reports to Kerala. You may, whenever you consider this desirable, send a copy of his report to the Kerala Government, or a summary of it.

5. To T. Ganapathy¹

New Delhi
28th June, 1958

Dear Shri Ganapathy,²

Your letter of the 11th June addressed to the Home Minister has been forwarded to me. This refers to the problem of relief to Indians in Ceylon.

About the recent troubles in Ceylon, our High Commissioner has been very much alive to the problem of protecting Indian nationals. In fact, a camp was opened for this purpose and hundreds of Indian nationals came there for some time. Some of them have returned to India while others preferred to remain in Ceylon and carry on their business there.

The question of compensation for losses incurred is entirely one for the Ceylon Government to determine. The Government of India cannot possibly undertake this burden and responsibility.

The Government of India has been in touch with the Ceylon Government in the matter of ensuring safety for our nationals there. All that the Government of India can do is to bring these matters to the notice of the Ceylon Government and to request them to give adequate protection wherever needed. We cannot ask for guarantees of every kind.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. (1918-1987); advocate; Member, District Congress Committee, 1946 and 1955; Member, District Board, 1948-53; Member, TNCC, 1949-52; Member, Madras Legislative Assembly, 1952-57; Secretary, Congress Legislature Party, Madras State, 1954-57; Congress Member of Lok Sabha from Tiruchendur, Madras State, 1957-62; took active interest in the temple-entry movement, inter-caste marriages, widow remarriage and the removal of untouchability.

(v) Vietnam

1. Message to Pham Van Dong¹

You were good enough to send me a personal letter through our Consul-General in Hanoi² on the subject of allowing credit under the Geneva Agreement on Vietnam for war material exported by the French which was under consideration of Vietnam International Commission.³ I received a telegraphic summary of the contents of the letter on 23rd April and your letter reached me on 1st May.⁴

2. We have considered the question in detail in the light of your Government's view and the provisions of the Geneva Agreement on Vietnam and sent necessary instructions to our Delegate on the Vietnam Commission.⁵

3. Your Consul General in New Delhi handed over on 15th May a further message from you suggesting that the discussion of this matter in the Commission be postponed to allow time for further study. I am sorry it was not possible to intervene at this late stage. I understand that this matter was discussed by the Commission on the 15th and certain decisions have been arrived at. We have not got the details of these decisions yet.

4. I am going on a brief holiday within a couple of days. I will send a more detailed letter when I return from my holiday but, meanwhile, I am sending this message to assure you that we have done what we could to meet your wishes consistently within the provisions of the Geneva Agreement on Vietnam.

1. New Delhi, 18 May 1958. File No. 1(5)-AAIC/58, MEA. Also available in JN Collection. Pham Van Dong was the Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, i.e., North Vietnam.
2. M.P. Mathur.
3. Three International Commissions for Supervision and Control (ICSC) for Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia were set up with India as Chairman under the Geneva Agreements on 21 July 1954.
4. Protesting against the draft proposal submitted to the International Commission for Supervision and Control in Vietnam by the Canadian delegate, Pham Van Dong wrote to Nehru that the move to authorise the South Vietnam Administration to "replace the arms and war material taken out from Vietnam by the French Expeditionary Corps" posed "a very serious problem" and that it was "not only contrary to the spirit and letter of the Geneva Agreement" but "also creates further opportunity for foreign countries to increase intervention in South Vietnam."
5. T.N. Kaul, Chairman, International Commission for Supervision and Control, Vietnam, at this time.

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2. Message to Chou En-lai¹

You were good enough to send me a message² through your Ambassador in New Delhi³ in connection with the question of allowing credit under the Geneva Agreement on Vietnam for war material exported by the French which was under consideration of the Vietnam International Commission. The Ambassador gave me your message on 22nd April and discussed the question on 25th April with our Commonwealth Secretary. Since then your Chargé d'affaires in Delhi has had a further discussion on this subject with the Commonwealth Secretary on 1st May.

2. We considered the question in detail in the light of your Government's views and the provisions of the Geneva Agreement on Vietnam and sent necessary instructions to our delegate on the Vietnam Commission. I understand that this question was discussed by the Commission on 15th May and certain decisions have been arrived at. We have not got the full details yet.

3. I am leaving for a brief holiday within the next couple of days. I will send a more detailed letter when I return from my holiday but, meanwhile, I am sending this message to assure you that we have done what we could to meet your wishes consistently with the provisions of the Geneva Agreement on Vietnam.

1. New Delhi, 18 May 1958. JN Collection.

2. In a message sent on 22 April 1958, Chou En-lai informed Nehru that the representative of Canada on the International Commission in Vietnam had put forward a proposal that the Commission be asked to take a decision to the effect that South Vietnam be allowed to introduce American arms to "replace" the arms shipped away by the French Expeditionary Force during their withdrawal from Vietnam. "The Government of China" Chou En-lai added, "holds that the proposal put forward by the Canadian representative contravenes the Geneva Agreement and is obviously contrived by the USA behind the scenes. Canada is attempting to take advantage of the passing of this resolution by the International Commission so as to legalise the armament of South Vietnam by the USA." Chou En-lai also urged India, the Chairman of the International Commission in Vietnam, to take into account the opinion of the Government of China in the matter, otherwise the USA's expanding military force in Vietnam would have a bad effect on peace in Indo-China and Asia.

3. Pan Tzu-li.

3. Message to Pham Van Dong¹

Thank you for your letter of 14th June about the decision taken by the International Commission in Vietnam on the question of allowing the South Vietnam authorities to replace the war material exported by the French Union forces from Vietnam.²

2. As I mentioned to you in my earlier message of 18th May, we had carefully considered the question in detail and instructed our delegate on the Vietnam Commission to consider carefully the views advanced by your Government and the provisions of the Geneva Agreement on Vietnam in dealing with this question. Apart from the various technical questions involved, we have been anxious to see that the Republic of Vietnam accept their rights and obligations under the Geneva Agreement. We felt that the denial, to the Republic of Vietnam, of facilities that the French would have been entitled to as signatories to the Agreement, would create a serious situation, so far as the working of the Geneva Agreement on Vietnam is concerned.

3. You are probably aware that the Chairman of the Vietnam Commission has, in view of the importance of the subject, forwarded the Commission's decision in this matter, and the views of the three delegations on which this decision was based, to the Co-Chairmen for their information.

4. I see from your letter that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have requested the Co-Chairmen³ to reconsider the decision of the International Commission on this question. We are, in accordance with the request made in your letter, asking our delegate on the Vietnam Commission to urge postponement of the implementation of the Commission's decision in this matter for about a month, so that the Commission will have the benefit of the views of the Co-Chairmen on this question before further steps are taken to implement the Commission's decision.

1. New Delhi, 27 June 1958. File No. 1(5)-AAIC/58, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Pham Van Dong had expressed deep concern over the ICSC resolution allowing the South Vietnam administration to replace the armaments and war materials taken away by the French Union Forces during their withdrawal from South Vietnam. He argued that the resolution violated the Geneva Agreements, and feared that "new arms and war materials could be introduced again into Vietnam under the pretext of replacing those taken away by them (the French troops)." He added that the Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam were "nurturing deep aspirations for peace and for an early reunification of their Fatherland", but such a situation would "increase the danger threatening the consolidation of peace and achievement of national reunification of the Vietnamese people and security of the peoples in South East Asia."
3. UK and USSR were the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference.

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(vi) Laos

1. To Pham Van Dong¹

New Delhi
June 5, 1958

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your message of 31st May in connection with the future of the International Commission in Laos.

2. As Your Excellency is aware, the Prime Minister of the Royal Government of Laos² sent a letter to the Chairman of the International Commission in Laos³ on 22nd March, requesting him to bring to the notice of the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference the decision of the Royal Government of Laos that the International Commission in Laos should be wound up with effect from the date of the supplementary elections, that is, 4th May 1958,⁴ as these elections will constitute the last act in the implementation of the Geneva Agreement of 20th July 1954 on the cessation of hostilities in Laos.

3. This communication was transmitted by the Commission to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference with a request to indicate their views thereon to the Supervisory Governments on the Commission, namely, Canada, India and Poland.

4. The UK Co-Chairman agreed with the view of the Laotian Government that, with the holding of supplementary elections on May 4th, the political settlement envisaged under the Geneva Agreement will have been achieved and that the dissolution of the Commission should thereafter take effect immediately in accordance with the express wishes of the Laotian Government. The USSR Co-Chairman, however, took the view that further activities of the International Commission in Laos must continue, though it seemed reasonable to reduce the activities of the Commission in the light of the new circumstances.

5. It is our view that the provisions of the Geneva Agreement on Laos, particularly the provisions of Article 39, do not permit complete winding up of

1. JN Collection.

2. Souvanna Phouma.

3. Samar Sen.

4. Supplementary elections were held to fill the 21 seats in Laotian National Assembly.

the activities of the Laos Commission independently of the progress of political settlement in Cambodia and Vietnam.⁵

6. This matter came up for discussion in the Laos Commission on a resolution moved by the Canadian delegation that the Commission should be wound up in accordance with the request made by the Royal Government of Laos. During the discussion in the Commission on 23rd May, our delegate placed before his colleagues the following alternative suggestions regarding the future of the Laos Commission and requested his colleagues to arrive at a unanimous decision on one of the two alternatives:

- 1) The strength of Laos Commission be reduced to a group of three delegates one from each supervisory country and only a limited staff of six more persons allowed to these three delegations, the total personnel of the Laos Commission being thus reduced to nine, or
- 2) The Supervisory Governments may be asked to nominate one of their personnel at present working in the Vietnam Commission as delegate for the Laos Commission so that these delegates will work as International Commission for Laos. These delegates will when required visit Laos and deal with any items of work that may require disposal by the International Commission for Laos under the Geneva Agreements on Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam.

No unanimous decision was arrived at in the meeting of the Commission on 23rd May and therefore, as desired by the Commission, the proceedings of the meeting have been reported to the Co-Chairmen.

7. We have since heard that the USSR Co-Chairman has proposed to the UK Co-Chairman that the question of the future of the Laos Commission be discussed between the two Co-Chairmen.

8. We are doing our best to maintain the effective working of the Geneva Agreements and the Commissions in the interest of peace in Indo-China and we hope that one of our compromise suggestions will be accepted by all concerned.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Article 39 of the 'Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Laos', signed on 21 July 1954, read: "The International Commission for Supervision and Control in Laos may, after consultation with the International Commissions in Cambodia and Vietnam, and having regard to the development of the situation in Cambodia and Vietnam, progressively reduce its activities. Such a decision must be adopted unanimously."

(vii) Hungary

1. Execution of Imre Nagy¹

I have just received your message on the subject of the execution of Imre Nagy and others in Budapest.²

2. I have been greatly distressed by these executions and even more so the manner in which this was done.³ Apart from the fact of execution, this indicates even more than some earlier developments a certain change in Soviet and Chinese policies, which means rigidity and to some extent a reversion to older methods which we thought had been given up. All this tends to take us further away from any relaxation of world tension or move towards world peace.

3. While this is my clear opinion, it will have to be considered in what form and on what occasion I should express it. I agree with you that we need not make any governmental pronouncement on this subject, at this stage at least.

4. You might however send messages to our Missions in Budapest, Belgrade, Cairo and Moscow as well as Peking saying that we have been much distressed to learn of these executions and the manner they were brought about. But we do not propose to issue any Government pronouncement on this subject, for the present at least. The Prime Minister is away. On his return he will no doubt refer to this on a suitable occasion.⁴ You may add that leading newspapers in India have condemned this business in strong terms and in this matter they represent Indian opinion.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, Manali, 20 June 1958. JN Collection.
2. S. Dutt wrote to Nehru on 20 June about the developments in Hungary following the executions of Imre Nagy, the Prime Minister of Hungary at the time of the Hungarian uprising, and his supporters in Budapest on 16 June 1958. He also wanted to know, considering the way these had "shocked Hungarian public opinion", how the Government of India should react to these developments, though he felt that it was not for the Indian Government "to criticise the execution of Nagy in public." He also wrote that Chinese newspapers had hailed the execution of Nagy and his supporters as "glad tidings" and leading Indian newspapers had "published critical and condemnatory articles."
3. Imre Nagy and his associates were secretly tried, found guilty, sentenced to death and hanged. Their trial and execution were made public only after the sentence was carried out. They were buried in the prison yard where the executions were carried out.
4. On his return from Manali on 23 June 1958, Nehru told newsmen at the Palam airport that the execution of Imre Nagy, the former Hungarian Prime Minister, was "most distressing news both in itself and in its possible consequences."

2. The Credentials of Hungarian Delegates to the ILO Conference¹

Your message forwarding telegram from Venkataraman from Geneva.² I agree with you that Nagy execution should not be allowed to interfere with our previous decision about our voting for the credentials of the Hungarian delegates. It would be illogical for us to oppose or to abstain when we are accepting delegates from other East European countries. The Nagy execution, deplorable as it is, has no bearing on this issue.

2. Therefore, our Government's delegates should vote in favour of the credentials of Hungarian representatives. They should not make any statement or speech on the occasion. But they may privately state to other delegates, if asked on the subject, that they regret deeply the Nagy execution but they feel that this matter should be dealt with separately and not allowed to confuse the issue of delegates to ILO Conference which stands on a separate footing. Delegates of employers and workers from India should be left free to do what they like.

3. You might explain to Venkataraman that on delegates issue position is same of all East European countries and we must be logical in this matter. As regards the Nagy execution, Prime Minister who is away at present may express himself on return. This is for his private information.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, Manali, 21 June 1958. JN Collection.
2. In his telegram, R. Venkataraman, the Industry and Labour Minister in the Madras Government and leader of the Indian delegation to the ILO Conference, sought Nehru's advice on the stand to be taken by India on the issue of the credentials of the employers and workers of Hungary at the ILO Conference against the background of Nagy's execution. He added that at the ILO Conference in June 1957, the Indian delegation had abstained from voting on the issue of the credentials of Hungarian employers and workers.

3. To Shriman Narayan¹

New Delhi
June 23, 1958

My dear Shriman,²

Mukul Mukherjee³ has sent me a telegram she has received from Norman Thomas, the Socialist leader of the United States. I am returning this to you.

1. JN Collection.
2. General Secretary, All India Congress Committee.
3. Associated with the Foreign Affairs Cell of the AICC.

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I do not think it will be desirable for us to associate ourselves with the declaration or appeal which Norman Thomas and others are issuing.⁴ Whatever we have to say we should say from our point of view. To associate ourselves with others will drag us into embarrassing positions and will make us responsible for many things of which we do not approve.

Apart from this, it is not clear to me what the United Nations can do about it. Anyhow there is a UN Committee which is actually dealing with this matter.⁵

You may, if you like, wait for Dhebarbhai's⁶ return before sending an answer so that he might be consulted. My own suggestion is that an answer on the following lines be sent:

Thank you for your telegram. The news of the execution of Imre Nagy and others has been received in India with a sense of shock and great distress to which public expression has been given. The National Congress, even more than other organisations, is committed to peaceful methods and considers such violent methods in politics particularly objectionable and harmful. It is not clear to us however what a special session of the United Nations can do in this matter at present, more especially when a UN committee is considering it already. We would prefer to express our views on dissociation with violent methods in our own way. This will be more effective in keeping with our usual practice.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Norman Thomas of the Institute of International Labor Research, Inc., New York, and 80 other signatories had sent a letter dated 27 June 1958 to the UN Special Committee on the problem of Hungary suggesting that under Article XX of the Charter, the General Assembly should be called to a Special Session "to consider the Hungarian situation in the light of the execution after secret trial of Imre Nagy and his associates."
5. The UN Special Committee on Hungary was set up on 10 January 1957 to provide the General Assembly and all the members of the United Nations "the fullest and best available information regarding the situation created by the intervention of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, through its use of armed forces and other means, in the internal affairs of Hungary, as well as regarding developments relating to the recommendations of the Assembly on this subject."
6. U.N. Dhebar, the Congress President.

4. To Herbert V. Evatt¹

New Delhi
June 27, 1958

My dear Dr Evatt,²

Your telegram of June 20th reached me some days ago.³ I was away from Delhi on a brief holiday in the Himalayas. On my return, I saw your telegram.

The news of the execution of Imre Nagy and some of his colleagues came as a shock to us in India and I was deeply distressed by it. The fact and the circumstances of the execution were distressing enough. Equally distressing were the possible consequences that might flow from it and possibility of an aggravation of the present international tensions. Newspapers in India and the public generally here have also been pained by these executions and have expressed their views in regard to them in strong language.

I earnestly trust that there will be no further acts of this kind.

I entirely agree with you that we should do all we can to help in keeping the peace and to facilitate high-level talks for that purpose. There is no hope for the world unless we get out of this rut of violence, hatred and fear. If we do not do so, then we inevitably drift towards a major collision with all its terrible consequences. Insofar as we are concerned, we shall certainly try our utmost to help in this. But I realise that our influence in this matter is not very great. We try at any rate to keep this major objective in view and work to that end.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Leader of the Labour Party in Parliament and Leader of the Opposition in Australia.
3. Registering the protest of the Australian Labour Movement over the execution of Nagy, Evatt requested Nehru to speak through India's diplomatic representatives at Budapest and Moscow "as well as by personal communication to the Governments of the countries involved in the latest outrage against the human spirit."

5. To K.P.S. Menon¹

New Delhi
28th June 1958

My dear K.P.S.,²

As you must know, the recent execution of Nagy and some of his colleagues in Budapest has come as a great shock to us here. The fact of the execution itself was really bad, but the whole surrounding circumstances fill one with dismay. I

1. JN Collection.
2. Indian Ambassador in Moscow, concurrently accredited to Hungary as Minister and to Poland as Ambassador.

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am afraid that it will be very difficult for the Soviet Government to outlive this black mark. For them to say that their hands were forced by the Hungarian Government in this matter has not convinced anyone. For many years past, the Soviet Government have been gradually building up what might be called a good reputation, anxious for peace and cooperation with others. The terrible suppression of the Hungarian uprising in 1956 came very much in the way of this good reputation and yet it could be understood to some extent, even though it could not be defended. In a moment of deep crisis, individuals and countries are apt to become rather panicky, but even this excuse cannot be put out for the execution of Imre Nagy. That was a cold-blooded act done no doubt after full consideration. I cannot imagine that the Soviet leaders did not realise what the reactions of such an act would be on others. Knowing this, they showed an amazing callousness to such reactions.

The whole picture is disturbing in the extreme. The attitude of China is even worse.³ I am at a complete loss to understand why these amazingly foolish steps should have been taken by people who do not act unthinkingly or in a hurry. Whether internal conditions were responsible for these acts I do not know. Already there is much greater rigidity in China and you have pointed out the same trend in Russia. China's attitude to India has also somewhat stiffened in some small matters.

These tragic developments are peculiarly distressing because they have occurred at a moment in world history when there was some faint hope of an easing of the tension as a result of high-level conferences. To say that it is the fault of Western countries that such a summit conference has not already taken place is only a small part of the truth. It has undoubtedly been the fault of Western countries to some extent. But Soviet hands are not of a lily white complexion. But everything will be forgotten after the recent action, which almost puts an end to the idea of real peace in our generation.

The reluctance of the Soviet Government to send its experts to the technical conference at Geneva beginning early next week⁴ also appears to me to be odd and illogical. It astonishes me how a good position has been completely spoiled by a succession of foolish acts. Many people who believed in the bona fides of the Soviet Union for peace rather doubt them now. Because we restrain ourselves in our utterances, it should not be thought that we do not feel strongly on these subjects. All our moral sense has been deeply shocked.

I am writing to you so that you may appreciate how we are feeling about all this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See *ante*, p. 650.

4. The Conference of Experts on nuclear test ban was held in Geneva from 1 July to 21 August 1958.

(viii) China and Tibet**1. Inaccurate Maps Issued by the Chinese Government¹**

I think that our High Commission in London should certainly take up this matter with the Chinese Embassy. We might also refer the matter here in Delhi to the Chinese Embassy and express our regret at such maps being issued on behalf of the Chinese Government.

On the whole, I am inclined to think that we need not at this stage ask our Embassy in Peking to take up this matter. Thus, our present approach will not be too formal and at the same time the Chinese Government will know what we feel about the issue of such maps.

I have a vague idea that one or two of the border issues are going to be discussed soon here with the Chinese representatives. When such a discussion takes place, we might draw their attention to the inaccuracy of their maps generally.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 8 April 1958. JN Collection.

2. Trade with Tibet¹

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Jawaharlal Nehru: So far as I know, there are no Chinese trade interests.² It is Chinese Government's. If he is referring to the Chinese Government policy, it is a different matter. There are no private Chinese trade interests that interfere. It

1. Extracts from reply to questions in the Lok Sabha, 22 April 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XV, cols. 10788-10790.
2. Hem Barua, PSP Member of the Lok Sabha from Gauhati, Assam, had asked whether a delegation of traders representing trans-Himalayan trade interests had met Nehru to discuss the situation arising out of the proposed closure of trade with western Tibet. Replying to it, the Parliamentary Secretary to Nehru, Sadath Ali Khan, confirmed the meeting and informed the House that the delegation had submitted a number of demands. Hem Barua enquired about the steps taken by the Government to keep the Indo-Tibetan trade alive as it was facing acute competition from Chinese trade interests.

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is true that the Chinese Government's trade policy is not the same as it used to be on the border and that has affected our people. There is no question of our taking any steps about it, except that this matter is discussed by our representatives on the border on this side or that side. And possibly, the situation might be better later on; I cannot say, because conditions have changed so much in Tibet.

But the deputation that came to me did not even raise this question; they hardly referred to it. They were concerned naturally with the general conditions all along this border and they wanted help in improvement. They presented a memorandum with, I think, 16 demands, some of them important, some less important and some rather trivial. The last demand, I think, was that when they come for interviews to Delhi, Ministers should give them priority and give them interviews immediately. Of course, that is a justifiable thing to say, because they come from far, but it rather took away from the balance of the demands.

I entirely sympathise with them, if I may say so, about these areas which are roughly in three States, namely Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab. The Punjab area, of course, is chiefly Lahaul and Spiti, above the Kulu Valley. It has been hopelessly neglected in the past, so have many of these areas. The very first thing is communications, to get at them, to reach them and to open them out. Roads have been built, and more are being built by the various State Governments and by the Central Government. But still the programme is a tremendous one, and roads in these mountain areas are difficult and expensive.

T. Sanganna:³ May I know whether these petty traders are nomadic people having no permanent avocation to lead their lives, and if so, whether Government contemplate to take any firm measures for their permanent living?

JN: They are certainly not nomadic people. I do not know how this idea has entered the honourable Member's head, and what firm measures he wants us to take. Suppose they are nomadic; he wants us to take firm measures to make them less nomadic. I do not understand it at all. I like nomadic people. They are sometimes more advanced than those who are fixed, who sit in the slum.

Bhakt Darshan:⁴ The Prime Minister has now stated that they had submitted 16 demands. May I know the important demands among them and what do they deal with?⁵

3. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Koraput, Orissa.
4. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Garhwal, Uttar Pradesh.
5. This question was asked in Hindi.

JN: It is a long list, as I said. The first is, I think, that a full socio-economic survey should be made of all these mountain regions. It is a very good demand, no doubt. In fact, something of that kind has been done in the last two or three years and it is still being done, though not in a very integrated way, because the area is a vast area. One must realise that this border area, that is, the Himalayan border is 2,000 miles long, apart from several hundred miles' breadth. That is one thing. But, I think, the first thing is road, that is, communications. Whatever we undertake, we can undertake with greater facility with roads than without roads. As a matter of fact, the UP Government has taken some action in this regard.

The other demands are about services, about being sent for education to foreign countries, about getting scholarships, about being declared Scheduled Castes so that they may get representation or reservation of seats. These are the types of demands that they have made.

H.N. Mukerjee:⁶ In view of a report in the papers that the Prime Minister is likely to have a holiday in Tibet,⁷ can we expect that whatever difficulties there are would be smoothed over in the course of whatever discussions he might have there?

JN: I do not think that question arises. But whenever possible, it is my intention to go to Lahaul and Spiti.

Hem Barua: May I know whether one of their demands is that there should be a thorough economic survey of the trans-Himalayan regions and also that in case of a complete breakdown of Indo-Tibetan trade, there should be an alternative source of livelihood for these people?

JN: That is just the point that has been repeatedly examined. The honourable Member talks about a survey. Perhaps, they have not got much.....

Hem Barua: That is what has been stated.

JN: I know. Perhaps, they do not realise that movement is terribly difficult there. To go there, it may take a month to go to places which are relatively near, at a distance of 60 or 70 miles or less, it may take a month. There are hundreds and hundreds of miles to be surveyed.

Therefore, the first thing is communication. As a matter of fact, we have a fairly long report from UP about the steps they have taken in regard to horticulture

6. CPI Member of the Lok Sabha from Calcutta Central, West Bengal.

7. On his way to Bhutan from Gangtok in Sikkim, Nehru arrived at the Tibetan Plateau on 18 September 1958. And on his way back from Bhutan, Nehru reached Tibet on 29 September. He returned to Delhi on 2 October 1958.

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and small industries growing up and community schemes. All this kind of thing is being done, but the problem is a big one and can be tackled only in a big way when communications are developed.

Hem Raj:⁸ Lahaul people traded pashmina with Tibet earlier, but it has nearly stopped these days. May I know if there is a way to continue this trade?

Speaker:⁹ How can answers to every question be given separately?

JN: I cannot answer this without enquiring about the background of the whole issue.¹⁰

Mahavir Tyagi:¹¹ May I know how the balance of trade with Tibet is squared up, and through what agencies?

JN: The balance? The balance being, according to the honourable Member, in our favour or against us?

Tyagi: Whether in favour or against, and what is the agency through which we square up our balances from year to year?

JN: The balance of trade with Tibet is normally very much in our favour, because goods from India go to Tibet. India is the main supply region for Tibet for all kinds of odd goods, consumer goods. That is partly settled, or used to be partly settled, by some special things, like wool and such like things coming, and partly in solid currencies.

N.G. Ranga:¹² In currencies?

JN: True; it is so; it is foreign exchange.

8. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Kangra, Punjab.

9. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

10. Hemraj's question, Speaker's intervention and Nehru's answer were in Hindi.

11. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Dehra Dun, Uttar Pradesh.

12. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Tenali, Andhra Pradesh.

3. Proposed Visit to Tibet¹

The other day there was a telegram from Peking about the proposed visit to Tibet. It was stated there, I think, that owing to weather conditions, the Chinese Prime Minister² could not visit Tibet before the second half of April.

I think that you might inform our Embassy in Peking that while I shall try my best to adjust my programme to the Chinese PM's programme in regard to the visit to Tibet, I have to be here in Delhi early in October. There is a big International Conference of the World Bank in Delhi beginning on the 5th October.³ This is a very big affair and over a thousand delegates are coming from all over the world. These include some eminent personalities whom I have to meet. Indeed I have to inaugurate this conference. Therefore, I have, in any event, to be in Delhi by that time.

I would not mind going to Tibet about the middle of September so as to be able to come back by the end of September, although this will interfere with our sessions of Parliament.

This information is to be conveyed to our Embassy merely for them to keep it in mind when the question of a date for the visit to Tibet arises.

Air Marshal Mukherjee⁴ told me yesterday that he now intended taking me to Lhasa by the Viscount as he thought this was a safer and more convenient method. But, for this purpose, he will have to make a trial flight by Viscount to Lhasa and he intended doing this in the near future. Probably he will write to you about it as we shall have to get the permission of the Chinese Government for this.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 13 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. Chou En-lai was the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China till his death in 1976.
3. The thirteenth annual joint session of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the International Finance Corporation was held in New Delhi from 6 to 10 October 1958.
4. Subroto Mukherjee.

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4. To Humayun Kabir¹

New Delhi
June 10, 1958

My dear Humayun,²

Your letter of the 10th June about my taking some Buddha relics to Tibet when I go there. To begin with, my going to Tibet is by no means certain. Secondly, I can only take any relic or something after reference to the Chinese Government. We have to be very careful about these matters. I do not propose to make any reference to the Chinese Government at this stage. I must wait till we are certain of my going there.

Therefore, it will be rather premature for you to write to the Mahabodhi Society or to the Maharaja of Sikkim³ on this subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of State for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.
3. Tashi Namgyal.

5. Presentation of a Buddha Relic¹

The Mahabodhi Society of India² has decided to present a sacred Buddha relic to the Dalai Lama³ and they want me to take this with me when I go to Tibet. In fact, it is my proposed visit to Tibet that has made them think on these lines. They have asked me if they should send a formal letter making the offer, and if so to whom they should send it. I wrote to them that my going to Tibet itself was not quite certain yet and it will be better, therefore, to wait for the present before taking any other step.

2. On thinking again about this matter, I feel that we should let the Chinese Government know about this and then watch their reactions. You will remember

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, Manali, 17 June 1958. JN Collection.
2. The Mahabodhi Society of India was established in Calcutta in 1892 by the Ceylonese Buddhist leader Dharmapala Angarika.
3. Recognised as the fourteenth incarnation; temporal and spiritual leader of Tibet.

that when Premier Chou En-lai came here a year and a half ago,⁴ he brought some of the relics of Hieun Tsang.⁵ He gave them over to the Dalai Lama who presented them to me at Nalanda. They are being kept at Nalanda.⁶ I do not quite remember who I gave them to. Did I give them to the Bihar Government on the understanding that they will keep them at Nalanda or did I give them to some museum at Nalanda?⁷ Did the Mahabodhi Society of India come into the picture then?

3. I should like to know all the facts of this last episode. Then, keeping these in view, I should like you to send a message to our Embassy in Peking telling them of the desire of the Mahabodhi Society of India to present a sacred Buddha relic to the Dalai Lama through me when I go there. A Buddha relic of course is the most precious thing that a Buddhist could give or receive.

4. We need not ask the Chinese Government's permission about this matter. It would be better to request them to inform the Dalai Lama of this wish of the Mahabodhi Society of India.

5. After that, privately we might ourselves inform the Dalai Lama. But I should not like to send any message to the Dalai Lama till I have taken steps to inform him through the Chinese Government.

4. Between 28 November 1956 and 30 January 1957, Chou En-lai was in India from 28 November to 9 December 1956; from 30 December 1956 to 1 January 1957; on 24 and 25 January; and on 30 January he reached Santiniketan via Calcutta.
5. (c. 602-664 A.D.); Chinese Buddhist scholar and traveller, who spent fourteen years in India from 630-644 A. D.
6. On 12 January 1957, Nehru received the relics of Hieun Tsang from the Dalai Lama in the premises of Nava Nalanda Mahavihara, situated in the valley of Rajgir Hills, a mile away from the ruins of the Nalanda University. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 36, pp. 185-186.
7. The casket containing the relics had been deposited in the little museum at Nalanda. Nehru suggested that the casket should be kept in the Patna Museum. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 36, p. 186.

6. To Humayun Kabir¹

New Delhi
26th June 1958

My dear Humayun,

There has been for some time past a proposal to send some Indian scholars to Tibet to visit some monasteries there with a view to examining manuscripts

1. JN Collection.

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there and taking copies. I have seen a note in which it was mentioned that four such scholars should go carrying with them four servants, apart from an interpreter and some technical personnel. Several monasteries were mentioned.

The Chinese Government informed us that in some monasteries there were no particular manuscripts. But they were agreeable to our men visiting some monasteries and staying there for some time.

The question has arisen whether in the present circumstances we should pursue this idea. Present circumstances mean certain developments on the international scene which have resulted in making the Chinese attitude more rigid than it was previously. Also there is the question of our saving money, especially foreign exchange.

I must say that I was surprised to see the estimate for these scholars to go to Tibet. Why each one of them should carry a servant is more than I can understand. I have never heard of scholars going in this way, carrying servants with them. I can understand perhaps one man accompanying them to help them.

I am inclined to think that a smaller number should go this year and should concentrate on one of the principal monasteries. Thus, two scholars can go. Indeed, one would at present be enough. I should like this to be done quietly without fuss and without publicity. We have to move rather cautiously in this matter of Tibet, as Indian intentions are suspect in China.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ix) Indonesia

1. Military Rebellion in Indonesia¹

I agree with you that I need not go out of my way to make a public statement now. If an occasion offers itself in the future, I might repeat what I had said previously. You might point out to our Ambassador in Djakarta² that on more

1. Note to M. J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 4 May 1958.
JN Collection.

2. G. Parthasarathi.

than one occasion previously, I had said that any foreign intervention in Indonesia would be undesirable and would create complications.³

2. The question of supplying aircraft and armaments was getting more and more complicated and difficult. I think that it will not be desirable to sell Liberator bombers. We have supplied small arms previously and we might perhaps do this again.

3. The rebel military leaders of Indonesia had given an ultimatum to the Government on 10 February 1958 to dissolve the Cabinet. On 15 February, they proclaimed a provisional government and established control over Central and North Sumatra. On 4 April, President Soekarno alleged that the rebels were being supported by some Western countries and that they were being used as "tools by anti-communists". The rebellion was, however, suppressed by the government by 22 April.

2. Situation in Indonesia¹

This afternoon I spoke at a meeting of the All India Organisation of Industrial Employers. This was their Silver Jubilee session.

In the course of my address, I referred to the situation in Indonesia and said that it was a matter of deep concern to us that a country with which we had close and friendly relations, was having internal difficulties and conflicts.² Our sympathies went out to the people of Indonesia and we hoped that these difficulties would end soon. We hoped also that there would be no interference from outside as such interference always led to greater complications. There had been some reports of external interference which had caused us concern.

I said something to this effect. I do not know how it would be reported tomorrow in the papers. If the report is fairly accurate, you might send that part of it by telegram to our Embassy in Djakarta and ask them to show this to the Foreign Minister³ there.

1. Note to M. J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 6 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. For Nehru's reference to Indonesia in his speech at the All India Organisation of Industrial Employers meeting in New Delhi, see *ante*, pp. 141-142.
3. Dr Subandrio.

3. Message to Djuanda Kartawidjaja¹

Your Ambassador in New Delhi² has conveyed to me your message. I am grateful to you for it. We have been closely and anxiously following developments in Indonesia. I need not tell you how our good wishes go out to your Government and to the people of Indonesia in these internal troubles and our hopes that normal conditions will soon be restored.

We have been clearly of opinion that in this internal matter there should be no foreign interference of any kind. That can only lead, as you have said, to dangerous international complications which might endanger peace in Asia. I have repeatedly made public statements to this effect in Parliament and outside. We have also indicated our views clearly on the diplomatic level to other countries.

I send you my regards and good wishes,

Jawaharlal Nehru

1. New Delhi, 11 May 1958. JN Collection. This telegraphic message was sent through G. Parthasarathi, Indian Ambassador in Djakarta.

Djuanda Kartawidjaja (1911-1963); Indonesian Prime Minister under President Soekarno.

2. R.H. Abdul Kadar.

(x) Nepal

1. To Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah¹

New Delhi
10th April 1958

My dear friend,²

Thank you for your letter of March 31 which was delivered to me by our Ambassador, Shri Bhagwan Sahay, on the 3rd April. It was good of Your Majesty

1. JN Collection.
2. King of Nepal.

to write to me and tell me of various developments. I have also had several talks with Shri Bhagwan Sahay about conditions in Nepal.³

As you know, I am deeply interested in the progress of Nepal. This is for a double reason. Ever since the change of regime in Nepal some years ago, which we welcomed, we had naturally hoped that stable and progressive conditions will be progressively established there. That is good for the people of Nepal and is also good for India.

We have fully appreciated the manifold difficulties, political and economic, which you have had to face there. Indeed, in our own country, we have had very grave problems to face and very heavy burdens to carry. We are facing these problems with all our strength and have introduced rigorous regimes in our public and private activities.

Your Majesty knows that I would be very happy to see a democratic regime established in Nepal. I do not see any other way for the ultimate solution of Nepal's problems. Such a regime would lighten your burdens also. I have also been of opinion that land reform is always the primary problem in undeveloped agricultural countries. That is why in India we took this matter up first of all.

I am sorry that our Government had to complain about the activities of Shri Rishikesh Shaha⁴ in Geneva. Normally we would not have drawn attention to these activities. But when complaint after complaint came to us from New York and from Geneva about his anti-Indian activities, I thought that I should bring them to Your Majesty's notice. This was not a question of difference of opinion on any particular subject to which of course he and his Government were completely entitled. But it did distress us to find a representative of Nepal functioning consistently in a hostile manner to India.

I have no doubt in my mind that there is no ill will towards India among the people of Nepal and the expression of anti-Indian feelings sometimes is dictated by party considerations there.

3. The reference is to the postponement of elections in Nepal. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, p. 698.
4. (1925-2002); Nepalese politician and diplomat; Permanent Representative to the UN, 1956-60; Ambassador to USA, 1958-60; Minister of Finance, Planning and Economic Affairs, 1961-62 and of Foreign Affairs, 1962; Ambassador-at-large, 1962-63; Chairman, Standing Committee, Council of State, 1963-64; Visiting Professor, East-West Centre, University of Hawaii, 1965-66; Member of Parliament, 1967-70; Visiting Professor, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1971; Regent Professor, University of California, Barkley, 1971-72; Fellow, Woodrow Wilson International Centre for Scholars, Washington, 1976-77; honoured by Human Rights Watch and Asia Watch for work as Human Rights Monitor, 1989; publications include, *Nepal and the World, An Introduction to Nepal, Modern Nepal: A Political History, 1769-1955, Politics in Nepal 1980-1990* and *Ancient and Medieval Nepal*.

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Your Majesty has referred to the Indian Military Mission in Kathmandu. The continuance or otherwise of this Mission entirely depends upon your wishes. The Mission was sent to Nepal at the request of the Government there and has continued to function at their request and naturally we shall act according to your wishes in the matter.⁵ I suggest that you will be good enough to discuss this with our Ambassador and inform him of your wishes.

I am interested to learn that Your Majesty will be paying an official visit to the USSR.⁶ I am sure you will find this visit interesting.

I thank you for what you say about the strengthening of friendly relations between our two countries. I have no doubt that these friendly relations will continue because geography, history and culture as well as our wishes point to this.

With all good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. The Indian Military Mission headed by Major General Y.S. Paranjpe was sent to Kathmandu in February 1952 to assist in the reorganisation and training of the Nepalese army. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 17, pp. 474 and Vol. 20, p. 486.
6. King Mahendra and Queen Ratna visited the USSR for three weeks, beginning 4 June 1958.

2. Advice to the King¹

I agree with all the arguments that have been advanced in the accompanying notes. They should certainly be put forward. And yet, I do not quite see how we can advise definitely that Soviet aid should not be taken if offered. When I speak to the King,² I shall discuss this matter at some length on the lines indicated in these notes. At the same time, I do not propose to say that he should not take Soviet aid. But I would rather say that if such aid is offered, he should express his thanks for it and say that it would be better if it was attached to some specific project which fits in with their Plan and that this can be considered later.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, MEA, 31 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. King Mahendra and Queen Ratna arrived in Delhi on 2 June 1958 on a two-day private visit on their way to Moscow.

I imagine that, as usual, the Soviet Government might well make a gift to the King of an Ilyushin aircraft. Naturally, if they do so, he will accept it.

I quite agree with you that we should tell the King not to get tied up with foreign countries in regard to development or indeed in regard to any other matter.

3. Sale of a Dakota Aircraft to Nepal¹

I have your message about releasing a Dakota to Nepal.²

2. It is true that we have to treat Nepal as a rather special case. Even special cases have to be considered from the point of view of our own needs and possible necessities later. If we had known previously the views of the Defence Ministry in regard to this matter, we might have hesitated in giving an assurance to the Nepal Government about supplying them with one Dakota certainly and possibly a second later.

3. The position now is different. A firm offer for sale of a Dakota has been conveyed to Nepal Government and they have no doubt based their calculations on the basis of this assurance. It is thus now a question of the Government of India acting up to its assurance and keeping its word. It is never a good thing for a government to go back on its word, more especially at the last moment when others have made arrangements trusting our assurance. I am, therefore, clear in my mind that, quite apart from other considerations, we must abide by our promise and supply the Nepal Government with an IAC Dakota, as promised by us.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, Manali, 19 June 1958. JN Collection.
2. S. Dutt, in his message of 19 June 1958, wrote about the objection of the Defence Ministry regarding the promised supply of a Dakota aircraft to Nepal, since the "Air Force are very short of transport aircraft", and suggested that "we should make an exception in favour of Nepal in view of our very special relations with her."

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(xi) Other Countries

1. To Walter Nash¹

New Delhi
April 4, 1958

My dear Mr Nash,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th March² which you sent from Bangkok. It was indeed a great pleasure not only to me but to my colleagues to welcome you for a brief while in Delhi. That visit of yours was much too short a one, but nevertheless I think it was worthwhile. It gave you some small insight into our country and, above all, we had the opportunity of meeting and having informal talks. I hope it may be possible for you to pay a longer visit and to see some other parts of this country.

I have long desired to visit New Zealand and your invitation to me has naturally added to that wish. I have heard a great deal about the beauty of the country, the high standard of living there and the hospitality of the people. But, as you will well appreciate, the burdens of a Prime Minister are heavy and it is seldom easy for me to leave India for any considerable time. Whenever a Prime Ministers' Conference has taken place in London, I have naturally gone there and have taken advantage of that to visit some countries of the European continent. The pressure on me to visit other countries and continents has been very great. For years I have been invited to the leading countries of South America and to several parts of Africa, where many of our countrymen live. I have been unable to go there in spite of my desire to do so.

I hope, however, that I shall have the happiness and privilege to visit New Zealand. I am sorry I cannot say now when this can take place.

With warm and cordial regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. The Prime Minister of New Zealand, Walter Nash, thanked Nehru for the "outstanding hospitality" extended to him and his staff during their visit to India from 17 to 21 March 1958 [See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 710-714] and invited Nehru to visit New Zealand.

2. Wrong Report by a Press Agency¹

You might inform our Ambassador in Rangoon that the report appearing in the Press is entirely unauthorised and is in fact incorrect.² What I actually said, as you might remember, was that Burma and Ceylon were friendly countries, but they had not taken up any precise attitude on the Kashmir question. All this was at a private meeting. We are sorry that a wrong report should have been sent by a Press Agency. Please ask our Ambassador to convey this to the Foreign Secretary of Burma.

1. Note to M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 5 April 1958. File No. 13-4/58-KU, MEA.
2. Lalji Mehrotra, Indian Ambassador to Burma, wrote to the Commonwealth Secretary that the Foreign Secretary of Burma, James Barrington, brought to his notice a report by Agence France Presse, purporting to deal with a statement made by Nehru in a secret meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party. Nehru was reported to have informed the Party that "both Burma and Ceylon approved of our stand on Kashmir" and the Burmese Foreign Secretary told him that "this publicity would put them in a little embarrassing position as they wanted their attitude to be kept confidential."

3. Indian Commission in Salisbury¹

I think that some kind of an acknowledgement should be sent to Mr Pedder of his letter to me. It is better that it is sent from here, rather than from our Commission in Salisbury. The letter should, however, be sent through our Commissioner.

2. This reply should say that the Prime Minister has received his letter of the 19th March and read it with interest.² He thanks him for it. He is very much

1. Note to M. J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 8 April 1958. File No. INDI-SAB-2/58-AFR-I, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. M.A. Pedder, a resident of Salisbury, requested Nehru not to recall the members of the Indian Commission in Salisbury following the insult suffered by the Indian press attaché P.J. Rao in Mazoe hotel. For details of the incident see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, p. 718. Pedder also wrote that under the leadership of Raja Surendra Singh Alirajpur, India's Assistant Commissioner in Salisbury, the Commission had done much to foster better understanding of, and goodwill towards, India amongst the people of all races in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Pedder felt that "to withdraw its members now would be to encourage the extremists of all races in this country since they would claim that the severity of such an action is out of proportion to the insult suffered and indicated an attempt by your Government to interfere in the internal affairs of this country."

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against racial discrimination and is anxious to avoid any step being taken which might add to the existing difficulties. For the present, therefore, it has been decided that the Indian Commission in Salisbury should continue.

4. To Nobusuke Kishi¹

New Delhi

April 16, 1958

Dear Mr Prime Minister,²

I thank you for your letter of the 2nd April which I received from your Ambassador, His Excellency Dr Shiroshi Nasu,³ a few days ago. I greatly appreciate the sentiments which you have expressed and warmly reciprocate them.

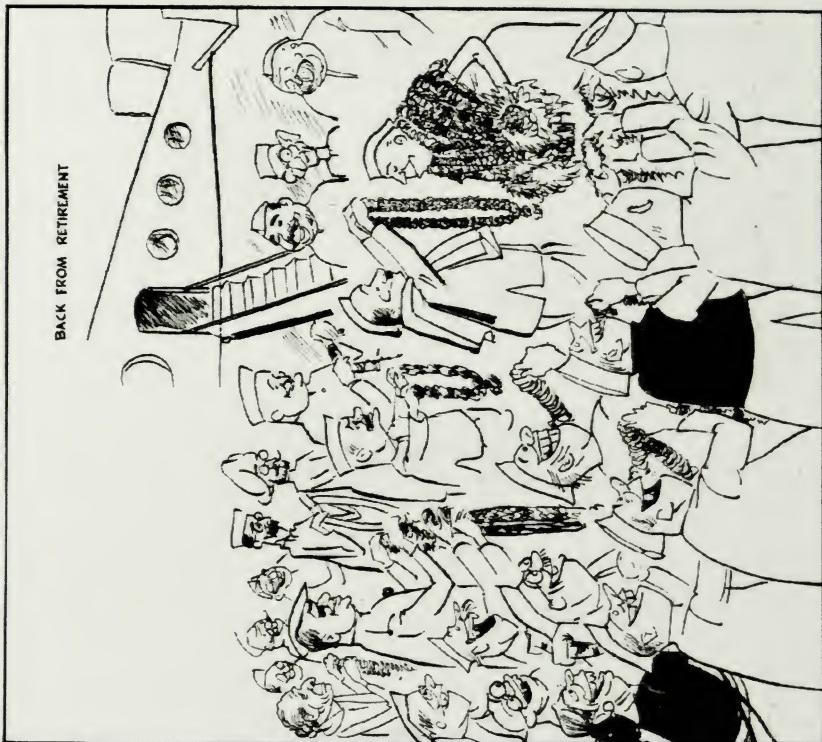
We in India also feel happy at the growing understanding and cooperation between our two countries in recent years. Your Excellency's visit to India⁴ gave us particular pleasure and I feel happy that negotiations between our two countries on yen credit from Japan have been successfully concluded.⁵ The Cultural Agreement which was ratified last year at the time of Your Excellency's visit has also been working satisfactorily.⁶ As you must be aware, a team of some of our foremost musicians and dancers is now on a tour of Japan.

I welcome Your Excellency's assurance that your Government are determined to exert their utmost towards the peaceful development of the world and to a right and just solution of the world's problems. The Government and the people of Japan can always rest assured of our cooperation in the achievement of this common objective of our two countries.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to Your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

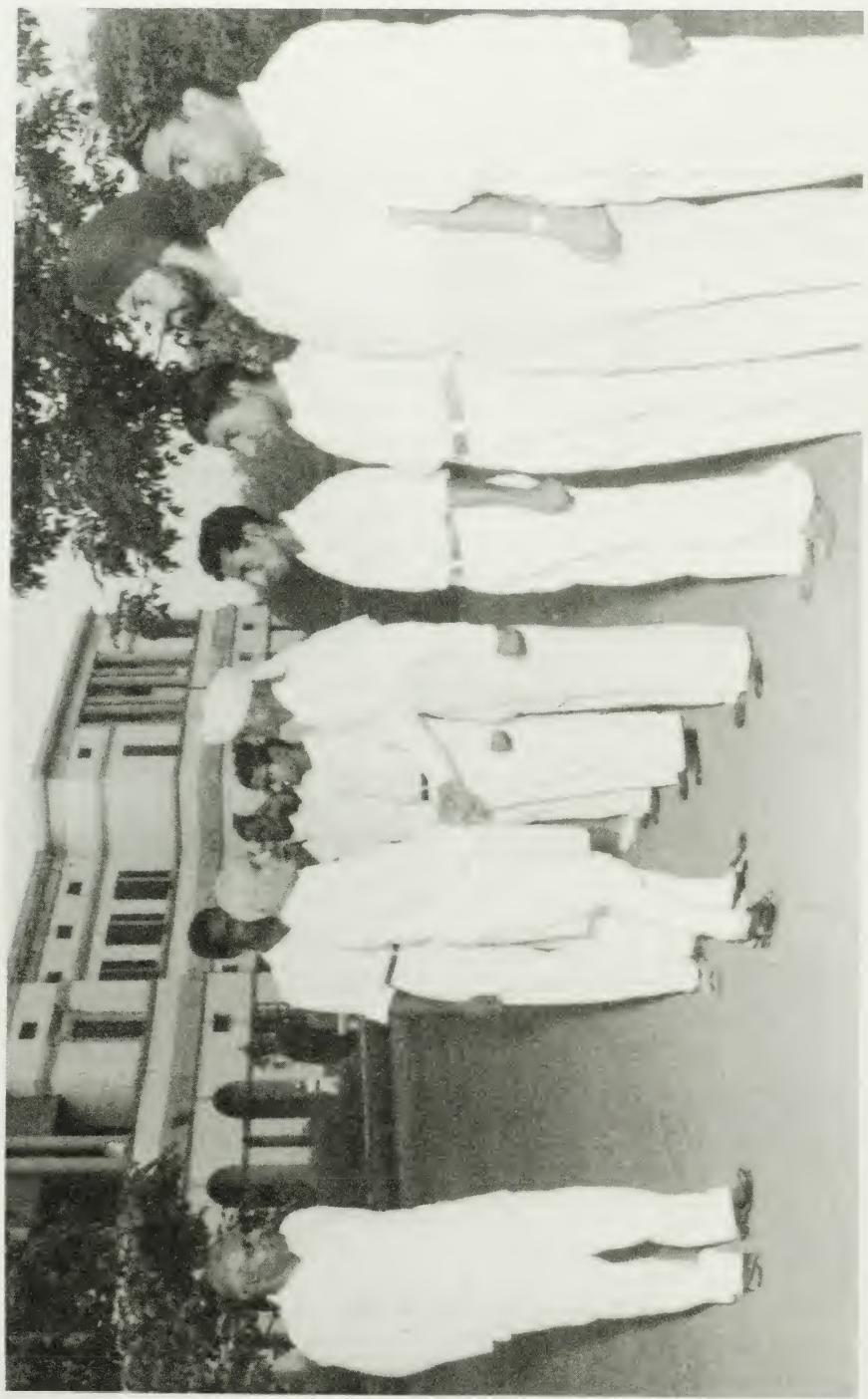
Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Prime Minister of Japan.
3. (1888-1984); Professor of Agricultural Policies at Tokyo Imperial University, 1922-38; Professor Emeritus, National Peking University, 1938; Adviser on agricultural matters to the National Economic Commission of the Chinese Government in Nanking, 1944; President, Association for International Collaboration of Farmers, 1952; Ambassador to India and Nepal, 1957-61; President, Japan Leprosy Mission for Asia, 1962; received Magsaysay Award, 1967.
4. For Kishi's visit to India on 23 and 24 May 1957 see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 38, pp. 736-739.
5. On 31 March 1958, the Japanese Government decided to extend to India yen credit worth eight million US dollars to help India develop iron ore deposits in the area around Rourkela.
6. The 10-year cultural agreement between India and Japan was ratified on 24 May 1957.



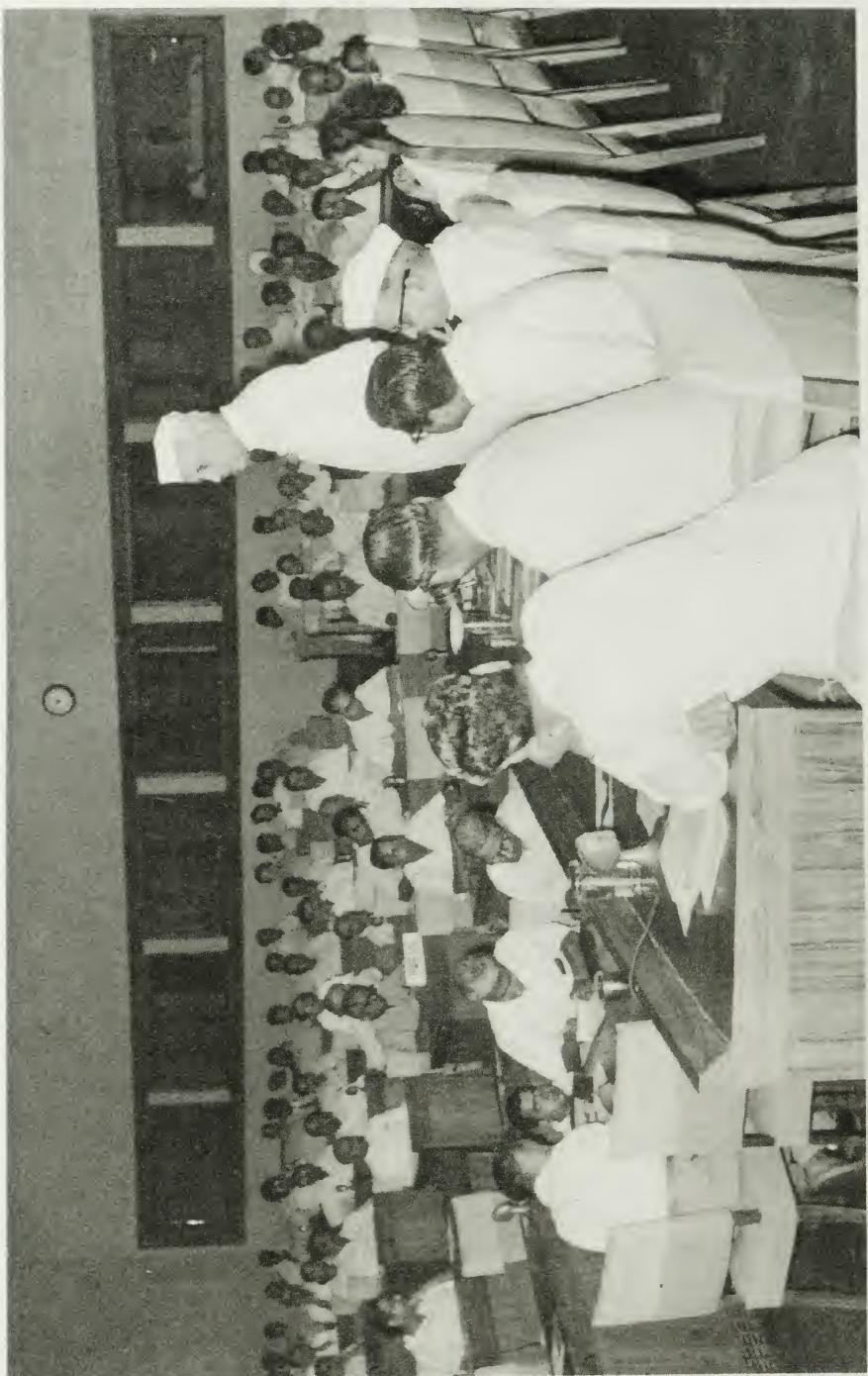
In 1958 Nehru threatened to retire from public life, but was persuaded not to by colleagues. Congress President Dhebari followed by Cabinet colleagues Lal Bahadur Shastri, Satyanarayan Sinha, and Krishna Menon. (back row) Gajanan Lal Nanda, Swaran Singh, S.K. Patil, Jagjivan Ram, Moramji Desai and Govind Ballabh Pant.

A CARTOON FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 11 MAY 1958



MEETING THE INSTRUCTORS OF THE NATIONAL DISCIPLINE SCHEME,
AT TEEN MURTI BHAVAN, NEW DELHI, 17 MAY 1958

ADDRESSING A SEMINAR ON THE CONTRIBUTORY HEALTH SERVICE SCHEME, NEW DELHI, 18 MAY 1958



Frank Redenbacher
Manali
Himalayas
25-5-1958

Dear Debi,

You letter of the 19th may reached me yesterday via Delhi. I learnt of R. C. Shukla's death as I was being better. I was in a hurry then and I did not know that he was in Samruddha Bhawan. It was you who first told me of this. Death is always sad, more obviously when it comes to one's contemporaries. As they pass off one by one, a sense of loneliness creeps over one and a remembrance of one's own age. What must have come from home.

I have been here now for five days. They have been restful and very quiet. In rest & body and mind I could not have chosen a more suitable place. The weather has been good and I go out for walks, write, and read a good deal. I have not had such a quiet time during the last dozen years or more. If it had not been for the rains and the only bucket Neflex from Delhi, I would have been completely cut off from the outside world.

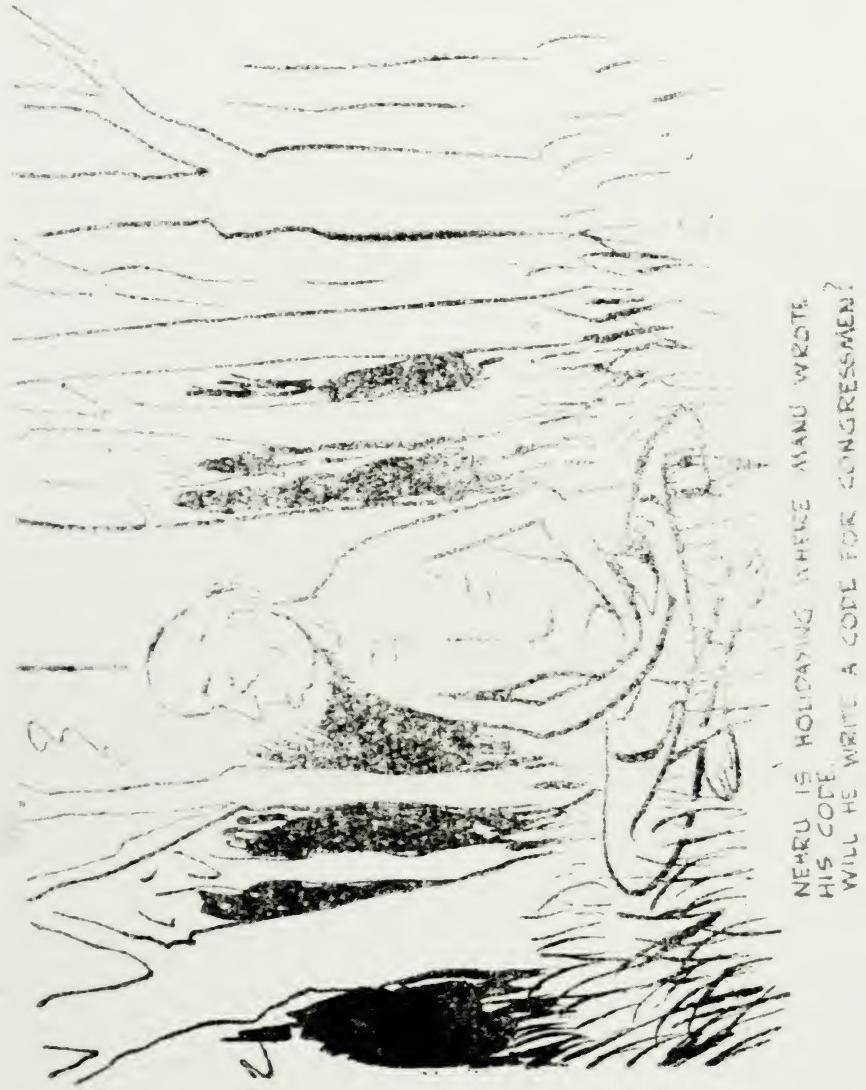
FACSIMILE OF A LETTER TO VIJAYA LAKSHMI PANDIT, 25 MAY 1958

To some extent I have been able to detach myself from the rush of current events and return to the task of our brotherhood work - and realized how fortunate they are. Essentially it is the quality of human being, not events. How far are we succeeding in building up the quality in the minds of our people? No man I know, like you dear friend, knows better than I do.

You must visit your conference and discuss your programme. Naturally I would like to have our two sets for your return. I go back to India in May and, as I travel down, I can look back & think & pray for you. But I am by no means so weary of the future. But I am by no means sure that I shall ever look back. Oh Lord I know that strange happenings are taking place in India and in the rest of the world and the two situations quite proper for us to run away from such and responsibility.

I have had a picture card from Betty from Athens. She advised me to go back "united that we never part again!"

With love to you - greeting



NEHRU IS HOLIDAYING WHERE MANY WRITE.
HIS CODE WILL HE WRITE A CODE FOR CONGRESSMEN?

A CARTOON FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 25 MAY 1958



WITH KING MAHENDRA BIR BIKRAM SHAH AND QUEEN RATNA OF NEPAL
AT PALAM AIRPORT, DELHI, 2 JUNE 1958

HOLIDAY AGAIN



A CARTOON FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 15 JUNE 1958

5. Worsening Situation in Algeria¹

The Iraqi Ambassador² came to see me today on instructions from his Government. He said that his Government was greatly concerned about the situation in Algeria.³ Could not the Asian-African countries take some step in this matter and could not India take a lead in it?

2. I told him that we were equally concerned and very anxious about this grave tragedy going on. But it was by no means clear what we could do about it at present. The present position of the French Government and the people appeared to be pathological. In fact, there was no proper government there now. It was easy enough to have a meeting of the Asian-African group in the UN. But what exactly they would do was not equally clear to me. Anyhow, we could give thought to it.

3. He made some vague reference to another Bandung Conference⁴ to consider this matter. I pointed out the difficulties and he agreed.

4. Finally I said that we could think about it and let him know about it some days later if any idea struck us about the step that might be taken by the Asian-African group in the UN. For the present I did not see what effective step could be taken. This question, like many other questions, was rather tied up with the so-called East-West conflict and the proposed talk about disarmament, etc.

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, the Secretary General, MEA, and S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 22 April 1958. JN Collection.
2. M. Salim Al Radi.
3. An army junta under General Massu and General Salan seized power in Algeria on the night of 13 May 1958. They also demanded that General Charles de Gaulle should head the French Government. On 24 May, French paratroopers from Algeria landed in Corsica and there were reports of a plan to seize power in Paris if de Gaulle's name was not approved by the French Government. On 29 May, President Rene Coty of France appealed to de Gaulle to become the last Prime Minister of the Fourth Republic and on 1 June 1958, his new Cabinet was approved by the French Parliament. For earlier developments, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 699-700. See also *post*, pp. 674-675.
4. The Asian-African Conference was held at Bandung, Indonesia, from 18 to 24 April 1955.

6. On J.B. Tito's Greetings to the Communist Party of India¹

Yes, this may be circulated to the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

2. When I met the Yugoslav Ambassador² here a few days ago, I told him that I was surprised that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia should send a message of greetings to the Indian Communist Party's Congress at Amritsar.³ This message was sent by Marshal Tito on behalf of his Communist Party. It seemed to me strange that President Tito should send a message to an Opposition Party in India. The Ambassador tried to make light of this, but he was obviously not very happy over it. I did not press the point much more.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 30 April 1958. JN Collection.
2. Bogdan Crnobrnja.
3. Held on 6 April 1958.

7. Medical Mission to Algeria¹

I agree with the Ambassador.² Please write to Mrs Rameshwari Nehru³ and explain to her the difficulties.⁴ I might mention that what the Ambassador has written about our Medical Mission to China is not quite correct. Our Mission was sent to the Government of China with their permission, that is, the then Kuomintang Government. After some time with them, the Mission drifted gradually to the Communist area in Yenan. At that time, there was some kind of an uneasy truce

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 9 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. K.M. Panikkar, India's Ambassador to France.
3. Wife of Brijlal Nehru, social worker and freedom-fighter; President, All India Harijan Sevak Sangh; and President, Central Advisory Board for Rehabilitation.
4. Rameshwari Nehru wrote to Jawaharlal on 10 April and 2 May 1958 requesting him to send medical and humanitarian missions to Algeria or to adjoining neutral countries like Tunisia or Morocco where thousands of war-stricken Algerians and other refugees needed succour. She felt that the French Government would be shown in poor light if they did not allow the medical and humanitarian missions to enter the war-ravaged countries. She mentioned about the medical missions that India had sent to China before Independence and later to Korea. Earlier Nehru had rejected Rameshwari Nehru's proposal because the French Government did not permit anybody to enter Algeria.

between the Communist leaders and the Government and in fact Chou En-lai was a representative of the Fourth Route Army in Chungking. These facts in fact strengthen the Ambassador's arguments.

2. It is clear that we cannot send missions without the consent of the functioning government.

3. As for Tunisia, apart from the many difficulties pointed out by the Ambassador, our relations with the Tunisian Government are none too cordial and there is always a risk of something that we might do embarrassing them or not being liked by them.

8. To Cheddi Jagan¹

New Delhi

May 15, 1958

My dear Cheddi Jagan,²

Thank you for your letter of the 27th April which I received a few days ago.³ We have been following with great interest the recent developments in British Guiana. I can very well understand your difficulties—partly they resemble ours some years ago, partly they are peculiar to the circumstances in which you are functioning.

You refer to the position of our Congress in 1937. You must remember, however, that at that time, whether we had power or not in government, we were very powerful and well-organised in the country. Whatever the legal limitations might have been, it was very difficult for a Governor to overrule his Cabinet. That period came to an end because of the war and our decision to walk out of these Provincial Governments. It did not end because of the Governor coming in our way. Ultimately, it is the disciplined strength of the people that counts. Gandhiji attached more importance to this than to legal formulae.

1. JN Collection.
2. Leader of the People's Progressive Party in Guiana and the Minister of Trade and Industry.
3. Apprising Nehru of the difficult conditions under which his party was functioning in spite of being in power after the August 1957 elections, Cheddi Jagan wrote that the situation was similar to that of the Congress in 1937 which was "in office but not in power". He requested Nehru to provide assistance, as he found it difficult for his country to break out of the economic and other strangleholds of colonialism. He also requested Nehru to send two or three planners of a socialist orientation with experience in water control and hydro-electric projects.

You ask me for two or three planners, one of whom should have experience in water control and hydroelectric projects. It is not particularly easy for us to spare good technical men as we require them ourselves. But it might be possible to find a specialist for irrigation and power. If you send us some particulars of the type of person you want and the kind of work he will have to do, we shall try to find him. In technical matters of this kind, the question of "socialist orientation" makes little difference.

Naturally, the request that comes to our Government should be official.

I send you all my good wishes.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To K.M. Panikkar¹

Forest Rest House
Manali
23 May 1958

My dear Panikkar,²

Your letter of May 19 with the note attached on the present state of discontent in France reached me here this evening.³ This is fairly quick work, considering that I am staying at a rather remote place in the Kulu Valley.

I have read your note carefully and with interest. It helps us to understand a little the complicated situation in France, even though that understanding does not help much.

Some months ago, the French Ambassador in Delhi⁴ came to see me about some matter. In the course of his talk, he referred with great feeling to the state of affairs in France.⁵ He said that there were often governmental crises in France

1. JN Collection.

2. Indian Ambassador in France.

3. The Fourth Republic in France was overthrown in May 1958 after a series of political and military crises over the issue of Algerian independence and Gen. Charles de Gaulle was recalled from retirement to head a government of national unity and to supervise the drafting of a new Fifth Republic Constitution in six months. De Gaulle, who was elected President on 21 December 1958 and remained in power for ten years, restored political stability.

4. Stanislas Ostrorog.

5. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 720-721.

and change of governments. They were used to them. But now something much more serious and distressing had become a possibility and that was a crisis of the regime itself. You, of course, have been telling about this for a long time past. That crisis has now come.⁶

It would appear that whatever the outcome of this crisis, the Western alliance will suffer. Also that France herself will suffer considerably in the long run. As you say, all this is bound to have far-reaching consequences in the international sphere.

I suppose we had better give up thinking about the French Parliament dealing with Pondicherry, etc., and agreeing to the de jure transfer. I do not see any government strong enough to deal with this matter in the foreseeable future.⁷

In one of your telegrams you mentioned that a certain body of Muslim Arab opinion in Algeria was agreeable to De Gaulle coming into power. This surprised me.

Your reference to the part that the army has played and is playing in France is certainly significant. You mention some countries in Asia where the army plays an important role. You might have added to that list. But in a way even in the United States of America, the influence of the opinion of the defence forces is far greater today than ever before. It is true that in India there is not the slightest indication of this kind of thing. But when a country goes to pieces politically, it is always possible for the army to try to play a part.

Manali is one of the quietest places I know of. It is not normally easy to reach as one has to go to Pathankot by plane or train and then come by road, covering about 220 miles. I came by plane to the Kulu Valley and did about a 30-mile car journey. But this is very unusual and the airstrip nearby is a temporary affair. We had to fly through several mountain valleys, flanking on each side by fairly high mountains. Manali is, however, now getting known among the foreign missions in Delhi and more and more people come here.

I have been here four days now and they have been very quiet and restful. On the last day of this month, I shall go back to Delhi. It is my intention to return here a week later for a 12-day trek in Lahaul, but I am by no means sure whether I shall be able to do this because of developments in the international situation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, pp. 301-303.
7. A treaty ceding full sovereignty to India over French territories in India was signed in New Delhi on 28 May 1956. But the treaty was ratified by the French Parliament only in May 1962 and the instruments of ratification were exchanged in New Delhi on 16 August 1962.

10. Interference by China and USSR in Yugoslavia¹

It is not for us to enter into this controversy about the interpretation of Marxism or Leninism. Not being Marxists ourselves, we are not interested in it except, in a sense, academically.

2. But what is of importance is that the Soviet Union and even more so China are acting in a way which can only be interpreted as interference in the affairs of Yugoslavia.² This is particularly strange for China to do. The Soviet Union, being a neighbour of Yugoslavia and intimately connected with the politics of the Balkan area, may be said to have some reason for playing this role, even though we do not consider that reason an adequate one. For the Chinese People's Government to interfere in this way and in language of violence seems to me to be wholly without justification.

3. Where do the Five Principles or the *Panchsheel* come into the picture? In these principles it is said specifically that there will be no internal interference, even ideological. What the Chinese Communist Party is doing in regard to Yugoslavia is clearly ideological interference and in fact something more than that. Therefore, the Five Principles have gone by the board. If the Soviet Union or China can do this in regard to Yugoslavia, there is no particular reason to imagine that they cannot or will not do so in the case of India.

4. It seems to me that whatever the internal reasons might be in China, the attitude of the Chinese Government has stiffened somewhat even in regard to India. I am thinking of the long discussions about our frontier with Tibet. I cannot imagine that the Chinese Government representative³ took up the attitude off his own bat.

5. All this signifies that we have to be particularly careful in the future in what we say and do in regard to China specially.

6. So far as the controversy with Yugoslavia is concerned, as I have said above and elsewhere, we are not concerned with ideological controversies. We

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, Manali, 15 June 1958. JN Collection.
2. The Soviet and Chinese Governments had continued their propaganda campaign against Yugoslavia throughout the summer of 1958. Soviet-Yugoslav relations deteriorated further during June following the Soviet decision on 28 May 1958 to unilaterally suspend for five years the utilisation of the credits totalling over a hundred million pounds sanctioned to Yugoslavia and Soviet leader Khrushchev's speech of 3 June 1958 describing Yugoslavia as the "Trojan horse of imperialism". The anti-Yugoslavia campaign was intensified after the announcement by the Hungarian Government of the execution of its former Prime Minister Imre Nagy on 17 June 1958.
3. Pan Tzu-Li.

are only concerned with two aspects: (1) the apparent interference in internal affairs of Yugoslavia, which seems to us to be opposed to the Five Principles we have been working for, and (2) an apparent breach of an agreement by the Soviet Union about the supply of credits or a loan.

7. Our views about these two matters are clear. But we shall have to express them only when necessity arises and in carefully chosen language. We have already given some indication of what our views are.

11. Antarctica and World Powers¹

The way this question of Antarctica has developed is interesting and significant.² When we, in all good faith, suggested that this might be discussed in the United Nations, some of the countries opposed this.³ Others suggested to us not to press it. Now the subject is brought up, in a somewhat different context no doubt, by the United States⁴ and other countries fall in line.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, Manali, 20 June 1958. JN Collection.
2. Most of Antarctica's territory was claimed, between 1923 and 1942, by Britain, New Zealand, Australia, France, Norway, Chile and Argentina. But these claims were not recognised either by the United States or the Soviet Union.
3. India proposed in 1956 to raise the 'Antarctic Question' at the United Nations. An alliance developed between the British Commonwealth and Latin America in opposition to the Indian proposal. Although Great Britain, Argentina, and Chile were bitterly disputing the sovereignty of the Antarctic Peninsula region, they shared a common desire to keep the southern continent off the agenda of the United Nations. This ability to work together for common goals, despite their differences, set an important precedent for the Antarctic Treaty that would be signed in 1959. In this way, opposition to the Indian proposal, more than the proposal itself, played an important role in the history of Antarctica in the 1950s. Latin American opposition to the proposal helped to fragment any 'anti-imperial' coalition that might have developed in Antarctica.
4. The US Government sent a note on 3 May 1958 to all the countries participating in the International Geophysical Year Programme in Antarctica, proposing that a treaty be concluded having the following objects: "(i) Freedom of scientific investigation throughout Antarctica by citizens, organisations, and Governments of all countries, and a continuation of the international scientific cooperation which is being carried out so successfully during the current International Geophysical year; (ii) International agreement to ensure that Antarctica is used for peaceful purposes only; and (iii) Any other peaceful purposes not inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations." President Eisenhower also declared that the United States was "dedicated to the principle that the vast uninhabited wastes of Antarctica shall be used only for peaceful purposes." He felt confident that the American proposal would "win the wholehearted support of the peoples of all nations directly concerned, and indeed of all other peoples of the world."

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

2. I think that we should certainly put this item on the provisional agenda of the UN General Assembly this year. By doing this, we make it clear, firstly, that we have been and are interested in this matter and, secondly, we consider this of concern to the international community as a whole and not merely for certain powers.

3. As we have not received any communication directly from the United States, there is no question of our replying to them. If the US Ambassador⁵ happens to ask us about this, we can tell him about our general position.

4. The UK High Commissioner⁶ passed on to us the US letter which was rather an odd way of our being informed. No formal reply be given to the UK High Commissioner but he may be told informally of what our position is and what we propose to do.

5. So far as the Soviet Government is concerned, we have to send them some kind of a reply. This should be on the basis suggested above, that is, that we are interested in this matter as is clearly indicated by our having raised this question two years ago and suggested that it should be discussed in the UN. We still adhere to this opinion and have asked that this matter be included in the provisional agenda of this year's UN. We consider further that this is a matter in which all countries are interested and not merely a few selected powers.

5. Ellsworth Bunker.

6. Malcolm MacDonald.

12. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
June 23, 1958

My dear High Commissioner,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received, complaining of the behaviour of Indian students in Great Britain.² I should like to have your opinion about this matter. I can quite understand that some Indian students misbehave. Would it be correct to say that they do so more than British students or other foreign students in England?

1. JN Collection.
2. John Bradford of the Birkbeck College, London, in his letter of 17 May 1958, complained that some Indian students "instead of devoting themselves to work" were having a "good time...usually at the expense of German, Scandinavian and English girls who happen to be alone in London".

I am sending a copy of Mr Bradford's letter to our Education Ministry.³ I think, however, that it will be better for you or your Educational Adviser to deal with this matter than for me to send a reply to Mr Bradford. Perhaps, you could ask your Educational Adviser to send a reply to Mr Bradford, informing him that I have received his letter. Further, that I am of course anxious that Indian students should set an example in good behaviour. My own impression has been that, with some unfortunate exceptions apart, generally Indian students have behaved on the whole well. The type of Indian students who go to foreign countries for study is very different now from those who used to go previously. They go now for technical studies, and most of them get scholarships for that purpose and are thus selected. Large numbers of Indian students go to the United States of America and to various countries in continental Europe, and we have had on the whole good reports of them. If Mr Bradford has any particular cases in view, we are prepared to enquire into them.

I have suggested the above answer if you think that it is a correct one, having regard to the facts.

I should like to know what your own view of the situation is and what you would suggest should be done in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Nehru sent Bradford's letter to Humayun Kabir, Union Minister of State for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, and on 25 June Kabir replied that by and large Indian students were well behaved as any other group of students. Bradford's suggestion that some steps might be taken to prevent some Indian students from breaking their contracts with the Indian Ministry of Education deserved some consideration, Kabir added.

13. To Kojo Botsio¹

New Delhi
June 29, 1958

Dear Mr Botsio,²

Thank you for your letter No. 365/3 dated 12th June.³ I was in the Himalayan mountains on a brief holiday and saw your letter on my return to Delhi on 23rd.

2. As you know, we are willing to assist in any way we can and will cooperate with your Government in finding from Indian sources the professional

1. JN Collection.
2. (1916-2001); diplomat and politician from Ghana; Foreign Minister in the Nkrumah Cabinet, 1958-59 and 1963-65.
3. Writing on behalf of Kwame Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana, Botsio reminded Nehru about the Indian offer of professional and technical help and formally requested him to send 250 professional and technical officers for serving in Ghana for a maximum period of five years. He hoped that they would be selected from the Central Government and State Government officers.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

and technical experts required for service in Ghana. We had already made this clear earlier and I am repeating this assurance of our cooperation in response to your present formal approach made on behalf of Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah.⁴

3. You mention in your letter that the main source of recruitment should be Central and the State services of the Government of India. While we will do our best to release those professional and technical experts in the service of the Central and the State Governments, who are fit and willing for service in Ghana, I know from past experience that the number of such experts is bound to be relatively small as compared with the target figure of 250 mentioned in your letter. I would, under the circumstances, suggest that the requirements of the Ghana Government should, as they become known, be advertised in India and applications invited from those willing to serve in Ghana on the terms advertised. This will attract applications both from those in the service of the Government of India and the State Governments and others from the open market, who are qualified and willing to serve in Ghana. This will be a more expeditious method of securing the necessary experts.

4. So far as we are concerned, we will take action to loan, on a government to government basis, the services of those experts who apply and are selected and who are in the service of the Central or the State Governments. This method will enable the Government of Ghana to get the best experts available and get them expeditiously.

5. We have, only a few days back, given the names of nine railway experts and sent their particulars through our High Commission in Ghana in response to an earlier request for five vacancies received from your Government in March. This method of securing qualified personnel by consultation with the various ministries of the Government of India and the State Governments is, however, a time-consuming process and I would, therefore, earnestly recommend the adoption of the suggestion made in paras 3 and 4 above for your Government's consideration.

6. I hope Prime Minister Nkrumah is having a pleasant and interesting tour of the independent African States.⁵ We are looking forward to his promised visit to us in December.⁶

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 715-716.

5. Nkrumah toured Ethiopia, Sudan, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, the United Arab Republic and Liberia from 30 May to 29 June 1958.

6. Nkrumah arrived in Bombay on 22 December 1958 for a two-week tour of India.

II. GENERAL**1. Cable to Asoke K. Sen¹**

Your telegram 33 of April 1st.² Last night we sent you a long message explaining our attitude.³ I do not understand why we should be hustled into some position merely to bring about some kind of a compromise. Our President has issued four notifications on these and related issues.⁴ They have been referred to in

1. New Delhi, 2 April 1958. JN Collection.
2. Asoke K. Sen, the Law Minister, who was attending the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held at Geneva from 24 February to 27 April 1958, informed Nehru about his discussions with the UK Attorney General and leaders of the American and Canadian delegations. He cited the Canadian proposal of a three-mile territorial sea and "exclusive right of exploitation of fishing and natural resources within a belt of 12 miles," which had the definite support of the American delegates, and wrote that Dr N.K. Panikkar, Fisheries Development Adviser in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, and a delegate to the Conference, had also supported it against the "British proposal of a six-mile territorial sea". Sen further wrote that India's proposal to have a maximum of 12 miles of sea found favour with Mexico but he feared that it would not succeed. He added that "a compromise is seriously considered by everyone" since "a failure of the conference would mean complete lack of uniformity about the territorial sea and consequently complication on navigation and international flight over the area." He suggested that the "Canadian proposal may be seriously considered in view of our resources of sea fish."
3. The message sent by the Ministry of External Affairs to Asoke K. Sen on 1 April 1958 stated that "neither the Canadian nor the UK proposal is acceptable" to India since they were against the "interests and present policy" of India and that India "need not object to limiting exclusive fishing rights to six miles." It added that the "proposals in an international treaty commitment have to go before Parliament" and that India "cannot make any commitment contrary to the President's declaration" which was India's "considered policy". The message reminded Sen that the present conference "cannot successfully deal with international political problems with wider repercussions", but only with the "legal aspects of certain issues" and that the International Law Commission's views were in line with that of India. Sen was told to "soft-pedal" on these moves by "quietly insisting on our point of view", since it was politically unwise for India to disagree with South American and Asian countries.
4. To protect the petroleum, natural gas and fishery resources, the coastal states demanded the extension of national jurisdiction over large adjacent sea areas. After Independence, India issued the following four presidential notifications to safeguard its interests: (i) On 30 August 1955, India claimed full and exclusive sovereign rights over the seabed and subsoil of the Continental Shelf adjoining the coast but beyond territorial waters; (ii) On 22 March 1956, India claimed territorial waters of six miles from appropriate baselines; (iii) On 29 November 1956, India claimed a Conservation Zone for fisheries up to a distance of one hundred miles from the outer limit of territorial waters; (iv) On 3 December 1956, India claimed a Contiguous Zone of 12 miles from the shore baseline as per Article 24 of the Convention on Territorial Sea and Contiguous Zone.

Parliament. We cannot bypass these notifications and declarations in Parliament rather casually in this way. Those previous decisions of ours were arrived at after several months' discussion.

Even on merits we do not like either British or Canadian proposal and I see no reason why we should accept either merely for the sake of compromise. We should hold to our position. If there is lack of uniformity leading to failure of Conference responsibility will not rest with us alone and the consequences will affect others much more than us.

These questions raise very far-reaching political issues and are matters which may well be considered at very high level conferences or by United Nations. The present conference is rather a technical one and we cannot tie ourselves up there in regard to political matter of some consequence.⁵

5. While answering questions in the Lok Sabha on 7 May 1958, A.K. Sen informed the House that though the Conference failed to draw up a convention on the Law of the Sea for lack of necessary agreement on the breadth of territorial waters, there was agreement on various other aspects such as the Continental Shelf and exploitation of natural resources, conservation of fisheries and "right of innocent passage of ships." The Conference adopted resolutions (i) encouraging cooperation on conservation and prevention of destruction of marine life, (ii) recommending consideration by the UN General Assembly of a ban on testing of nuclear weapons on the high seas, and (iii) giving the land-locked countries the rights of access to the sea and of transit of goods over neighbouring countries.

2. To Pierre-Horace Boivin¹

New Delhi
April 2, 1958

Dear Mr Mayor,²

Two days ago we received the two beavers which you have been good enough to send us. As it was rather warm in Delhi, we decided to send them immediately to one of our Hill Stations, Naini Tal, where proper arrangements have been made for their stay there. During our winter months, they will be brought down to one of our zoological gardens in the plains.

We are very grateful to you and to the people of Granby for this very welcome gift. I am sure that large numbers of children who will see these beavers will be delighted and will remember the donors, the people of Granby.

1. File No. 46(6)-AMS/56, MEA.
2. Pierre-Horace Boivin (1905-1994); a politician from Quebec, Canada; Mayor, Granby, 1939-64; founder of the Granby zoo in Quebec, 1953.

I hope that the elephant we sent to the children of Granby is doing well and has made friends with the children of Granby.

With all good wishes to you,

Sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Demands for Grants of the Ministry of External Affairs¹

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Speaker,² I beg to present the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of External Affairs. In doing so, I should like particularly to draw the attention of the House to the fact that the Ministry of External Affairs not only deals with external affairs but also with many important activities which might be called domestic in India. In fact, from the expenditure point of view, if we take the last year's figures—may I say here that all this is given in the booklet that the Ministry has prepared for the Members of Parliament—the expenditure was Rs 1,772 lakhs in round figures. Out of this Rs 1,772 lakhs, Rs 1,167 lakhs were for activities unconnected with the External Affairs proper. For instance, there were the Tribal Areas, the NEFA, the Naga Hills and Tuensang area, and there was a fairly considerable expenditure on the Assam Rifles, which really is an extension of the army, which deals directly with the External Affairs. This, naturally, is rather an expensive item. Then there is Pondicherry. Then there are contributions to numerous international organisations and International Armistice and Supervisory Commissions in Indo-China, expenditure on demarcation of boundaries, etc., etc. The point I wish to make is that in effect the expenditure on External Affairs proper last year, according to the revised estimates, came to Rs 605 lakhs, a trifle over Rs 6 crores.

Now, I do not wish to say much about the quality and the extent of our work abroad and our missions abroad. It is rather difficult to judge these things. But we may make comparisons to some extent with missions of other countries, from the point of view of expenditure. That is easier to compare; quality is rather difficult. If we compare it with any important country, the rate of our

1. Extracts from the discussion in the Lok Sabha, 9 April 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XV, cols. 9047-9063, 9069-9070 and 9162-9171.
 2. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

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expenditure is far less. I do not mean to say that whatever we spend, every rupee, is well utilised. I do not mean to say that there is no wastage on our side and there is no need for economy. Of course, there is need for economy; there always is. There is always a tendency for wastage, if one is not vigilant. What I wish to submit is that, compared to any country, our foreign affairs are conducted in a much, well, less expensive way.

In this connection I would also say that—I am not defending high salaries or anything—broadly speaking, the rate of payment to our staff abroad is far lower than what other countries give to their heads of missions and others employed in their offices. There, again, I do not wish to generalise. What we may pay may be often inadequate to keep up a certain status which our embassies and legations are supposed to keep up. On other occasions it has been found that the money we pay them for this purpose is not fully and properly utilised. It is not spent. Therefore, it would indicate that we are paying them too much. But these are rather rare cases. I am putting both sides of the picture to the House.

Naturally, I cannot say that a large number of people employed in our foreign service are all of the same high level as we like them to be, but I do say that the quality of our heads of missions serving abroad is a high one compared to any diplomatic service that I know of. There are also people who are not so good and who do not come up to that standard. Naturally, in a large service we have occasional difficulties. We have to take some kind of disciplinary action. But taken all in all, I would submit to the House that our missions abroad have carried out their functions with dignity and ability and, broadly speaking, at a much less cost than the diplomatic services or the missions of the major countries.

In this connection may I also say, although it is not part of external affairs, that in the NEFA two or three years ago we constituted a special cadre of political officers, who were specially recruited for that purpose.³ It is very difficult to deal with that situation and a very special type of officer was needed for it. It is a hard life. It is an isolated life—a life with practically no amenities of civilised existence, no people sometimes to talk to even, and hard work. Therefore, we require a very special type of person who likes that kind of jungle life and who is physically and mentally tough, who could get on and be friends with the tribal people he was meant to serve. So, we chose a number of people—our selection boards selected them—and I am happy to inform the House that most of these people, who were chosen, have done remarkably well.

I should like to mention here in this House that not only in our foreign missions but also in a case like the NEFA it is not merely the officer who counts but his wife also counts very much. People do not often realise that in

3. A new cadre, called the Indian Frontier Administrative Service (IFAS), was established in the NEFA in 1956, which was a direct descendant in many respects of the old British Indian Frontier Service. Later, it was extended to other frontier areas.

employing an officer, we are really, in effect, employing two persons—the officer and his wife.

An honourable Member: What about those who are bachelors?

JN: We do not have the wife always—that is true—but in fact we expect the wife to play an important part on the social and human side. I am particularly thinking at present of these officers' wives in remote and tribal areas, the NEFA and elsewhere. Only recently I had a report of one officer and his wife.⁴ That lady in that remote area had done a very fine piece of work, apart from her husband doing well, because she had gone out of her way to deal with the tribal people, serve them, make friends with them, make friends with their children, play with their children and help them in many ways. She really created a much better impression than what any formal work by the officer would have done. So, for these people, in these remote areas, I should like to put in a good word and I am sure the House will appreciate the fact that these officers in remote areas, the NEFA, tribal areas, the Naga Hills and Tuensang area, deserve well of us because they are doing their work under very difficult conditions with marked ability.

It is about ten years now since we started building up our Foreign Service in our missions abroad. There were a few missions before Independence. There was India House in London and there was some kind of representation in Washington and a few others, mostly dealing with commercial matters or educational matters sometimes. When we started with our career after Independence, we had this whole wide world to deal with. We started as a country in a big way—I do not mean to say that we are a big country—but we did not suddenly sort of creep in on the international scene furtively. We came almost with a bang and people's attention was directed to our country. Many countries wanted to exchange diplomatic representatives with us. We were quite agreeable, of course, but it was no easy matter to do so, i.e., to build up the Foreign Service and to build up all the apparatus that goes with it. Foreign representation is not merely a question of good and educationally qualified men. It requires experience. Just as in the Army all the individual ability of a man is not quite enough to replace the experience of a General Staff which has inherited and accumulated experiences—the experience of a General Staff cannot be produced by an individual, however brilliant he may be—so also in the Foreign Service of any country, the accumulated experience of a Foreign Office is a very useful thing, not perhaps quite so important, maybe, as the General Staff in the Army, but it is important and this is regardless of the broad specific policy that you

4. Krishna and R.N. Haldipur. See *ante*, p. 408.

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might pursue. This is a kind of background experience which helps one to judge a programme.

All honourable Members read a newspaper and come to some conclusions about some incident. I, acting as the Foreign Minister, naturally have greater access to facts as they occur. It has often happened that I come to certain conclusions quickly but when I go deeper into it and find out the records in the Foreign Office as to how the problem arose and what had happened previously, I have to change my opinion—not on matters of high policy but on other matters—because there is the accumulated experience and facts. We started from scratch and gradually in the course of these ten years we have built up that experience and we are building it up.

We have now 41 embassies, seven high commissions, eleven legations—some of these are duplicated—26 consulates and vice-consulates and 16 commissions, special missions and agencies. Altogether we have 101 missions of some kind or other situated abroad, apart from a considerable number of Indian information units abroad. Now, this is a fairly large number. I cannot, as I said, say that every unit, every person abroad is a brilliant officer. Naturally, there are various types. But taking it all in all, they have preserved a fairly high level and there can be no doubt about it that they have a high reputation among the diplomatic personnel of the world.

As far as our relations with other countries are concerned, they are at a remarkably friendly level. Unfortunately, we have not been able to maintain the same cooperative and friendly level of intercourse with our neighbour country Pakistan. As the House knows, we have no relations with Portugal because of Goa. We have no diplomatic relations with South Africa. Also the reasons are known to this House. Apart from these, our diplomatic personnel are spread out directly or indirectly all over the world.

I do not propose to discuss at the present moment the question of broad policy on world affairs. I wish to refer briefly to some matters. Our broad policy in international affairs has, I believe, the cordial approval of a very large section of this House—not all—and of the country. There are criticisms, legitimate criticisms about particular aspects, emphasis on matters of minor importance as to how things are done. But the broad policy has had that approval and this approval of the House and of this country has naturally given great strength to the Government in carrying out this policy. Because if we went abroad, whether to the United Nations or to other chancelleries, and put forward some policy which was a matter of dispute in this country in a big way, naturally, the effect we produce would be very limited. I will not say anything about that broad policy.

At present, taking the big world questions, obviously, the most important thing is disarmament, which is likely to affect the whole future of the world as to what steps are to be taken. In this connection, many things have happened in

the course of the last few months. The outstanding event in recent months or weeks has been the proposal made on behalf of the Soviet Government—not a proposal, but the decision—not to have nuclear test explosions.⁵ This has been criticised on the ground that, having indulged in a vast number of tests, they can well afford not to have them for some time. That may be true. But, such criticisms can be advanced about any action taken. The major countries today, the United States and the Soviet Union, both probably have got a vast stock of atomic or hydrogen bombs. It is not necessary for them, from any point of view, to manufacture more, probably. Nevertheless, if they decided not to manufacture any more, it would be a great thing even though they do not actively require them. Therefore, a good step is a good step, howsoever it might have come into being. We must welcome—and indeed the country has welcomed—this step of the Soviet Government in regard to stoppage of nuclear tests. In saying so, they have added a proviso, or rather a warning, that 'if others do not stop them, we shall resume them'—more or less to that effect. I trust this contingency will not arise.

There has been a further development. It has been said on behalf of the Soviet Government that they are prepared for control and supervision. That is an important factor. Because the real thing that comes in the way is fear and it has often been said that there can be no certain way of detecting an explosion. I am not a scientist enough to say whether that is right or wrong, because scientists differ. The obvious course seems to be for the United Nations or some other organisation to appoint some scientist of high repute in these matters and ask him to find out how detection can be made certain if some kind of test explosion takes place.

Then there is, on the side of the United States of America, a proposal made by President Eisenhower, the use of atoms for peace, that fissionable material should not be produced for war purposes, which is an important proposal.⁶ Here are all these proposals which, if taken together and acted upon together, would make an enormous difference to the present atmosphere of strain and fear in the world. I do not say that accepting any of these proposals means the solution of

5. On 31 March 1958, the Supreme Soviet unanimously adopted a resolution declaring unilateral termination by the Soviet Union of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests. It also expressed the hope that "the Parliaments of other States possessing such weapons will do everything to terminate test explosions of these weapons by their countries as well."
6. At a press conference held in Washington on 2 April 1958, Eisenhower mentioned a number of US proposals for disarmament and détente, made since the Second World War, most of which were either rejected or ignored by the USSR. For instance, at the meeting of the London sub-committee to the UN Disarmament Commission in August 1957, the suggestion was made for cessation of production of fissionable material for weapons and transfer of nuclear weapon stocks to peaceful uses.

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any major problem in the world. But I do say that accepting them and acting up to them produce conditions which help in solving these problems of the world.

There is talk, as the House knows, of what is called the summit conference or high-level conference. As far as we can judge—I speak from no secret information, but from what is available to all Members of this House—the chances are that some such high-level conference will be held in the course of this year.⁷ I have said often that while every country is interested in this matter, naturally because the whole peace of the world depends upon it, the real two countries in whose hands lies the final issue of war and peace today are the United States and the Soviet Union. Therefore, any agreement must involve an agreement between these two, apart from other countries. Any disarmament conference which leaves out one of them is no disarmament conference. It can produce no adequate results. Sometimes, India's name has been put forward for attendance, for participation in the high-level conference. The question when put to us has rather embarrassed us. Always our reply has been that we do not wish to push ourselves into any conference, but if our presence is wanted by the principal parties concerned and we feel that we can help, we want to be of help.⁸ These are world problems which affect us tremendously as they affect the whole world.

Only one thing more I should like to say about world problems and that is this. If the people are desirous of putting an end to this cold war, it seems to us that the approach should not be hostile, an approach of condemning your opponent. There is no doubt that countries differ in their policies, in their structures of government and in their economic approaches. There is that difference. You cannot put an end to that difference by war, because you rule out war. Now, it is recognised that war will exterminate, not put an end to, that difference. How then are we to approach? Surely, if we approach these questions with the mentality of war and with the language of war, then, again, you are not likely to succeed. Therefore, while maintaining whatever opinions we may have in regard to our policy, while also it is natural for each country to think in terms of its security because no government of any country can forget its security, while doing all that, yet the approach should be not a hostile approach, but a

7. On 19 July 1958, Khrushchev proposed the holding of a summit conference at Geneva of five nations—the USA, UK, USSR, France and India. On 20-21 July 1958, the United States and Britain, while welcoming Khrushchev's proposal, asserted that the rules and procedures governing the deliberations of the UN Security Council should apply to the summit talks. Khrushchev, however, insisted, in his reply of 28 July, that "the right of veto as exercised in the Security Council meetings should be kept in abeyance" and that India and the Arab countries should also participate in the conference. The United States and Britain, on 25-26 July, refused to accept these conditions.

8. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, p. 59.

really friendly approach. Hold to your security, hold to your principles, but recognise the fact that we have to live in this world together in peace even though we differ from each other. We have to find a way to that, and the only way we can do it is by these peaceful methods, and not by thinking or acting in terms of a cold war, which really means constant appeals to hatred, violence and fear. That, I think, is important because there is no other way of doing it.

Now, these are big world questions. So far as India is concerned, we are concerned with the world questions, but the questions of the most immediate concern to us are, if I may say so, two or three—the matters relating to Pakistan, our neighbour country, Goa and, in a quite different category, the question of racial discrimination in South Africa and the treatment of people of Indian descent there who are, mind you, not Indian nationals but who are South African nationals. The question of treatment of Indian nationals has not arisen in South Africa because there is no Indian national there. They are all of Indian descent who are South African nationals. Our interest in it is not only because we are against racial discrimination, but because there is a long history behind this, going back, I do not know, 50 or 60 years or more, and before Independence and since Independence we are intimately involved.

I will not say anything more about it except this that in a deeper consideration of the world's problems today, there are many conflicts and many dangers, but probably something of, well, at least as much importance as any other matter is this question of racial conflict in South Africa. There are racial conflicts elsewhere in the world. There is not a racial conflict in that particular sense but something near or alike to it, in our own country when we suppress one people because they are called untouchable or depressed or this and that. Let us not imagine that our hands are clean in these matters. Of course, they are not clean, and we cannot merely condemn others without looking after our own house.

There are racial conflicts in the United States of America and elsewhere, but the thing that distinguishes the South Africa matter is this. In the United States of America efforts have been made—and made with growing success—to ease the racial problem. I do not say they have solved it, but the Government want to solve it, they try to solve it, they have succeeded, public opinion is helping, there is progress in a certain direction; so also elsewhere. But in South Africa it is the deliberate, acknowledged and loudly-proclaimed policy of the Government itself to maintain this segregation and racial domination. That is why the South African case is unique in the world. While there is racial trouble in many places in the world, in South Africa it is the official policy, and if that is the official policy of a Government, well, that is a policy with which obviously no country, no person who believes in, let us say, the United Nations Charter—leave out other things—can ever compromise, because it uproots almost everything, whether it is the United Nations Charter, whether it is your ideas of democracy, or anything else.

Then there are other matters, which come up in questions here, about the people of Indian descent in Ceylon. I will not go into that. It is a complicated problem. These problems become difficult, and they become more difficult, because of growth of population, unemployment and economic difficulties. You will find usually at the back of it there is some economic difficulty and unemployment. That is there. And the problem is, in the main, that of the Ceylon Government because these people, according to our showing, are not Indian nationals. Whether registered or not, we feel they are or ought to be Ceylon nationals. It is their problem. We are interested in it again because of past history. We are interested in the solution of this because we are friendly with the Ceylon Government. We are interested because of cultural contacts and all that. And it is unfortunate that it has dragged on for so long, but I would beg this House to remember that we should not be too eager to condemn any Government, or the Ceylon Government, merely because it has not solved it quickly. They have their difficulties, and they should realise our position just as we are perfectly prepared to consider their difficulties, but it is obvious that we cannot accept large numbers of people who have lived there, who have been born there, as our nationals. Fortunately, in spite of this complicated and difficult problem, it is increasingly realised in Ceylon by the Government and others, and by us of course, that we should not treat it as a political problem or dispute, but as a human problem, because, ultimately, the welfare of large numbers of human beings is involved and I do hope that, however long it may take, it will be settled in a friendly way and to the advantage of this large number of human beings who are involved.

Now, I come to this collection of problems and difficulties which represent Indo-Pakistan relations now. I do not propose to go deeply into this matter, and right at the commencement I would say that we can make a long list of our problems. There is Kashmir, there is canal waters, there is the exodus from East Pakistan, there is this question of displaced persons and rehabilitation, there are financial issues, and there are so many other matters. All seem to drag on. Sometimes some small matter is discussed and settled, some little progress is made, but, by and large, none of our major problems go towards a settlement. It is most surprising because I think one thing that should be recognised by all of us, by every Indian present in this country, and I hope in Pakistan, is that the perpetuation of conflict or even any kind of a cold war between India and Pakistan is very bad for all of us and all of them. Whatever our approach might be, except just the approach of an angry person which is not a good approach, whatever approach we might make, whether it is geographical, historical, cultural, past connections, present, future, it is patent that India and Pakistan should live cooperatively, not interfering with each other's policies. They are independent countries; we may separate, we may become independent countries as we have done, but we cannot deny geography, we cannot deny history, we cannot deny a

hundred things which exist, the other facts of life of our countries, and so it is inevitable that we must come together, and we must live cooperatively and carry on in our own ways. We cannot force them—we have no desire to force them—to adopt any particular policy, even though we may consider their policy wrong. Now, these are the facts of life, as I said. And because of this it is terribly distressing that we cannot make much progress in developing what is natural and, I think, inevitable between our two countries.

And yet, there is one more hopeful factor, and that is so far as the common people are concerned, in India and in Pakistan. I believe that the old feeling of bitterness and suspicion and fear is infinitely less than it was 10 or 11 years ago. That trail of bitterness, which followed Partition and these huge migrations, most terrible killings, has died down. It is only in the political sphere that passions can be roused, or, with the help of religion, sometimes these communal feelings may be roused whether in Pakistan much more so, or to some extent in India also; let us remember, it is no good our pretending that our hands are lily-white all the time, and our minds are lily-white, because they are not. We have made errors.

I believe that the major difference between Pakistan and India is not because we are better folk than they are—I mean the common people. We are the same lot. We have the same type of virtues and the same type of weaknesses and failings. But I believe that the major difference has been that we as a Government—and not only as Government, but I would say, leaders of parties, all parties or nearly all parties—have deliberately aimed at avoidance of conflict, by creating better relations with the people of Pakistan, while in Pakistan the leadership has not done that. I am not criticising them. I do not wish to criticise them and have a match of mutual criticism. But circumstances in Pakistan have been such that the very creation of Pakistan, that is, on the communal basis and all that, and the way it has continued, have been such that, unfortunately, they have been driven, the leadership there has been driven, to lay stress on conflict with India, on hatred of India, on carrying on the old tradition of the Muslim League which they inherited. Therefore, while neither of us is free of blame as a people, as a Government, we have at least tried to go the right way. That attempt has been absent from the other side. Again, I am not criticising any individual but circumstances, the circumstances which led to this partition, the policy of the Muslim League and all that.

When you consider this unfortunate fact of the strained relations between India and Pakistan, curious strained relations—because, when you and I meet or anybody meets, a group of people from India meets a group of people from Pakistan, we are friendly, we hardly meet as strangers, as people of two countries; we speak the same language, we have common friends, common memories and a hundred and one things, and yet there is this tremendous strain which does harm to both of us. When you think of this, people tell you—some people say—

'Oh, you go and settle this Kashmir issue, and all would be well.' This is the normal criticism or advice offered to us in foreign countries—or 'settle this canal waters issue.' Well, obviously, if we settle any issue which is in conflict, it creates a good atmosphere naturally. But I do submit to this House that all this, that the strain and the feeling of conflict between India and Pakistan is not due to the Kashmir issue, is not due to the canal waters or any other issue, but that all these issues are due to another essential conflict, something else. These are the outcome of that, not the origin of the conflict; of course, they overlap, and it is rather difficult to draw a line between the two. But it does mean this, that if this type of approach, this type of anti-India approach, hatred of India, bitter dislike of India which is propagated in the press, in the statements of leading people in Pakistan, continues, and if that is the basis of their foreign and internal policy, then it just does not matter what you settle and what you do not settle, because that is the basis of policy. If by any chance the Kashmir issue was out of the picture as a matter of conflict, it will have, no doubt, a very good effect, I have no doubt. But unless that basic approach is changed, the thing will continue in other forms. That is our difficulty, so that I feel very unhappy about this matter, and it is no pleasure for me, no desire of mine, to say words, any words which might accentuate our difficulties. I do not like much that is happening in Pakistan. I do not want to criticise it. It is none of my business unless it affects me.

I read only in yesterday's paper—or was it the day before—a former Prime Minister of Pakistan openly saying that 'We must march Pakistan troops into Kashmir'.⁹ Now, what is this? Is this reasonable, sensible? Even if it is a reaction just in an angry defiant way, it is not good; it creates that atmosphere of bitterness and hatred and fear and cold war which we want to get rid of.

Braj Raj Singh:¹⁰ It is meant for consumption within Pakistan only.

JN: It may mean that. But that is an important point. It creates that atmosphere in Pakistan and abroad.

All these years, honourable Members know that there are noted personalities in Pakistan who have made it their business—openly proclaimed—to train people to commit sabotage in Jammu and Kashmir State. In fact, I forget the number, but at least a hundred bomb outrages have taken place in that State; many people have been killed, and all that. This has been deliberately done there. Now, can one go towards solving a problem when that is the attitude—when jihad and all that is talked about? I do not think that is the attitude of the people of Pakistan as a whole. And I would not even say this, for who am I to go about criticising the leaders of other countries? But I would say we have got into such a tangle that the only positive policy of theirs is a negative policy, which is a contradiction

9. For Chaudhury Mohammad Ali's statement of 6 April 1958, see *ante*, p. 562.

10. Socialist Party Member of the Lok Sabha from Firozabad, Uttar Pradesh.

in terms—that is, a negative policy of hatred of India. And they go about repeating—some of them—that India will crush them and swallow them up, and that India is out to undo Partition. For anyone to think of that is foolish, for anyone to do it or try to do it would be criminal folly. And looking at it, apart from the larger viewpoint, from the standpoint of India and India alone, from the narrowest opportunist point of view even, it would be criminal folly.

Nobody wants to undo Partition. It will be terrible, we will go down, everything that we try, whether it is our five-year plan or whatever it is, the whole thing will collapse; instead of doing any good to anybody, the whole structure of our economy, the political and economic structure would suffer. The only way is for each country to go its way, and I hope, come nearer to each other, cooperatively in thinking and action, of its own free will. That is the way to retain their independence and freedom of action.

Now, there are these two major problems. One is the canal waters dispute, dragging on interminably. Some of our best engineers are practically spending their lives, sitting in Washington, discussing this matter with representatives of Pakistan and the World Bank. We have spent vast sums of money just in these discussions. I do not know the figure, but it runs into crores, I think. We would have built a fine scheme or project or canal here or in Pakistan by the amount of money we have spent merely in talking. Talking is sometimes useful; naturally, it serves some purpose, it is better than quarrelling. Anyhow, here is this problem of canal waters which, essentially, is not a political problem and should not be considered as such. It is a human problem. We do not want to deny Pakistan any water that it can have. We do not wish to make the Pakistan peasantry suffer for lack of water. Obviously, we are not going to deny our own people what they need so badly. We are not going to deny something for which we have been preparing almost for generations, not to mention the last ten years or so, something for which people in Rajasthan, in parts of East Punjab and other areas, have been preparing for generations. We are not going to wipe all this out because some people do not like it. Mind you, all these schemes are pre-Independence and pre-Partition schemes and you can judge them.

Anyhow, our approach—and I want this approach to be carried out—is a friendly approach to Pakistan, is a human approach to this problem. Let us do our best. It is no good Pakistan telling us ‘give us Rs 1,000 crores’. It is fantastic—such huge figures being thrown about, as if any country can do that. But we do not want Pakistan to suffer; at the same time, it is obvious that we do not want ourselves to suffer at all.¹¹

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11. Nehru went on to speak on the Kashmir issue. For that part of the speech dealing with the Kashmir, see *ante*, pp. 560-564.

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Now, I should like to say a sentence or two before finishing in regard generally to the Demands for External Affairs. In the past, during these debates and sometimes during questions, many points have been brought out and many criticisms have been made; and we have profited by these criticisms at any rate, we have tried to profit by them and we welcome them. We are not afraid of criticisms and we welcome those criticisms, but I would say only one thing.

Sometimes an approach is made which entails, without much obvious good, a great deal of labour. For instance, after two or three years of effort, labour and concentration we formed the Indian Foreign Service B. It involved tremendous labour, all kinds of committees of selection and consultation with Public Service Commission and all that. I do not know—I forget that now—but probably 7,000 or 8,000 persons applied. I get complaint after complaint that so and so have been improperly rejected or so and so have been improperly chosen. It is not possible for me as the Minister to consider 7,000 applications. Some impartial committee has to consider them. Most of these came from people in service; they were taken in or they remained where they were. I suppose some of the persons who did not happen to get in or who were not chosen go about from Member to Member with their complaints. Then, I get long letters, letters of three, four or five typewritten foolscap pages. I have them examined; of course, I send them answers. But, I would submit that it is impossible, when we are following these procedures greatly—I cannot guarantee that—that absolutely 100 per cent correct decision is always made. Who can guarantee that? But we make a certain procedure where the personal element does not count or counts very little, and when we go through this procedure, if any obvious error takes place, one tries to correct it. But it is quite impossible for us to go after these 6,000 or 7,000 people continuously and repeatedly because they go and complain of something that might have happened to them.

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Mr Deputy Speaker,¹² I shall deal very briefly with a few points. I am merely surprised at the persistence of Shri Barua about this question of the selection of officers for the NEFA.¹³ Here I have the official paper, the orders issued by the

12. Hukam Singh.
13. Hem Barua said that a Selection Board was constituted for the selection of officers to the cadre of Indian Frontier Administrative Service in 1956 in the North East Frontier Agency (NEFA). The members who constituted the Selection Board did not attend the meeting of the Board and delegated their powers to junior officers. As a result, men who were not eligible to become officials of this cadre were selected and there were cases of corruption also. Barua requested Nehru to see that conditions improved in the NEFA because on the strength and solidarity of the frontier depended the security of the country.

President, that is, the rules framed under the orders of the President, which says: The Special Selection Board shall be constituted by the Central Government and shall consist of a representative of the Ministry of External Affairs who shall be the Chairman of the Board, the Adviser to the Governor of Assam, a representative of the Ministry of Home Affairs, a representative of the Ministry of Defence, an anthropologist and others. The point is they are representatives and the Ministry can send any representative. It so happened that when the meeting was held here, the representative was the Foreign Secretary, and it so happened that when the meeting was held at Shillong the Joint Secretary in special charge of this Department was there. He was a fairly senior officer who deals with these matters mostly. There can be no question about the legality of it. But, as I said in the course of my address this morning, the results show that the selections made were excellent. The officers we have got are good selections, people who have proved by their work and worth that it was a good selection.

Then, Sir, here is one honourable Member, Shri Brajeshwar Prasad¹⁴ who often intervenes in debates on foreign affairs and who in spite of belonging to a large party in this House, really forms a party, a single-member party of his own.....

Bray Raj Singh: Is he not a Member of the Congress Party?

JN: ... I am not aware that any other Member is in agreement on the various subjects that he talks about. He has allowed us today again to have some glimpses into the obscure corners of his mind. But, they were remarkable glimpses about driving away this country from this continent, pushing in some other continent, about really having an elemental scope, hardly politics. But, I merely refer to him because it is not merely a matter for amusement for us, although it is amusing I must say. But, often lightly to give extraordinary impressions to people outside who may read about this as to what the quality of thinking in this House is on such matters, is likely to delude them. Therefore, I have referred to this matter.

An honourable Member: To which party does he belong?

Mr Deputy Speaker: He is a Member of the House all right.

JN: The honourable Member, Seth Govind Das,¹⁵ referred to the problem of migration. My colleague had said something about it. Obviously, the question of

14. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Gaya, Bihar.

15. Seth Govind Das, the Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh, said that India should have an agreement with Australia, which was two and a half times bigger than India with similar climatic conditions in some parts of it, so that a chunk of Indian population could be settled in Australia.

population in the world is important now and it is going to be terribly important, maybe, 10, 20 or 30 years later. How is it going to be solved, I do not know. One obvious way talked about more and more now is of restricting the growth of population by methods of birth control. So far as we are concerned, it is of high importance that we should try to do so and succeed in that. Other countries are also thinking on these lines. It would be completely wrong and improper for us to say that because Australia or other countries happen to be sparsely populated we should raise this question and try to send our people there. It will be improper from a variety of ways and it is raising a hornet's nest without achieving anything in the near future. Even if there is such a thing in the future, it will be a tremendous thing for us. This is not a question of people disappearing here and appearing there. We have to face same problem here in connection with the refugee rehabilitation. People are disinclined to go from one State to another. Imagine thinking in terms of taking large numbers of people! Presumably Seth Govind Das thinks in terms of a few thousands. But you have to think in terms of millions, scores of millions, to make a difference.

Probably, among the States of India—I am not quite sure—Madhya Pradesh is the most sparsely populated. It may well be that Seth Govind Das may try this to some extent in relation to his own State.....

There are grave difficulties. I say this because unless there is something definite, feasible and practicable, it is not worthwhile our saying things which frighten people. There is no such intention on our part.

Then, again, the population of India is a big one. It is no doubt a growing one. But the population of China is far bigger and the rate of growth is even bigger. Whatever birth control may do in the future, it is calculated that there are about 660 millions in China. It will be a thousand millions before very long—in 20 years or 25 years. Imagine a thousand millions in China. Then take Indonesia. It is also a very heavily populated country, with 70, 80 or 90 millions, I think. I am told it is 85 millions. It is also growing rapidly. The whole of the South-East Asia is a tremendously heavily populated area.

Hem Barua: But about China, the population there per square mile is less than ours. The pressure of population per square mile is less than ours.

JN: But there is the Gobi desert too, and various other things. The population of the whole of the Chinese State, including Tibet, Gobi desert and Mongolia, if you spread it out, it is not so great. But the really heavily populated area is China proper. It is terribly populated. What is more, as I have said, the rate of increase is two per cent per annum. This rate of increase is bound to go up because of health measures and the rest as in India. Actually, our rate of increase in population, in population growth, is a little less than it was before; it is

actually going down. But because the death rate is going down fast, more people remain alive.

The honourable Member, Shri Mukerjee,¹⁶ referred to a number of matters. One he referred to was about an Indian doctor in London, and that diplomatic immunity had been claimed by the warden of a hostel. This matter came up before me some time ago. I think the honourable Member was pleased to draw my attention to it and I enquired into the details. I do not think whether it will be right or proper for me to say anything much here about this case, because it will be very much to the disadvantage of that Indian doctor if I say anything much here.¹⁷ He was a gentleman who was sent from India with the help of advance, loans, etc., from the West Bengal Government, and later he received more loans. He has not returned them. He has refused to abide by any directions. In fact, some suits are pending against him for various purposes. And he failed, in other words, with the people who had sent him, who had given him money, and refused to come back. He has been there for a long time. The dispute arose about his insisting on treating Indian students in the hostel which is connected or run by the High Commission. It was stated that he was trying to induce the students to ask for him whenever they wanted a doctor. It was not considered proper for any doctor to do so, and he was asked not to do so, but if any student wanted him he could go. This is the beginning. It is not a very big matter, but since it was referred to I thought I should say something about it.

Then, Sir, he sued the lady warden of the hostel for defamation, defamation presumably because she said he was trying to get students to engage him, which was supposed to be defamatory. And, the Commonwealth Relations Office in London, it appears, informed them that this lady had diplomatic immunity. I do not myself like anyone claiming diplomatic immunity unless in some very, very special case; but normally diplomatic immunity is given on a reciprocal basis between two countries. This was, finally, the action of the Commonwealth Relations Office; I do not know the details. But, having gone through much of the correspondence with this doctor, I cannot say that my sympathies went to him at all. His record was not at all a pleasing and satisfactory one so far as his relations with those who had sent him or those with whom he was dealing there was concerned. And, surprisingly enough, he has found a champion in England, a champion whom, well, many of us would prefer not to have—the champion is the *Daily Express*.

16. H.N. Mukerjee, Communist Party Member of the Lok Sabha from Calcutta Central.
17. Mukerjee had referred to reports in the British Press about the Indian High Commissioner in London extending diplomatic immunity to a lady warden of a students' hostel who was sued for defamation by an Indian doctor.

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Shri Mukerjee made some suggestions, some of which seem to me completely beyond our power. He said something about Nagar Haveli;¹⁸ we should apparently take some steps to put an end to this case going on in the International Court, we should incorporate it with the Indian Union and so on. Of course, this Parliament could incorporate it. There is no difficulty about incorporation. But you can consider the advisability of it, the advisability of such an action when a case is going on on an international plane in the Hague Court. We have deliberately—and I think rightly—ever since Nagar Haveli became a liberated area through the efforts of its own inhabitants, avoided any formal contact with it, any governmental contact with it, because we do not wish it to appear, what was not a fact, that it was not the people of Nagar Haveli but outsiders who had gone and pushed out the Portuguese authorities from there. The fact is that the people of Nagar Haveli and some Goans did that without the slightest help from any governmental authority. And we wanted to leave it at that and not to confuse the issue by any step that we might take.

Then, he also said something about our firmly and finally withdrawing the case, of Kashmir issue, from the Security Council.¹⁹ There, again, it was not quite clear to me how a case is withdrawn from the Security Council. So far as I know, a case goes there, it remains there and if somebody intends to withdraw it, suppose we want to withdraw a complaint we made, we cannot withdraw somebody else's complaint. We might withdraw our own complaint but the other complaint would remain.

But there was one thing that Shri H.N. Mukerjee said. He seemed to think that because I did not mention in my earlier speech Indonesia and Algeria I am suffering from some kind of inhibition lest I might offend somebody. That of course was not the case. I was not dealing this morning with the entire field of foreign affairs. So far as Algeria is concerned, it is a matter, well, of tragedy, which really can be measured only in almost elemental terms. It is a terribly bad thing, but I do not understand yet how I can serve the cause of Algeria or the Algerian people by merely shouting about it all the time. We have in our own way drawn attention to this fact repeatedly. Maybe, sometimes what we have

18. Mukerjee had said that he could not understand the Government's unwillingness to integrate Nagar Haveli, which had been liberated by the people of that area in 1954, into the Indian Union. He added that India should exercise her sovereign rights to ask the International Court not to take any further cognisance of Portugal's claim to send troops across Indian territory to reconquer Nagar Haveli.
19. Mukerjee argued that "it is more than time that our case before the Security Council, which enables these busy-bodies to muddy the waters and bedevil Indo-Pakistan relations, is firmly and finally withdrawn.... in exercise of our inherent rights of sovereignty which were not taken away by any commitment which we may have made directly or by implication with the United Nations."

stated has had some effect. We have in our own way done it. We refused to shout and we refused to go about merely condemning when all kinds of stories came to us, and facts, a year and a half ago or more, about Hungary. We did not think it was right to do that but we did try to draw the attention of the Governments concerned to various matters and sometimes with success. We did serve a cause we had at heart. We would not have been able to do that if we had merely performed in public with vigour, without any results.

Then, Shri H.N. Mukerjee referred also to the possibility of holding a Bandung Conference.²⁰ It can be held, but I still think that a Bandung Conference at the present stage, of the type that was held, would not be feasible because it was a Governmental Conference. This House knows what is happening in Western Asia—separate groups of nations struggling away in different directions. There are internal troubles in Indonesia. I should have thought this was not at all a suitable time for such a conference, and this is not my view only. This was the view of most of the people concerned with the sponsoring of the first Bandung Conference, because we consulted each other some time back.

Now Shri H.N. Mukerjee made a suggestion which I fear is not feasible, but I would welcome it if it was feasible. It was about a customs union,²¹ but clearly, when the position is what it is today, to talk about customs union is not to talk in terms of reality.

Only today I was told of the kind of thing that happens. Only today a newspaper quoted a speech delivered in Lahore. I shall make it clear that so far as I know it is not delivered by any high government functionary, but still by a prominent citizen. He said, Oh, Kashmir, the question of Kashmir is there of course. But that is not enough. We must now strive for a complete rectification of the boundary between India and Pakistan, the area in that northern boundary. The Qaid-e-Azam²² said so and we must try that.²³ This supports what I ventured to say to this House this morning that we are up against something in a sense very solid and in another sense very insubstantial. It is not Kashmir, though Kashmir, of course, is a very important issue. It is not canal waters. It is something basic, derived from that intense communal attitude, bitterness, etc.,

20. Mukerjee said that he did not appreciate Nehru's hesitation or unwillingness to work for another Asian-African conference to follow up the Bandung meet. If Nehru took the initiative in this matter, he could do a great job of work for peace and for Asian freedom, Mukerjee added.
21. Mukerjee suggested that Indians could talk to the people of Pakistan over the heads of their rulers in the interest of the two countries and their interdependent economy, and demand a customs union and a common market.
22. Mohammad Ali Jinnah.
23. Some political workers belonging to different political parties in Pakistan laid the foundation of "Greater Pakistan Movement" in Lahore on 7 April 1958 and its convenor Dr Jehangir Parvez explained the aims and objects of the movement.

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anti-Indian attitude, which has been the inheritance of Pakistan unfortunately from the old Muslim League and then after the time of the Partition. Claims grow, demands grow and nothing is satisfied. Therefore, how we are to attack—I mean, attack—that basic attitude and convert it and make it a friendly one is a problem very difficult for us, but there is no other way to do it.

There is one thing else. It is quite extraordinary at the present moment, what the Pakistan Radio is saying from day to day about India, about Kashmir, about individuals here, the Government and everybody—the Pakistan Radio functioning not only from Karachi, but Lahore, Rawalpindi, Peshawar or whatever it is. And I am not referring to what is called the Azad Radio, that is, of course, a class by itself and its virulence nobody can reach. The Pakistan Radio's constant attacks on India, constant preaching of hatred and violence is something amazing. That is the attitude we have to face all the time. I said this morning that I do not claim that we are blameless, that we are guiltless, that we go with lily-white hands and all that. We have made mistakes; we have made errors. Sometimes some speech is delivered, some writing is done here, which is not either in good taste or is otherwise proper. But the fact is that our major effort, the effort of this Parliament, of this Government, and even I say of our press, generally speaking, is towards a lessening of tensions, though individuals go sometimes astray while there is nobody to check that. In fact, all efforts are made to increase the tension, bitterness and hatred. All that we can do is not to be led away by that into wrong courses ourselves and to remember always that the final objective between India and Pakistan can only be friendship and cooperation.

We are neighbours and our conflicts—they may appear big today—are really small compared to the innumerable points of contact that we have and are bound to have. As a matter of fact, these conflicts have not only injured us, even in economic and financial terms, but if we had cooperated economically in trade, this, that and the other, it would have been far more advantageous to us both.

Lastly, my colleague, Shri Rameshwar Rao, referred to our frontier areas, meaning by that not the East frontier, not the NEFA or the Naga Hills or Assam—that of course is there—but rather the whole stretch of the frontier—Punjab, UP, etc.²⁴ These areas have been totally neglected in the past, they have been completely neglected. There is one honourable Member in this House, maybe there are others, but there is certainly one, Mr Bhakt Darshan,²⁵ who is constantly reminding us about those areas by putting questions and writing to me quite

24. Rameshwar Rao, the Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Mahbubnagar, Andhra Pradesh, said that emphasis, either through the State Governments, such as the Governments of Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab or Kashmir, or directly by the Government of India through a special agency, should be given to the development of this whole frontier area in education, communications and so on.

25. Congress Party Member of the Lok Sabha from Garhwal, Uttar Pradesh.

rightly, because they are important. I am not for the moment thinking in terms of strategy, etc., but they are rich areas and there are fine people living in those areas. It is difficult to do much for them till at least communications are developed. The primary thing is communications. We are doing something towards that end and I hope more will be done.

4. To V.K. Krishna Menon¹

New Delhi
April 13, 1958

My dear Krishna,²

Today, the High Commissioner of Ceylon³ gave me a letter from Prime Minister Bandaranaike.⁴ I enclose a copy of it.

I shall have to send an answer fairly soon.⁵ As you will notice, he suggests an early preliminary meeting in Colombo of representatives of the so-called Colombo countries.⁶ But, apparently, this is only meant to decide on the date, place, agenda and participants of a second Bandung Conference. Further, it is suggested that the Bandung Conference should devote itself to non-controversial subjects. I hardly know of any major subject which is non-controversial. Also that the subjects he mentions are a curious mixture, many of them of a technical nature. Nuclear energy can hardly be discussed by a conference like that.

I see no good whatever coming from such a Bandung Conference and I do not understand how these important subjects are going to be discussed there. Anyhow, I am sending you this letter. We can have a talk later about it.⁷

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Defence.
3. Richard Aluwihare.
4. S.W.R.D.Bandaranaike, in his letter of 7 April 1958, pointed out that one of the subjects particularly stressed at the Bandung Conference in 1955 was closer economic cooperation among the participating countries, and added that at the Colombo Powers conference held in New Delhi from 12 to 14 November 1956, it was decided that a consultative committee representing the five Colombo Powers would be set up to deal with certain economic problems arising out of the Suez crisis. He emphasised the need to convene a conference consisting generally of countries represented at Bandung to deal with purely economic problems.
5. See *post*, pp. 704-706.
6. Ceylon, India, Pakistan, Burma and Indonesia were the Colombo Power countries.
7. Nehru also sent copies of this letter to Morarji Desai and G.B. Pant for their reactions.

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5. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
April 14, 1958

My dear Mr President,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th April about the invitation from Japan.² I think that, if you agree, the invitation from the Emperor and Empress of Japan³ should be accepted. For the present, all we have to do is to inform the Japanese Ambassador⁴ informally about this acceptance. Later, a formal invitation will come.

The time suggested for the visit is September-October. That is, on the whole, a good time for Japan.

It is for your consideration whether you should go there by the special Viscount Aircraft or the Air India International Service from Delhi to Tokyo direct. The latter is a faster service and would take you direct there. It is a comfortable service also. The Viscount will probably have to make one or possibly two halts on the way where it will be necessary to break journey. As the Viscount, so far as I know, has not been to Tokyo previously, it will presumably be necessary for it to pay a preliminary visit to gain this experience before it takes you on this journey.

We shall wait for the formal invitation before any other step is taken. But perhaps, meanwhile, some thought might be given to various arrangements for the journey, the number of the party accompanying you, the number of days to be spent in Japan and whether it will be desirable or worthwhile to break journey in any of the countries en route. There is Burma of course, and there are the countries of Indo-China. Burma would be easy. Probably a visit to the countries of Indo-China can only be undertaken in the special aircraft.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Regarding the informal invitation he had received for a visit to Japan, Rajendra Prasad wrote that "I have no wish one way or the other in the matter" and would abide by Nehru's decision.
3. Emperor Hirohito and Empress Nagako.
4. Shiroshi Nasu.

6. Trade with Zanzibar¹

Yes, please send a telegram to Captain Husein Haji at Zanzibar. In this you will acknowledge his telegram² and say that we have given careful consideration to it. While in the past we have encouraged this country boat traffic, we have now been compelled by foreign exchange difficulties to put heavy restrictions upon it for the time being. You may point out specially that during the last quarter of 1957 the import of cloves went up in an astonishing way and was clearly speculative.

2. While we cannot relax these restrictions for the present, you may add, we are still considering how to relieve the genuine difficulties of people employed in these country crafts.

3. I think you should send your reply to our representative at Nairobi³ and ask him to communicate it on our behalf to Captain Husein Haji.

1. Note to M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 17 April 1958.
JN Collection.
2. The telegram from "Captain Hussein Haji and Other" from Zanzibar, received by Nehru on 15 April, had referred to their earlier telegram of 8 April and said, "we ought to sail latest thirtieth April. Survival of India country craft industry entirely dependent upon your favourable decision soon." Nehru had received another telegram from Zanzibar from some owners of country craft which had crossed the Indian Ocean from Africa to India. Referring to these telegrams, Nehru had written on 15 April to Lal Bahadur Shastri, Union Minister of Commerce and Industry, asking him to see that urgent decisions were arrived at in the matter.
3. Prem Krishen.

7. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
April 17, 1958

My dear Mr President,

Thank you for your letter of the 17th April.

If I may say so, it would not be desirable for you to go to Singapore. In visiting any British colony or semi-colony, difficulties will arise. Also, I feel

1. JN Collection.

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that a visit to the Indo-Chinese countries is perhaps not advisable. If one goes only to one or two and not to the others, this may be criticised in those other countries. To go to all four of them will be difficult. Indeed, I would not like you to go to one or two of these places anyhow.

For the present, I suggest that you might visit Japan and Burma only. This, of course, presumes that a visit from you will suit the Burmese Government at that time.

The Japanese Government have suggested your going there in September-October. In fact, October is the better month. If you wish to come back here by the 25th September, this will mean your starting early in September, which perhaps may not suit the Japanese Government. Also, on the whole, October is the better month.²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Rajendra Prasad visited Japan from 27 September to 5 October 1958.

8. To S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike¹

New Delhi
April 20, 1958

My dear Prime Minister,

Your High Commissioner in Delhi delivered to me some days ago your letter of the 7th April 1958.² In this letter you have suggested the holding of a conference of Asian-African countries on economic cooperation.

2. When your High Commissioner came to see me about this letter, I told him that naturally I should like to give full consideration to your suggestion. At the same time I gave him some of my first reactions and pointed out a number of difficulties in the way of holding such a conference in the near future. I also had a talk with your Minister, Mr Senanayake, who was in Delhi recently.³ Perhaps he has conveyed the substance of my talk with him.

1. JN Collection.
2. See *ante*, p. 701.
3. M. Senanayake, the Ceylonese Minister of Transport and Works, was in Delhi on 17 and 18 April 1958 and held discussions with S.K. Patil, Union Minister of Transport and Communications, regarding traffic rights in respect of Air Ceylon's international service through Bombay.

3. When the Bandung Conference was held in April 1955, there was, as you have pointed out, a good deal of discussion on such economic cooperation among the participating countries. Something was said on this subject in the subsequent joint communique also. But, as a matter of fact, that discussion indicated how difficult it was to give effect to any economic cooperation over such a wide area as Asia and Africa. In the result, the recommendations were vague and the appointment of liaison officers was suggested. It was felt then that a much more useful approach would be on a bilateral basis.

4. Subsequently, these liaison officers were appointed by some countries. I remember pursuing this matter on behalf of our Government repeatedly and sending letters to the other participating Governments. Many of them did not even reply or just acknowledged our letter and nothing came of it.

5. The position now is even more difficult and complicated than it was when the Colombo Powers Conference met in Delhi in November 1956 or when the Committee set up by it met in Colombo in June 1957. We have various organisations dealing with economic issues functioning in this area. There is the ECAFE and the Colombo Plan as well as other organisations of the United Nations. Any economic cooperation confined to a group has to be preceded by better relationship and a common outlook as between the countries concerned. This does not exist at present as between the Baghdad Pact countries or the SEATO countries and ourselves.

6. Indeed, since the Bandung Conference, these rival groupings have increased and taken formal shape. These groups deal with economic matters and are tied up with other countries. Any economic groupings of Asian countries at present can hardly be outside the context of the United States or the United Kingdom. What then will be the position of China or of the Soviet Union?

7. In South East Asia, with which we are more concerned, we are having internal trouble in Indonesia and we can hardly expect the Indonesian Government to take an active part in any such conference. In Western Asia, the United Arab Republic and the Federation of Iraq and Jordan are also opposed to each other. We see therefore these conflicts and differences in various parts of Asia as well as Africa. A conference is likely to accentuate these differences and thus put an end even to the conception of unity which the Bandung Conference created to some extent.

8. In Europe there has recently developed the European Common Market. This is in a sense a natural development, though it is not very much to our liking. After all, these countries in Europe have a certain interest in the Common Market as well as in the exploitation of their colonial territories, to some extent, in competition against the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth countries.

9. In effect your proposal leads to an attempt being made to some extent of planning over this wide area. Perhaps India has thought more in terms of planning than most countries in Asia or Africa. We have found this business an

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exceedingly difficult one and we have faced and are facing very grave problems. If that is so in our respective countries, how much more difficult would it be for an attempt at a wider international planning which is hardly likely to suit everyone. This would involve a reconditioning of each country's planning to suit the interests of another. To some extent this is done by bilateral trade agreements, but over a much wider sphere this appears hardly feasible.

10. You have mentioned a number of subjects which are of a specialised kind. Thus nuclear energy can only be discussed by experts and not at a general conference. This would apply to many other subjects too. It might be worthwhile to have a conference of countries interested in a special problem, such as technical assistance or floods or population growth.

11. The fact is that nearly all the countries of Asia and Africa are have-not countries, relying on wealthier and more industrialised countries for help.

12. I have pointed out to you some of the difficulties I have in mind. It appears to me to be unwise to take any step now, without very full consideration, lest we might be dragged into a difficult situation. At present the world's attention is concentrated on some kind of a summit conference or high-level meeting. This has no direct reference to Asian and African countries. But nevertheless we are intimately affected by any progress or lack of progress towards disarmament, etc., and the ending of the cold war.

13. While the current atmosphere in Asian countries is not suitable for the convening of a conference of the type you have in mind, perhaps the ideal of cooperation amongst Colombo countries, particularly in the planning and economic field, could be quietly and unobtrusively furthered by periodical meetings of the Consultative Committee referred to in para 2 of your letter. I believe this committee met twice,⁴ last in January 1957, and could usefully meet more frequently and exchange views and information on some of the subjects mentioned in your letter.

14. I would have liked to discuss some of these matters with you and perhaps it might be possible for you to come over here on a brief visit sometime in the future.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. In his letter of 7 April 1958, Bandaranaike wrote that the Consultative Committee had met only once in June 1957.

9. To Mohan Sinha Mehta¹

New Delhi
April 30, 1958

My dear Mohan Sinha,

I understand you will be relinquishing charge of your Mission in Berne towards the end of May and proceed on short leave in Europe before returning home. During the last ten years you have held charge of three important missions² and I have always found your advice helpful. You were in Karachi during three difficult years and I was impressed by the courage and persistence with which you represented our points of view in a hostile atmosphere. On the eve of your retirement, I am writing to thank you for your services to the country and to wish you health and happiness. I shall be glad to see you when you come to Delhi next.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Mohan Sinha Mehta was Ambassador to the Netherlands from 1949 to 1951, High Commissioner to Pakistan from 1951 to 1955 and Ambassador to Switzerland and Austria from 1955 to 1958.

10. On Passport Policy¹

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V. Prasad Rao:² May I know whether any instructions have been issued to the Regional Passport Officer to expedite these applications and the enquiry by the police?

Jawaharlal Nehru: This is not a matter, Sir, normally of police enquiry. It is a minor matter. The real difficulty is, these large number of applications, all people going to the United Kingdom in search of employment, people going to create

1. Extracts from reply to questions in the Rajya Sabha, 5 May 1958. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXI, cols. 1401-1403.
2. Communist Party Member of the Rajya Sabha from Andhra Pradesh.

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problems for us, people who do not know any language except, well, the language of a special part of India. They go there because employment is available there and they create very difficult problems. Because of this, there has been a racket about bogus passports. Cases are going on; people have been arrested. It applies not only to India, to Pakistan more so, but to other countries too. On the one hand, according to rules, the United Kingdom does not accept any passport that we issue without a visa. Therefore, responsibility is cast upon us much more to prevent people from going there, people who get our country into trouble, get themselves into trouble and create problems in the United Kingdom. That is a major reason for the rejection of passports. Others are relatively small individual reasons.

V. Prasad Rao: May I know if Communists and other trade-unionists were discriminated against while issuing passports?

JN: They are only discriminated against when they are known definitely to run down the country or talk in terms of violence; otherwise, they are not discriminated against.

V. Prasad Rao: May I know why while leaders of the Communist Party are issued passes, the Communist legislators are denied the passes?

JN: Communists as such or members of any Party are not discriminated against. As the honourable Member himself said, leaders and others go. It is only when there is some individual record of running down India when they go abroad or talk in terms of violence, possibly the passport is not issued.

V. Prasad Rao: How is it that when a man does not leave the shores of India, the Government could think that he is going to run down India?

JN: He may be running it down in India itself.

V. Prasad Rao: It does not mean that he will do the same thing when he leaves the shores.

(No reply)

Jaswant Singh:³ When some of the Indian nationals go out and run down the country, is any action taken against them when they return?

3. Independent Member of the Rajya Sabha from Rajasthan.

JN: No action can be taken normally except in very extreme cases to impound their passports. Normally it is not done. May I just point out that a large number of visas and passports are issued? Obviously, our policy is not a restrictive policy in this respect.

11. To A. C. N. Nambiar¹

New Delhi
May 8, 1958

My dear Nanu,²

You will have left Bonn by the time this letter reaches you. As you know, I would have liked you to continue as our representative in the Federal Republic of Germany and to carry on the good work which you have been doing there during the last three years. I am very sorry that for reasons of health you felt compelled to relinquish your mission. I should, however, like to convey to you our high appreciation of the good work that you have done. I know the high esteem in which you are held in the Federal German Republic both by the Government and by the people and do hope that when your health is fully restored you will be able to return to the country's service in some capacity or other.

With best wishes,

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. A.C.N. Nambiar Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. (1896-1986); diplomat and journalist; educated in Madras and London; worked for India's freedom in Europe; married Suhashini Chattopadhyaya (youngest sister of Sarojini Naidu); moved to Germany from England in 1922 and worked as a journalist; took over charge of the Berlin Indian Students' Information Bureau, 1929; met Nehru at Vienna, 1936; served as interpreter to Subhas Bose at his meeting with Hitler on 29 May 1942; Counsellor, Berne, 1948-51; Minister in Sweden, Denmark and Finland, 1953-55; Indian Ambassador to Federal Republic of Germany, 1955-58; after retirement moved to Zurich and contributed to Indian newspapers; returned to India in 1985.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

12. To G.L. Mehta¹

New Delhi
May 8, 1958

My dear Gaganvihari,²

Now that you have relinquished your mission in the USA, I wish to express my high appreciation of the valuable work which you have done as our representative in that country during the last six years. You took over charge at a time when the relations between India and the USA were subjected to strain by the US Government's decision to give military assistance to Pakistan.³ You have struggled hard and valiantly during all these years to impress on the Americans the danger of the course which they had adopted and to remove misapprehensions about our foreign and domestic policies. We are happy that today there is a better understanding of our points of view in the highest circles in the United States of America. A share of credit for this is due to you. Your persistent advocacy of the Indian cause, your keenness and sincerity have won you friends in wide circles of the American public life. This is a record of which you can be justly proud. I look forward to seeing you when you are back home.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. G.L. Mehta Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. G.L. Mehta was Indian Ambassador in Washington from 1952 to 5 May 1958.
3. The reference is to the supply of arms by the USA to Pakistan as part of the US-Pakistan Agreement of 1954.

13. To M.S. Chopra¹

New Delhi
9th May, 1958

My dear Chopra,²

I have received both your letters of 8th April and of 28th April, 1958.

The decision not to extend your normal tenure was taken mainly because your political work was not considered to be quite up to the standard expected of a Head of Mission. The fact that your explanation regarding the heavy remittances and large accumulation of local currency was not considered satisfactory was only an additional factor that was taken into consideration in

1. JN Collection.
2. M.S. Chopra was Indian Ambassador to the Philippines at this time.

coming to this decision. The impression created by these transactions may, of course, be removed if you can explain more clearly how you disposed of your sterling travellers' cheques that you took from India and how you were in a position in January 1957 to remit a sum of Rs 37,000 by depositing an equivalent in Pesos when your entire emoluments till then in the Philippines amounted only to about Rs 35,000.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Earlier, Nehru in his note of 21 March 1958 to B.N. Chakravarty, Special Secretary and N.R. Pillai, Secretary General, MEA, discussed about this matter and agreed with them that Chopra's assignment in the Philippines might be terminated on his completion of two years there. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, p. 771.

14. Afghan Refugees in India¹

I agree with you generally. We should make it clear to them that the question of granting allowances arose under different circumstances in the past when restrictions were placed on them in India.² These restrictions have long been removed and it is open to them to go where they like and do what they like, subject only to their not indulging in any political activities, which might embarrass us. Government, therefore, are under no moral obligation to continue these allowances. We have, however, continued these allowances up till now as a matter of grace and so as to avoid putting them in difficulties. It is obvious, however, that these cannot be continued indefinitely. We are, however, for the present, prepared to continue them as they are.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 12 May 1958. File No. 3(8)-IA/58, MEA.
2. The presence of Afghan refugees in India dates back to the 19th century when Britain was anxious to maintain Afghanistan as a friendly buffer state, took an active interest in Afghan affairs and gave asylum to politically important Afghans and their followers. Since 1952, there were absolutely no restrictions of any kind on Afghan refugees in India. The pensions of these refugees varied from time to time according to their importance as well as their needs. In view of this background, S. Dutt suggested that while India should not withdraw or reduce allowances immediately, it should not increase them either.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

2. While you should write to them on these lines, there is one fact which does trouble me a little. Most of these people, I suppose, are quite incapable of earning their living. They have become the poor genteel. They have children to educate, and there are some women. The present scale of allowances in regard to some of them at least, is not much, having regard to the cost of living now. The result would be their running into debt repeatedly, thus creating fresh problems.

3. I am rather surprised to find that there are so many of these people receiving some kind of a pension or allowance. I had thought that the number was fewer.

4. While I suggest that a reply should be sent to them as indicated above, I would not completely rule out an increase in the allowances of some of them in future. More especially, I would be inclined to agree to educational allowances.

15. Cable to Ali Yavar Jung¹

I am surprised and somewhat distressed to read your letter of May 8 to Chakravarty.² You should know that we have the highest opinion of your work especially during the last few years in Egypt and also in the UN³ and we consider you one of the very few persons who can undertake work of a particularly responsible kind. Yugoslavia has been and will continue to be a key place in many ways.⁴ I think it is a delightful place and from the health point of view also very suitable. I cannot possibly consider your resignation now or later.

1. New Delhi, 15 May 1958. JN Collection.

2. B.N. Chakravarty, the Special Secretary, MEA.

3. Ali Yavar Jung was Indian Ambassador in Egypt from 1954 to 1958 and also Leader of the Indian delegation to the UNO during 1956-57.

4. Jung took over as Ambassador to Yugoslavia and concurrently as Minister to Greece and Bulgaria in May 1958.

16. Charges against M. S. Chopra¹

I met Major General Chopra today and he explained to me about his remittances to India and other matters. He was much distressed that at the end of his career almost, he should get this black mark. He also spoke about the charge made against him to the effect that his work was not upto the mark.²

I am not very satisfied about his various explanations. But at the same time I do not feel quite certain that he has been guilty of what we accused him. There are certain matters which are not quite clear and which perhaps might be cleared up by further enquiry. If his son was ill in India and his wife also was here, and his whole household was continuing in India, it is conceivable that a good part of his expenditure took place in India. There is certainly a certain abnormality about his various transactions which Special Secretary has pointed out and his explanations from time to time did not fit in. My only anxiety is not to condemn him without being certain.

As far his work not being up to the mark, he made the point that no one had ever mentioned this to him or told him what to do and what not to do. This was so when he went out originally and even when he came back to India in between, he was not told so. He does not yet know wherein he failed. Not to tell him of this and then to accuse him of it is not, he said, quite fair. Obviously we did not expect him to get the Philippines to shift their policy completely and leave SEATO, etc.

He showed me letters from some important people in the Philippines speaking in praise of him and his Mission there.

In appointing General Chopra to the headship of the Mission in the Philippines, we knew that he was not a trained diplomat or politician. There were no difficult political problems for us in the Philippines. His position was to put our case across there in a friendly way and to develop greater knowledge of and interest in India. Is it quite fair of us now to blame him for not having come up to the mark?

1. Note to N.R. Pillai, the Secretary General, MEA, M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary and B.N. Chakravarty, the Special Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 15 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. See *ante*, pp. 710-711.

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17. To C.P. Matthen¹

New Delhi
May 17, 1958

My dear Matthen,²

I have received your letter of May 14th. I am very sorry that you should have had to resign from your post because of ill-health. We would have been happy indeed if you could have continued there. But, in the circumstances, I suppose there was no choice left.

May I say how much we have appreciated your work in Sudan. Thank you for it.

I hope you will soon return to health and with all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. After the completion of his term as an MP in the Lok Sabha, C.P. Matthen was appointed as India's first Ambassador to Sudan in July 1957.

18. On World Situation¹

Vincent Sheean.² In foreign affairs the conduct of India has also been successful or unsuccessful, resulting in satisfactions or disappointments, just as in other matters. I mean in such concerns as those of Kashmir, Korea, Indo-China, Suez, as they developed in the international debate. How do you feel about it? Has it been good, has it been of use, has it been of satisfaction? Can you go on in the same way? How did it go?

Jawaharlal Nehru: You must surely understand that the foreign policy of India was predetermined. No matter who had been Prime Minister it would have been the same. It was determined by Gandhi.

VS: And the preceding centuries?

1. Extracts from Vincent Sheean's record of his conversation with Nehru, New Delhi, 18 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. American journalist and author of *Nehru: The Years of Power*.

JN: And the preceding centuries of course, but specifically and precisely by Gandhi. It obeys three directives: first, non-alignment which means staying out of hostile groupings, alliances—and this is falsely called “neutralism”, whereas it merely means not committing oneself in advance. Second, the pursuit of peace wherever possible. Third, the national interest of India, our own country. These three things can be shown to be closely related, interdependent. They govern our foreign policy. No conceivable government of India, whether of the extreme Right or of the extreme Left, could possibly have taken any other course. Even a communist government, if there had been such, would have been forced by the historical circumstances to do as we did. It has been good, bad or indifferent in its results, but it has been the only possible foreign policy for us. In some of the disputes or debates you mention we were not at all concerned as a nation, except in our general desire for peace (the second of our two directives). In other words, a world war would not only destroy the world, but it would also upset India! Neutralism would sit by with folded hands and let the world destroy itself, but we cannot refrain from helping to prevent this whenever we are able to do so. We have only tried to help, because we are here, but we have never attempted to interfere. In most of the cases you mention we were only trying to be useful.

VS: Good offices?

JN: Good offices. However, there is one international discussion in which our direct interest is vital. That is Kashmir. We have been widely misunderstood, but we have adhered to our position because it affects the most profound principle of our Union. The Indian Union is secular and could not even continue to exist if it were not secular. The idea that a State must go to Pakistan because it is largely Muslim is directly contrary to the basis upon which we live. Kashmir might have gone to Pakistan in the beginning—that is, at the moment of partition—without disaster. It did not. During its period of hesitation the Pakistan Government permitted or patronised an armed invasion of the north-western tribes which were systematically looting the Valley, killing, burning, raping and destroying. In this juncture the Government of Kashmir acceded to the Indian Union and we did our best to save the Valley. The invaders were driven back. We appealed to the United Nations and at first there was no question that we had appealed against aggression and invasion. Since that original appeal, the ground has shifted and for years past we have been asked to think of Kashmir as if it were disputed territory, in other words, to regard the invader and aggressor as being an equally justified claimant to the same land. We, who had gone in to save Kashmir from utter destruction, and who had originally appealed as defenders against aggression, are now asked to regard the aggressors as lawful claimants. There are two remarks to be made: first, that if we yielded in the slightest

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degree to the theory of Pakistan we should destroy the basis of the Indian Union, and, second, that Kashmir is not and never has been an ultimate aim in itself for Pakistan. The makers and rulers of Pakistan have always considered Kashmir to be a stepping-stone towards the larger purposes of conquest, including the greater part of northern India and including Delhi.

VS: They often used to say that to me that their proper and natural capital was Delhi and that they would have it in the end. You knew the theory of the arc across the top, the connecting links, etc., Lahore to Bengal?

JN: Of course. They have made no secret of it. They say it every day and print it in their newspapers constantly. They are obsessed by a hatred of India and a desire to conquer. They have no system, no plan, no progress, no interests; inside their own country they have done nothing constructive in ten years; they subsist upon this animosity towards India and they nourish it constantly; Kashmir is only a part of this larger obsession. We, on the contrary, have no such animosity towards them. We wish them well, they are not really any different from us, and we've known their leaders and worked with them all our lives, we want them to prosper and be happy, if possible. We are forever obliged to live together side by side. We want good neighbours. And we have got many, many other things to think about besides Pakistan. They seem to think of nothing but India.

VS: Yesterday I talked to a German journalist who had just returned from Karachi. He told me that every leader to whom he spoke, including the President, Prime Minister, Cabinet Ministers and party leaders, seemed convinced that you had never really accepted partition or the existence of Pakistan.

JN: Good heavens! With all the troubles we already have, do you think we want to burden ourselves further? Of course, we did not want partition. We opposed it. It was made upon a theory which we reject, the theory that two religions make two nations. We say that a nation is a secular concept. But once partition became a fact we accepted it and it is obvious that we have derived great advantages from it—unity, authority of central government, etc. We do not want to alter the state of things, and we do not want to take on any more responsibilities than those we already have or imperil what progress we have already made. India is backward, they say, but what about Pakistan? Not a single step has been taken and there is no sign of any. Look at land reform. Talk, talk, talk—and a few families still own all the land. We could not even contemplate the possibility of dealing with their difficulties, now that they have fallen so far behind; our own are quite enough. In the meanwhile they are the ones who do not accept the map or the existing status. They use Kashmir as a rallying cry but it is not

just Kashmir they are thinking about. War against India is what they want. They never stop saying so. You can read it every day in their newspapers. And can you possibly imagine what would result if we ever gave in to the two-nation theory, of which Kashmir has become the test? Just imagine the consequences in India! I do not mean that the wholesale murders of ten years ago would ensue. I do not say that because I hope that the one bloodbath was the end of all that kind of thing, and that nothing of that kind will occur again. But simply in the minds of the people there would be violence enough. We are a great Muslim nation. What of the Muslims and the Hindus if this test case were lost for us? It is impossible to contemplate the results. We have been widely, widely misunderstood, and it seems that a large part of the world thinks we are engaged in some sort of territorial dog-fight, whereas in truth the thing goes to the root of our existence. Whatever the territorial advantages of Kashmir might be, you know they are at least questionable—the strategic or material advantages—some say they do not exist. It has certainly cost us a great deal. We are not in it for any such advantages, real or imaginary. We are in it because our very existence is involved with it.

VS: Does it impede your progress in other matters? Does it hamper you in foreign policy as a whole?

JN: Of course. We cannot express an opinion in any other matter without having Kashmir flung in our teeth. It has constantly impeded us because it is not understood and our principles are misinterpreted; we are supposed to be doing something which is in violation of our own deepest beliefs. That is not so. One's highest criterion must be the sense of right or wrong, assuming that you have got one and can think it through. If one can feel that one has done the right thing, step by step, one can endure hostile criticism and misunderstanding. Oh, of course I do not like it, but what of that? It must be endured. Why, even, Gandhi, when I told him I had sent the troops, said, "Of course you must do whatever you think is right." That is the main thing.

VS: I am not able to question your foreign policy too closely because in the main I have understood and followed it, that is, agreed with it, which obviates the necessity for many questions. However, some of my friends say they are not happy about your slowness to speak up about the events in Hungary in 1956.

JN: You have got to remember that my mind was preoccupied by the British and French invasion of Egypt. At that moment the shock of surprise from Hungary was blunted. Moreover, our information was limited. We had nobody there at the moment and for some time there were only press reports. As soon as I

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realised what was going on, I tried, privately, to do what I could. There was correspondence between here and Moscow. I had a long letter from Bulganin in explanation and in fact in justification of what they were doing. I do not say it convinced me, but it was so offered. Now, since I was doing my utmost to obtain some mitigation of the conditions, and doing it privately, how can you expect that I could get up and yell about it? No useful purpose could be served by yelling when I was trying to persuade. And you could not ask people privately to do something if you are simultaneously attacking them with public yells. That is part of the answer.

VS: I can understand it so far. But there must have been something else.

JN: Yes, there was. You see, at this precise moment the Russians were afraid of world war. They genuinely and truly were. When they saw the Anglo-French action in Egypt, they quite naturally assumed that it was undertaken with the support of the Americans. They could not possibly think the Americans had not been consulted.

VS: Consulted, good God! They were not even informed.

JN: We know that now but we did not know then. And the Russians knew even less. They were afraid of world war, definitely and beyond any question. Those rather wild statements about punishments and so on.....

VS: You mean their threat to bomb London?³

JN: Yes, and what sort of thing—all that reflects the genuine apprehension which they felt. Such an action as that in Egypt, if supported by the Americans, meant world war. In this conjunction they felt that it would be madness to leave their flank, Hungary, open to the potential enemy. That is why they went back in as

3. During the Suez crisis, Soviet Premier Bulganin sent a note on 5 November 1956 to the British and French Prime Ministers, in which he affirmed the Soviets' determination to crush aggression upon Egypt and threatened that they might use rockets against the enemy to achieve this end. Simultaneously, the Soviet Union offered volunteers to Egypt to fight in the war. When the Anglo-French troops appeared in Port Said, the Governor of the city telephoned Cairo for the endorsement of a set of terms of surrender. However, the Egyptian authorities, taking heart from the Soviet offer, told the Governor that World War III had begun, Russian aircraft had bombed London and Paris and Soviet troops were on their way to relieve the defenders of Port Said.

they did. They wanted to protect their flank against a danger of war which, in their view, was immediate.⁴

VS: India in foreign affairs seems to follow a pattern, a general line, indicating a sort of mission. Have you any sense of this mission?

JN: Mission! What right have we got to a mission?

VS: I am not talking about rights, but there seems to be a connecting principle, a sort of integument and direction. Does India fulfil a mission in international affairs, as we sometimes think or as sometimes it appears?

JN: I have told you our guiding principles or directives. We just do the best we can along those lines. What earthly right could we have to claim any special mission?

VS: Well, the material powers are so great that they virtually cancel each other out. War has become impossible. In every dispute, however vexatious or involved, there is to be seen an absolutely definite inclination to appeal to the moral judgement of India.

JN: Why, why, why? There is no Pope here.

VS: Oh, yes, there is. The Pope in Rome today has not one fraction of the moral or psychological power of the Pope in Delhi. And this thing is not over yet; there will be more and more and more of it, from every corner of the earth, from Africa or China or anywhere and everywhere. I do not know what you call it but it looks like a mission. It is a situation that has never arisen before in history. Do you recognise any such phenomenon?

JN: Certainly not. Any damn fool can claim a mission. We only do the best we can with the difficulties that face us. We try for peace because that is in our interest.

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4. In the record of his conversation, Sheean commented—"This subject was discussed further; at one moment PM said as follows: 'You have no right to encourage people to revolt against their regime unless you are prepared to go in and help them with everything you can give.'" Sheean had further noted "PM used Goa as an example not only of India's determination to avoid violence but also as an example of this principle, I believe that is, not to encourage revolt."

19. African Studies in Delhi University¹

I saw Dr V.K.R.V. Rao² this afternoon. Unfortunately I had not read your note till then. He mentioned this matter to me. I said that I should like to discuss this more with him later as I was in a hurry. But I pointed out that it would be a pity if we paid less attention to Africa. Africa was going to play an important part in future and we must prepare our young men and women for this.

I agreed to the discontinuance of the MA course confined solely to the African studies.

I have read your note now and broadly I agree with what you say in it. I think it will be unfortunate if we change the name of the Department of African Studies. This will create an impression that we are winding it up more or less. I do not understand why there should be a desire to change the name.

You can, therefore, write to Dr Rao accordingly.

1. Note to M.J. Desai, the Commonwealth Secretary, New Delhi, 18 May 1958.
JN Collection.
2. Vice Chancellor, Delhi University.

20. President's Visit to Japan¹

I have been giving further thought to the President's visit to Japan.² This is his first visit to a foreign country, except for his visit to Nepal a year or so ago.³ I am anxious that the visit should be a success. In such matters, small things sometimes go far in coming in the way of success.

2. You told me that the President had expressed a wish that Jha should remain our Ambassador in Tokyo when he goes there. There is no doubt that if Shri Jha is there, he would not only suit the President's wishes, but will be helpful in many ways. Even the rather important problem of food that has arisen would be satisfactorily solved if Jha is there. Also, Jha would understand a hundred and one little things which might help the President and make him feel at home.

3. Therefore, I should like you and SG to give thought to this matter. Is it possible without upsetting everything completely, for Shri C.S. Jha to remain in

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 19 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. Rajendra Prasad visited Japan from 27 September to 5 October 1958.
3. President Prasad visited Nepal from 21 to 24 October 1956.

Tokyo till October? That would certainly mean his not being present at the beginning of the UN General Assembly Session, and we would have to make other arrangements there. These arrangements might even lead to our asking Arthur Lall to stay on till then. I have been reluctant to keep Arthur Lall there much longer. But, this new aspect, that is, our asking Jha to remain in Tokyo for some time longer, has led me to think of some way to find out how this can be done. Evidently, Arthur Lall is not going to Indonesia for some months.

4. About food, I think you should write to Shri C.S. Jha (telegrams are not very successful) and explain the President's food habits. Ask him if he thinks it is necessary for the President to take a cook with him. Would such a cook fit in there and be otherwise useful? I am inclined to think that he would not fit in. Where will the President stay in Tokyo? Probably, he will be given a separate house. This house may be the Guest House in which my party was put up. It is a good house. If that is so, a cook from India could function there, or our Ambassador's cook could help.

5. Then, there is the question of ghee prepared from cow's milk. The President could take a tin with him. There would be no difficulty in using it if he is living in a separate house. Would it be possible for his food to be cooked in this ghee elsewhere also?

6. These and other questions might be put to Shri C.S. Jha. His answers will help us to decide what we should do.

21. To Ali Yavar Jung¹

New Delhi
June 2, 1958

My dear Ali,²

Your letter of the 29th May has just reached me. Thank you for it.

You refer, I presume, to the incident of the sale of the car. In the circumstances then existing, I do not think you were at all to blame.³ However, it is difficult to go about explaining circumstances to people, and I did not want this matter to come up in some audit report before Parliament. However, that is satisfactorily over and there is nothing for you to worry about.

1. JN Collection.

2. Ambassador to Yugoslavia.

3. When Ali Yavar Jung was the Ambassador to Argentina, he took permission from the Argentine Government for the sale of cars. He allotted a portion of the profit from the sale of cars for some public purpose in Argentina but took it back when it was not utilised. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 769-770.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

As I have previously told you, our Mission in Yugoslavia is a particularly important one.⁴ Of course, Cairo was very important, and you did remarkably well there. I rather hesitated to transfer you from there. But however well one does in a particular place, it is sometimes better to have a change from both the private and the public points of view. One aspect which influenced me was certainly your health. You are very careless about it. You work too hard and rather unmethodically. You smoke too much and thus you do not give your health much of a chance. While Belgrade is a highly important place from many points of view, it is certainly quieter than Cairo, and if you are at all careful, as you should be, you should improve in health greatly.

Recent developments between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union and other East European countries have added to the importance of the Belgrade post. I imagine that the tension is a little less now as indicated by Khrushchev's telegram of birthday greetings to Marshal Tito.

It seems to me that, apart from the ideological conflict, there was a certain irritation in Moscow at what they thought was the superior air put on by President Tito in regard to ideological matters. Further, they did not like his putting the USA and the USSR on the same level.

As a matter of fact, the comments in the Peking press have been much more aggressive than the Moscow comments.⁵

When you see President Tito, you will, of course, give him my greetings and good wishes. There was some reference in the press to someone having said in Belgrade that my visit there would be welcome. This was, I think, in connection with President Nasser's visit.⁶ I am afraid there is no chance of my going to Yugoslavia this year or indeed to Europe. You can tell Tito that I am always happy to go to Yugoslavia both because of the chance of meeting him and because the country is so charming, but I am sorry I shall not be able to do so this year.

There was some talk of Marshal Tito coming to India in the winter. You can tell him that he would be very welcome.

When you have settled down a little in Belgrade, you will no doubt travel about the country. The variety of that small country is surprising and some parts are really charming. Some old villages built in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent⁷ are very attractive.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. See *ante*, p. 712.

5. See *ante*, pp. 676-677.

6. Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of Egypt, visited Yugoslavia from 2 to 12 July 1958.

7. (1494-1566); tenth and longest reigning Sultan of the Ottoman Empire from 1520 to his death in 1566; known for his reconstruction of the Ottoman legal system.

22. To Henry Drummond-Wolff¹

New Delhi

June 8, 1958

Dear Mr Drummond-Wolff,²

I must apologise to you for not acknowledging your letter of March 3, 1958, and the book you had sent me earlier. I have been so heavily occupied that I overlooked your letter. I am sorry for it.

I am glad that you approve of the Five Principles or the *Panchsheel*. I am convinced that the acceptance and application of these broad principles would reduce international tensions and lead to peaceful settlements even though they might be delayed. Unfortunately, while the Five Principles are recognised by many countries, and no one can really object to them, they are not always being implemented. I suppose that it is always easier to lay down general principles than to act up to them in this troubled world.

The rule of reciprocity, about which you have written, is interesting. Reciprocity, however, can only be successful among equals. Thus, full reciprocity between an advanced and industrialised country and an under-developed country would always be to the advantage of the more developed country because of its resources. In international affairs, as in other aspects of life, normally the rule that works is: Unto those that have, more shall be given, and from those that have not, even what they have shall be taken away.³ That is to say, if matters are left to the normal market forces at work, this would result. Hence every country seeks to prevent normal forces from working, so that it may protect its interests.

In underdeveloped countries, this is understandable. But today we see that even the most developed country in the world, such as the United States of America, puts up tremendous barriers in the way of trade.

This is rather a hurried letter I am sending you and you will forgive me if I do not deal with the many interesting points that you have raised. Somehow all logical approaches today are conditioned by political conflicts and cold war attitudes which prevent a reasonable consideration of any matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. (1899-1982); retired from Royal Air Force, 1919; life member, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association; member, Grand Council of Primrose League, Migration Council, 1951, Council of Empire Industries Association and British Empire League; works include *Declaration of Independence and Interdependence*, *Commonwealth Development and Defence*, *The Rule of Reciprocity* and *The Five Principles*.
3. The New Testament, Matthew: 25:29.

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23. To Arthur S. Lall¹

New Delhi
26th June, 1958

My dear Arthur,²

I have seen your letter of the 12th June addressed to Foreign Secretary. I have also received the letter from Edward R. Murrow³ to me which you have sent.

You may tell Edward Murrow that I have received his letter and I thank him for it. As for his proposal, I have not participated yet in three-cornered television interview with participants in different parts of the world connected by telephone circuit. However, I am prepared to face this if Edward Murrow wants me to do it. This is, of course, subject to convenient timing. I hope that the other parties concerned will not frighten me or put me off.⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. India's Permanent Representative in the UN.
3. Edward Roscoe Murrow (1908-1965); American broadcast journalist; President, National Students Federation, 1929-32; Assistant Director, Institute of International Education, 1932-1935; joined Columbia Broadcasting System in 1935 as Director of Talks and continued till 1961 in various capacities; Head of US Information Agency, 1961-64; received Freedom House Award, 1954; Emmy Award, 1956; author of *This is London*.
4. The three-cornered television interview featuring Nehru, Aldous Huxley, noted British author from Turin (Italy), and Governor Thomas Dewey from Portland (USA) with Edward Murrow as moderator was recorded through satellite by CBS on 3 October 1958 and was telecast in a programme known as 'Small World' on the night of Saturday, 14 October 1958.

24. To Rajendra Prasad¹

New Delhi
29th June, 1958

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Lady Mountbatten² has written to me that the Earl³ and Countess of Harewood⁴ are likely to come to India towards the end of October for three or four weeks' stay. These people are the cousins of the Queen.⁵ The Earl's mother is the Princess Royal,⁶ the late King's⁷ only sister. The Earl married outside the circle of Royalty. He chose a very talented musician who is now supposed to be one of the big musical experts in England.

Why I am writing to you is because I think it would be a graceful gesture for you to invite them to stay at Rashtrapati Bhavan during their three brief days here. That will anyhow be normally done but I would like your permission to convey an invitation on your behalf.

You will probably be leaving for Japan⁸ about the time they are likely to come here in October. That cannot be helped.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 15(9)/58, President's Secretariat. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Edwina Ashley, Countess Mountbatten.
3. George Henry Hubert Lascelles, 7th Earl of Harewood (b. 1923); elder son of Henry Lascelles, 6th Earl of Harewood and Mary, Princess Royal, first cousin of Queen Elizabeth II; succeeded his father as Earl on 24 May 1947; a music enthusiast, he devoted most of his career to opera; married Maria Donata Stein, 1949; divorced in 1967; married Patricia Tuckwell, a violinist, in 1967; Chancellor, University of York, 1962-67; author of *Kobbe's Complete Opera Book*, *The Tong and the Bones*, an autobiography and *Kobbe's Illustrated Opera Book*.
4. Maria Donata Stein (b. 1926); a concert pianist and a famous operatic singer; daughter of the Viennese music publisher Erwin Stein.
5. Elizabeth II, Queen of England since 1952.
6. Victoria Alexandra Alice Mary Lascelles, Countess of Harewood (1897-1965); third child and only daughter of King George V and Queen Mary; sixth holder of the title of Princess Royal; married Henry Charles George, Viscount Lascelles.
7. King George VI.
8. Rajendra Prasad visited Japan from 27 September to 5 October 1958.

III. DISARMAMENT**1. Suspension of Nuclear Tests by the Soviet Union¹**

We must welcome the decision of the Soviet Government to suspend nuclear tests.² Although this was anticipated to some extent, nevertheless it has come as a pleasant surprise. Some people may say that the Soviet Union, as also the United States of America, have already conducted so many nuclear tests in the recent past, that it is not necessary to have further tests for some time. That may be so. But the fact remains that this step has been taken by the Soviet Union without waiting for a general agreement on this question or on the general question of disarmament. We in India have been pressing for some years past for the suspension of nuclear tests with a view to their abandonment. Therefore, we are particularly happy that a beginning has been made and we trust that this will be followed.

It is true that the question of nuclear tests has been mixed up with the wider question of general disarmament and the two are somewhat related. But, we have always maintained that progress even in general disarmament is more likely to take place step by step and the first step should necessarily be that relating to nuclear tests. We trust that other steps will follow and that all the powers concerned will ultimately agree to an unconditional ban on the production and use of all types of nuclear weapons of mass destruction. If this ban is to be effective, there has to be a feeling of trust created and for this purpose some adequate method of inspection has to be devised. There can be no doubt that such inspection and control is possible.

The problems the world faces are difficult and intricate. The decisions we make today affect not only the whole progress of human civilisation but even the survival of the human race.

In congratulating the Soviet Government on the step they have taken in suspending nuclear tests, I should like to express the hope that other great nations

1. This press statement, drafted by Nehru on 1 April 1958 in New Delhi, was issued by Congress President, U.N. Dhebar on 3 April 1958. JN Collection.
 2. On 31 March 1958.

will do likewise.³ Such a position will lessen somewhat the terrible burden from which humanity suffers today and will open an avenue for discussions and decisions on other aspects of disarmament. Negative approaches and approaches based on fear have failed. A positive approach in a spirit of faith as well as of practical good sense is called for.¹

3. President Eisenhower, at his weekly press conference on 2 April 1958, described the unilateral suspension of Soviet nuclear tests as a "gimmick" that was "not to be taken seriously"; amidst the vast range of East-West problems, the question of test suspension was "just a side issue." At his press conference on 9 April 1958, Eisenhower said—in reply to questions—that he would "seriously consider" ending American nuclear tests after the completion of the forthcoming summer series, provided that he was convinced by US scientists that they had all the information needed to make "clean" nuclear weapons. See also *ante*, p. 687.

2. Approach to the Summit Conference¹

I presume that some kind of a summit conference will be held later in the year. I do not know when it is likely to be held. Nor do I know as to who will be invited to attend and whether India will be one such country. We have made our position clear. We are not anxious to attend any conference. If, however, the parties concerned want us to attend and we feel that we can be helpful, then we might be agreeable to doing so.

In any event, it might be desirable to have a separate unit to study problems connected with such a conference,² even though we have limited personnel and the same people will have to do this work.

I have occasionally expressed my broad appreciation of the Polish Government's Rapacki Plan.³ I have said that it does not go far, but at any rate it goes in the right direction and even a small step is helpful.

1. Note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, New Delhi, 2 April 1958. JN Collection.
2. The Ambassador of Poland, Juliusz Katz-Suchy, had told S. Dutt that Poland expected to be invited to the Conference and had set up a unit for the special study of problems related to the conference and that Poland also expected India to be invited.
3. The Rapacki Plan, introduced by Adam Rapacki, the Foreign Minister of Poland, in the UN General Assembly on 2 October 1957, was elaborated and published by the Polish Government on 14 February 1958. The plan envisaged creating a nuclear-free zone comprising Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and West Germany. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, p. 787.

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As for the supply of missiles and atomic weapons to West Germany, I certainly think that this is a move in a wrong direction and will make further advances more difficult.⁴ Although, as you have said, we do not wish to express our views about European developments, still in view of the larger implications of this matter, we might well express our concern at it without going too far.⁵ I do not want to do so in a formal statement to Parliament. I am, however, having a press conference day after tomorrow. Perhaps some reference to it might be made then.⁶

4. Federal Defence Minister of West Germany Franz Josef Strauss declared in Bonn on 18 March 1958 that Germany would acquire two Matador pilotless bombers and 300 Nike rockets from the USA. On 25 March 1958, the West German parliament, Bundestag, concurred with the decision to provide atomic weapons to the West German army. Poland had objected to this and wanted India to support it on this issue.
5. In his note of 2 April, Dutt had outlined the general policy of India not "to comment on the happenings and developments in other countries unless such comments were made in the broad context of a problem which is of concern to the world."
6. See *post*, p. 743.

3. Message to Nikita Khrushchev¹

New Delhi
9 April 1958

Dear Mr Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of April 4 which I have received from your Ambassador.² The Government and the people of India welcome and appreciate the decision of the USSR Government to stop further tests of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. As you are aware, for some years now, we in India have been urging cessation of these tests. The initiative of your Government has therefore given us particular pleasure. This is an important step towards the relaxation of world tension and I hope that other countries concerned will also reach a similar

1. File No. 5(i)-UN. II/58, MEA. Also available in JN Collection. This message was sent by S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary to K.P.S. Menon, Indian Ambassador in Moscow.
2. Informing Nehru about the decision of the Soviet Government to stop, unilaterally, tests of any types of atomic and hydrogen weapons from 31 March 1958, Khrushchev wrote on 4 April that he had approached "the Governments of the United States of America, and Great Britain with a proposal to join this step", and expressed the hope that "the above-mentioned proposals of the Soviet Government will meet a favourable attitude on the part of the Government of India."

decision without delay. Common people all over the world look forward to an agreement among the Big Powers whereby further contamination of the earth's atmosphere will cease for all time to come. And I have no doubt that such an agreement will create favourable conditions for the solution of other international problems of concern to the world.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Cyrus Eaton¹

New Delhi
April 21, 1958

Dear Mr Eaton,²

I am grateful to you for your letter of April 11, 1958, with which you have sent me a number of papers which were presumably read at the Conference of Nuclear Scientists recently held in Quebec.³ I have immediately read one or two of these papers and I find them of great interest. I hope to read all of them or most of them.

I am sure that these papers will be of great interest to our nuclear scientists here and I shall pass them on to them. May I say that the work of this conference is, in my opinion, of the highest importance and I earnestly trust that it will help in making people all over the world realise the terrible dangers which the world faces today.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Cyrus Stephen Eaton (1883-1979); a Canadian-born American industrialist; worked to promote friendlier relations between the United States and the communist countries in the 1950s; gave personal and financial support to the Pugwash Conferences to limit the nuclear arms race; the First Pugwash Conference was held at his family home at Pugwash junction, Nova Scotia, Canada in July 1957; awarded Lenin Peace Prize, 1960; dubbed as the Kremlin's favourite capitalist; author of *Financial Democracy*, *A Capitalist Looks at Labour*, *Canada's Choice* and *The Engineer as Philosopher* and other books.
3. The Conference, known as the Second Pugwash Conference, was sponsored by Cyrus Stephen Eaton and attended by 22 nuclear scientists from the USSR, the USA, the UK, Canada, Communist China, Australia, France and Germany to discuss about the dangers resulting from the nuclear race and means of diminishing them. The scientists, who had been meeting since 31 March, issued the closing statement on 12 April that stressed the need for further meetings to help diminish the prospect of nuclear warfare.

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5. To Bertrand Russell¹

New Delhi

April 21, 1958

My dear Lord Russell,²

I have received today your letter of April 11th, with which you have been good enough to send me a number of documents which were placed before the Conference of Nuclear Scientists recently held at Quebec in Canada.³ These papers appear to me to be of great importance and I am bringing them to the notice of our nuclear scientists here. Indeed, I should like others to see them also and I hope they will be available in book form later.

May I express my deep admiration for the lead you have given in this matter which is of the most vital importance to the world.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. British philosopher, mathematician and Nobel Laureate.

3. The Pugwash Conferences were inspired by the Russell-Einstein Manifesto of 9 July 1955 in which 11 outstanding scientists had called upon politicians to reject the idea of solving international controversies and conflicts by using nuclear weapons. The First Conference envisaged in this manifesto—originally to be held in India from 9-12 January 1957 for which Nehru had extended his support—was held in July 1957 in Pugwash, Nova Scotia.

6. Message to Dwight D. Eisenhower¹

Dear Mr President,

I am very grateful to you for your kind message which was delivered to me by your Ambassador on May 1st.² It is true that I have been thinking of having a

1. New Delhi, 3 May 1958. JN Collection.

2. In his message to Nehru sent on 30 April 1958, Eisenhower had agreed that Nehru deserved “a long and restful vacation” after guiding India all these years “toward economic, political and social progress. However, I and countless others hope that you will not go too far away or far too long a time”. He added: “Under all these circumstances it would indeed be a misfortune perhaps for all of us if at what may prove to be a critical formative period your own influence were not actively present over any really protracted period.”

complete change from my present work and surroundings. Physically I am fortunate enough to keep well, but the mind gets tired and stale. It was my intention to go to our mountains probably for a trek for some time, and then to renew my contacts with our people in various parts of the country. Such contacts always refresh me. Except perhaps for two or three weeks, when I might be trekking over high mountains, I shall remain in touch with events.

I believe, Mr President, that we have arrived at a vital and psychological moment which, if wisely handled, can well make a great difference to our world and reduce the conflicts that have become such a distressing feature of our present age. I agree with you that there are indications that some of our important problems can be solved. I have no doubt that people all over the world desire such a change and anxiously wait for it. There are obvious apprehensions and dangers to any step that might be taken. But a continuation of the present conflict leads to greater apprehensions and dangers. I earnestly trust that your efforts, Mr President, as well as the efforts of others, will bring some relaxation to the world and the hope of a more peaceful and tolerable future.

I trust that you are keeping well. So much depends upon you at this crisis in the world's history.

Again thanking you and with my warm regards and esteem,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Message to the Soviet Government¹

The Government of India is grateful to the Soviet Government for their message of June 1st in which they have referred to the correspondence between Mr Khrushchev and President Eisenhower on the discontinuation of atom and hydrogen weapons tests and the proposal to hold a conference of technical experts with the object of studying methods of detecting possible violations of an agreement on the termination of nuclear tests.² The Government of India appreciates the proposal of the Soviet Government to the effect that India as well as some other countries should also participate in this conference of experts.

1. New Delhi, 3 June 1958. JN Collection.

2. In his letter delivered to Eisenhower on 31 May 1958, Khrushchev had agreed with Eisenhower's suggestion to hold a meeting of East-West experts in mid-June 1958 to consider methods of banning nuclear weapon tests and added that experts from other countries, including India, should also be invited to take part in the proposed conference.

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2. The Government of India's attitude in regard to such conferences has always been that they would gladly participate in their work if it is considered by the principal parties concerned that their participation will be helpful. Their chief desire is that progress should be made and effective steps taken for the discontinuation of atom and hydrogen weapons tests and they have greatly appreciated the action of the Soviet Government in discontinuing such tests. They earnestly hope that an international agreement will be arrived at for this purpose.

3. If, therefore, the sponsoring countries for such a conference so desire, the Government of India will gladly place the services of their technical experts for the proposed conference.

8. To Sundarlal¹

New Delhi
June 27, 1958

My dear Sundarlal,²

Your letter of June 27th.³ I am afraid I cannot raise any enthusiasm for the Stockholm Congress. Nor am I prepared to accept that it is a purely non-political body devoted only to peace. The biggest shock to peace recently has been the execution of Imre Nagy and his colleagues in Budapest. This has shocked a great part of the world. I doubt very much if the Stockholm Congress will refer to it even.

It has always seemed to me that the World Peace Council's idea of helping the cause of peace is rather peculiar.⁴ In existing circumstances, I doubt if the

1. JN Collection.
2. A prominent Congress leader from UP and peace activist.
3. Sundarlal, convenor of the Indian preparatory committee of the World Congress for Disarmament and International Cooperation to be held at Stockholm from 16 to 22 July 1958, wrote that the Congress was expected to be a big affair with 3,000 delegates participating in the deliberations. He added that the Stockholm Congress was not "associated with any particular political party, any particular ideology or any particular group or bloc", and requested Nehru not to deny passport or endorsement to any delegate except for some individual reason. He also drew Nehru's attention to the cases of passports of delegates "pending before the Government for over a month."
4. The World Peace Council was founded in 1949 to promote peaceful coexistence among nations and work for nuclear disarmament. Nehru was of the opinion that the World Peace Council was a communist sponsored organisation which carried on communist propaganda directly or indirectly. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, p. 468.

Peace Council even helps this cause and certainly it has indulged in political resolutions in the past.

The whole cause of peace has received such a terrible blow recently that, in spite of my optimism, I am becoming pessimistic.

We have no objection to delegates from India going to the Stockholm Congress. But we have a rule that people should pay their own passages. I hope this rule will be observed. Also, I would not welcome large crowds from India going there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

IV. GOA

1. To N.G. Goray¹

New Delhi
April 5, 1958

My dear Goray,²

Your letter of April 2, with which you have sent me a copy of a letter from Shri Mahadeoshastri.³ I had received the original of this previously.⁴

1. JN Collection.

2. Praja Socialist Party Member of the Lok Sabha from Poona.

3. Mahadeoshastri Sitaram Joshi (1906-1992); Marathi writer; works include *Sulabh Samskritichi Pratike, Bharatiya Sanskritikosh* and *Hamari Sanskriti ke Pratik: Aamachaa Vaanaprashaashram*.

4. Writing about the hardships faced by his wife Sudha Joshi, President, Goa National Congress, and some other female prisoners connected with the Goa liberation movement, Mahadeoshastri Joshi wrote that his wife had declared that she would go on a hunger strike unless the conditions in the jail were improved. Fearing that the situation might deteriorate further, Mahadeoshastri Joshi, reminding Nehru about the days spent by him in prison, requested him to do something "immediately to ameliorate the wrong that has been done or that may be done."

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I do not understand why the girls in the Goa jails have refused to be released on parole. There is no indignity in being released on parole or at any rate this would depend on the conditions attached. The other day, someone asked me about this, and I said that I saw no objection to it.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. The National Congress of Goa ended "the state of satyagraha" on 19 April 1958 and called upon the Government of Portugal to start negotiations with the Government of India for a peaceful solution of the Goa problem. India abolished the system of permit for travels between India and Portuguese possessions in India on 20 April 1958.

INTERACTION WITH THE PRESS

1. Press Conference—I¹

Question: Dr Kothari² is reported to have said that sputniks can be sent out by India also.

Jawaharlal Nehru: What Dr Kothari said—I was present there—was that by simple devices, relatively simple, they can send up some very minute articles fast and far to go into outer space; do not call it a sputnik or anything. It is not that India only can do it; every scientific country can do it obviously. It is relatively quite a simple device.

Q: What do you think about the proposals made by Dr Graham in his report?

JN: First of all, about Dr Graham's report.³ Dr Graham in his report has himself stated some of the objections we raised to the proposals he made. I need not repeat them, but one thing I should like to say again, and that is that our position has been made perfectly clear about the Kashmir issue. Any consideration of this problem which ignores certain basic facts and which endeavours to put us on the same level as Pakistan, that is, the aggressor and the aggrieved countries, is not agreeable to us and will not be accepted by us. Dr Graham proposed, among other things, that the two Prime Ministers should meet. I have always said that I am agreeable to meet anybody, the Prime Minister of Pakistan also. Naturally, one should meet normally when there is a probability of a fruitful discussion. If that probability is absent, because of public sentiments, then the time is not suitable. Dr Graham's proposal is not that the two Prime Ministers should meet; his proposal is that the two Prime Ministers should sit on either side of him at a meeting, which is a very different thing, and we are not going to accept anybody sitting and being a kind of umpire or judge or whatever it is. That is totally and absolutely unacceptable to us. We shall deal with Pakistan when the situation arises directly or they can deal with us at any time. Whatever happens, that is a part of our general policy always to be prepared to meet and discuss matters. But when it is said that we should be summoned by Dr Graham or by anybody and answer questions to him in this way, I think that is not the way to deal with it.

1. New Delhi, 4 April 1958. File No. 43 (73)/56-58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. D.S. Kothari, Scientific Adviser to Defence Science Organisation, Ministry of Defence.
3. For Nehru's comments on Frank Graham's report, see *ante*, pp. 560-564. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 636-637 and 645-646.

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Q: Dr Graham in his report has said about the Indian objection to the stationing of UN troops on the Pakistan border but when it is within the sovereign right of Pakistan to do so, we cannot prevent it. I would like to have some enlightenment on this.

JN: The proposal that Dr Graham made was, or the inquiry made was, that UN troops might be placed in Pakistan—mind you not in any part of Jammu and Kashmir territory, not even in that part of Jammu and Kashmir territory which is occupied by Pakistan. If any such proposal had been made, we would of course have opposed it vigorously as we have done in the past. When he made the proposal that UN troops be placed in regular Pakistan territory—Pakistan is an independent country—all we can say is that we do not like it, not a good thing to do, but we cannot prevent Pakistan agreeing to something which it wants to agree, however much we may dislike, in its own territory and Dr Graham expressed that quite clearly.

Q: You went much further. You said this proposal to station troops in Pakistan⁴ is a highly improper and unfriendly act towards India. In what way is this stationing of UN forces in Pakistan to supervise the border an improper act?

JN: Why are the UN forces stationed in Pakistan on our border? Presumably in relation to us, they are presumed to be in relation to us, lest something should be done by India on that border. Therefore, it presumes something which we think is not right. We are not going to attack them or interfere with them. In that sense it suspects us possibly of doing something, which we think should not have been done.

Q: If the Pakistan troops are withdrawn from the occupied portion of J & K territory and if the Indian troops are not to cross the ceasefire line and be stationed there...

JN: Who would be stationed there?

Q: There would be a vacuum after the Indian troops are withdrawn?

JN: Are you referring to the old UN resolutions or some new proposals?

Q: In his latest report.....

4. See *ante*, p. 562.

JN: I cannot interpret that part. It is clear in some places and perhaps not very clear in regard to that matter, because the original UN resolution itself was not clear. I cannot interpret it as to what he meant, but presumably he means that Pakistan troops would have to withdraw completely and that area should be under some kind of surveillance of the UN representative if a local authority is functioning.

Q: So far as my recollection goes, Mr Bajpai⁵ at his press conference at that time told us that after Pakistan had withdrawn her troops, the authority and jurisdiction of the Jammu and Kashmir Government would extend to the whole of the evacuated area.

JN: Yes. Maybe. Are you asking for my views or Dr Graham's views? One question is about what Dr Graham said about the withdrawal of Pakistani forces from their occupied area, and what happens in those areas after they are withdrawn. Dr Graham repeats what was said, I think, previously, that that area should be under the control of what are called local authorities, whatever they might be, and under the surveillance of the UN representative. Now you refer to what Mr Bajpai said. Of course what Mr Bajpai said—I have not got his words here—was that it is our case throughout that all this area is Indian territory. The Jammu and Kashmir State area, whether occupied or not, is Indian territory and throughout our conversation with the UN Commission and our correspondence which is published, it is repeatedly stated that the sovereignty of the State extends to all these territories and Dr Graham acknowledges that, but he says that although it extends there, for a period it should not be effectively practiced, although in theory it is there. He admits that. But I think as far as I remember he said something to the effect that recognising the sovereignty of the State that is of India, of all that area, but during that period, the UN representative will have some kind of surveillance.

Q: Did Dr Graham, in his talks here, have anything to say about the opinion of his predecessor, Mr Jarring,⁶ about the changed conditions and circumstances in the State, because in his report he makes a reference to the difficulty of restoring the status quo of 1948.

JN: Well, in the course of our talks a reference was made to Dr Jarring and his report. I cannot say or remember even what precisely Dr Graham said about it.

5. Girja Shankar Bajpai was the Secretary General in the Ministry of External Affairs from 1947 to 1952.
6. Gunnar Jarring, the Swedish diplomat and UN Representative on Kashmir, visited India in March-April 1957.

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I do not think he said very much but a reference was made by us to it naturally, among other things. Dr Graham is, if I may say so, rather entangled in the past period of history.

Q: You told us what Dr Graham's view was about the temporary suspension of the ineffective Indian sovereignty after the evacuation of Pakistan troops but you did not say whether you accepted that view or not. If not, what is your own view?

JN: All these questions were dealt with seven, eight years ago and embodied in the resolutions passed in 1948. Many of the discussions that took place subsequently were by way of finding some way. No way was found because the original factors were not taken into consideration, and it was ignored, set aside. There is no use discussing these middle stages because, as I said, if you want to consider this matter, you must accept two or three basic points which are realities. If you ignore the reality then your discussion becomes unreal. Basic factors are that Pakistan has committed aggression and must vacate it, that the Jammu and Kashmir State acceded to India. Now if those things are admitted, other matters can be discussed and adjusted whatever they may be. When you refer to that particular thing, it is true that in the resolution of 1948, we had asked for the vacation of Pakistani aggression and, having stressed the sovereignty of India, we have said we will not march our armies into that area, but the question of the authorities functioning in that area has not been clear, but we had said that we will not send our armies to that area vacated by Pakistan, although it will be our jurisdiction.

Q: I think with this report of Dr Graham, his mission has not ended. In one part of the report he has said that he will have further discussion on the question of plebiscite as contained in the August 13 resolution.⁷ Are the Government of India going to have further talks on this question?

JN: Surely. It is a very hypothetical question. Dr Graham is a very nice gentleman and full of goodwill and full of the desire to help. Yes, Dr Graham naturally is a nice gentleman. Whatever happens we are not going to be discourteous to Dr Graham.

7. The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) passed a resolution on 13 August 1948 providing for cease-fire, withdrawal of Pakistan's troops and tribals, followed by Indian withdrawal and consultations for a plebiscite after the truce agreement was made. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 7, pp. 289-290 and Vol. 8, pp. 52 and 74-75.

Q: Towards the end of his report, Dr Graham seems to suggest some initiative by the two countries themselves for a conference. He says: "I trust that, in their further consideration, they will find it possible to make, without prejudice to their respective positions on the Kashmir question, preparations for holding, within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations, such a conference at the earliest practicable date, covering questions of time, place, auspices and agenda." How do you interpret that?

JN: I am afraid you cannot expect me to answer about future possibilities, what might happen or what might not happen, when we might take some initiative or somebody else might.

Q: Does he mean, by that last reference, a discussion of all outstanding problems between the two countries?

JN: You are asking me to answer on behalf of Dr Graham. How am I to answer?

Q: Do you welcome the Soviet decision to suspend nuclear tests?

JN: Well, naturally we welcome it. Sometimes it is said that they have chosen the time to do this which suits them, that is, after having completed their set of tests. Perhaps that is so, but a good step is a good step, whenever taken. So far as we are concerned, as you know, we have been tremendously exercised about these atomic tests ever since they began three or four years ago,⁸ I forget the exact time, and from that day we have been begging and pleading that they should not take place because, among other things, we felt that every test vitiates the atmosphere of the world and adds to future dangers. During this period a very large number of eminent scientists all over the world have supported that view, about each nuclear test adding to the dangers of specially some particular diseases, threatening life and all that, not immediately, in the next 20, 30 years. Because of that and because of other reasons we stressed this. During the last year or two there has been a good deal of talk in every country and a good deal of public opinion in favour of stopping these nuclear tests. Therefore, the announcement by the Soviet Union, howsoever conditioned it may be, is welcome.

I have never been able to quite understand the reluctance to suspend tests for some time. What I mean is, I could understand the reluctance to abandon them altogether for all time from a certain security point of view. I would like them to be abandoned for all time but because of fears, etc., a country may not

8. A new series of atomic tests began in the Pacific Ocean on 4 May 1956. On May 21 the first airborne hydrogen bomb was exploded by the USA.

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like to commit itself to that total policy but to suspend them for a period does not endanger any country's position or security but gives time for those matters to be considered fully in a new and better atmosphere.

Another question that has been raised is that it is not apparently possible to know definitely whether a test has taken place or not; so it is said that secret tests may take place. But many eminent scientists are of opinion that it is not difficult to find out when a test has occurred even though it is sought to be hidden. Suppose there is some doubt about that, well, the obvious thing is to suspend tests and to appoint the biggest scientists in the world to find out how any secret tests can be discovered. These are constructive ways of finding out what the position is, and a stoppage of the tests for some time cannot be said surely to endanger any country's security. I earnestly hope, therefore, that this stoppage of tests by the Soviet Union, first of all, is not some temporary affair—by temporary I mean a few months—and, secondly, that other countries would also be agreeable to this and then take the matter up immediately to see how it can be assured through scientific methods that there is no breach of any such promise.

Q: What about equipping West German armies with atomic weapons?

JN: Normally, we do not interfere in any way or even, as far as possible, express any opinion about the internal developments in Europe. But, broadly speaking, we do regret greatly the increase in the area of countries which get nuclear weapons, because every such increase of area increases the danger. Then, again, you will remember about the Polish Government's proposal—the Rapacki Plan,⁹ I think, it was called—to have a region free of nuclear weapons in Europe—Germany, Poland, and, I think, Czechoslovakia and one or two other countries were there, Germany, meaning both West and East. Now, nobody suggested that the acceptance of the Polish Government's proposal would solve the major problems of Europe. Of course not—either in a military sense or in any other sense. But nevertheless, it was a proposal, we thought, in the right direction, in a direction which would ease tensions and it should make it easier to think of the problem afresh. That was a good first step. We will then have a bigger step of making that area, or indeed any area, an area of 'disengagement', as the word is, not only of nuclear weapons but other arms. Even that would not be a solution. Of course, no single thing can be a solution. It only leads to lessening of tension, a better atmosphere and step by step thus you march towards some satisfactory settlement. Now, if nuclear weapons are sent to Western Germany that is a step in the contrary direction obviously. Instead of withdrawing weapons or not having

9. For Rapacki Plan, see *ante*, p. 727.

them, you send them; and, therefore, it adds to the tension and it may mean nuclear weapons being sent to the East European countries too, and so we end up by being in a much worse state than before.

Q: I beg to submit that this question was wrongly posed to you. Although I am not very much up on the subject myself, I cannot believe that it is a correct statement that there is any proposal to give atomic weapons to the West German Government. It may be that the NATO powers have proposals that the American forces in Germany should be equipped with some atomic weapons under their own control as in England just as, for all we know, the Soviet forces in Eastern Europe have also their atomic weapons with them. But I cannot believe that it is correct that the American atomic weapons are given like that to Germany or any other country.

JN: You]may be right.

Q: On 25th March the West German Parliament accepted the decision to arm their forces with nuclear weapons. That was on the 25th March.¹⁰

JN: Well, it is a fact, I think, that the West German Federal Parliament passed a resolution. I have not the wording here. But facts apart, what I said was that if such a thing happens it would add to tension and create difficulties and, apart from what has happened, or is likely to happen, it would be reversing the trend of what is called 'disengagement'.

Q: What about Khrushchev becoming Prime Minister?¹¹

JN: Well, Mr Khrushchev has been very much at the top for a long time. We get, I suppose, confused because our political structures are so different that it seems to us that because Mr Khrushchev has become the Prime Minister he has gained some greater height. But I think he was at the summit all the time.

Q: So far, we have been welcoming a trend in the Soviet Union towards what is called collective leadership. Does this latest change in the Soviet hierarchy mean a reversal of the trend?

10. For details, see *ante*, p. 728.

11. During the first session of the newly elected Supreme Soviet of the USSR, held in Moscow from 27 to 31 March 1958, Marshal Nikolai Bulganin was replaced as Prime Minister by Nikita Khrushchev on 27 March 1958.

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JN: Well, I am neither in a position to answer this question, nor is it proper for me to discuss the internal affairs of another country. But if I may say something about it, it is that Mr Khrushchev has represented certain trends towards greater liberalisation of certain policies, which are not only at the top but are represented by the people of the Soviet Union—pressures from there. He has represented them, I think, and some others possibly did not like those trends. So, Mr Khrushchev becoming Prime Minister means that those trends continue and those stresses, all those things continue.

Q: In regard to the nuclear tests, some time ago you directly took the initiative to write to the Heads of the nuclear States, among other things, to stop the tests. Now, one state has stopped the test and the other States are not willing to do so for the time being. Do you propose to take any further step in the matter of suspension of tests?

JN: I think we have discussed this matter adequately. We shall pass on to some other matters. We cannot go back. I have no intention at present of being presumptuous enough to go about sending letters all round.

Q: In this connection, when do you think the summit conference is likely to be held? What is your expectation?

JN: I might tell you that I have no secret information on the subject. It is impossible to guess. Most people think that it will be held sometime in the autumn. I do not know. You know as much as I do, or more perhaps.

Q: Previously you stated that the most essential thing is an agreement between the two Great Powers, the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Do you think that the presence of some uncommitted nations at the Summit Conference could facilitate such agreement, and that an exclusive meeting of big powers would create the impression that only they should decide all important world problems, which actually concern other nations also?

JN: What I said was not related to a summit conference. I said that the two superpowers, viz., the United States of America and the Soviet Union, their agreement was necessary not in relation to the summit but broadly. If a summit conference is held I should imagine it would be desirable for it to include some countries which are not supposed to be committed to military alliances. It is possible that their presence might be helpful.

Well, we go on to Indonesia, another foreign issue. Somebody mentioned Indonesia. Well, we are naturally interested and concerned with what happens in Indonesia,¹² because she is a great country of Asia and is having very friendly relations with us. We hope that they will get over their troubles, and we do not think it is right for us or for anyone else to interfere. This kind of interference usually produces wrong results.

Q: President Soekarno, speaking on March 12th, also hinted at some interference; particularly he said one bloc is displeased and it is exploiting the internal situation for its own ends. And again in the third week of February, Secretary of State Dulles stated in a news conference that they would like to see in Indonesia a constitutional government. There is some sort of guided democracy trend there, and again there were discoveries of arms in Indonesia in the hands of Sumatran rebels which were not the arms manufactured in Indonesia. Could you give us, Sir, your impression as to whether there is any element of foreign intervention in Indonesia?

JN: These are matters of fact about which, unless I am quite sure, I would not like to say anything. Allegations have been made and charges have been made. But my own information is that some arms were supplied to them from Formosa; they were supplied to the rebels from Taiwan. And that is all I can say now.

Q: Sir, there is one more interesting question, and that is with regard to the *de jure* transfer of Pondicherry and other territories. Does the delay in this *de jure* transfer of Pondicherry, etc., affect our relations with the French Government?

JN: Well, I hope that that particular matter does not basically affect our relations with that country, although this long wait for two years is rather trying, constantly expecting it to happen and then it not happening. But I do not think that has any basic effect on our relations. Other matters are much more important in regard to those relations from the public point of view. For instance, as you all know, people in India feel very deeply about the Algerian question.

Q: At the time of Mr Macmillan's visit here you had brought about a meeting between President Soekarno and Mr Macmillan. There was a suggestion that through Mr Macmillan's good offices there may be a conference between Indonesia and the Dutch Government. Is there any such possibility?

12. For the situation in Indonesia, see *ante*, pp. 662-664.

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JN: Well, I cannot discuss these matters. I think more meaning was attached to that meeting of President Soekarno and Prime Minister Macmillan at a small lunchroom party in my house than was perhaps justified.¹³

Q: What do you have to say about the food policy?

JN: You may remember, or not, that when I spoke in the Lok Sabha—I think at the time of the Budget speech—I said something about Mr Asoka Mehta's prophesies about food production in the report¹⁴ which he had made, and I said that I was quite sure and I was prepared to take a bet—of course, it is not very proper for me to use this type of language in Parliament, but however, I said it—that our production would be considerably greater than what Mr Asoka Mehta had suggested. Well, I am quite convinced that it would be so. It is not a matter for argument, but you can see it in a year or a year after that. You can see how it progresses. I am sure it will progress much more. I cannot obviously mention exactly the figure about that progress. Now Mr Asoka Mehta thereupon argued two days ago¹⁵ about this, that there could never be any self-sufficiency in a developing economy, because the more you develop and the more prosperous our people get, the more they eat and consume, and so we are always short of food.

Well, in a sense that argument is correct. The more prosperous you get, the more you will consume. Still, ultimately of course there is a limit to the consumption of food. That limit sometime is reached. Otherwise, we will all be ill for overeating, so that it is a theoretical proposition with which I agree, and which Mr A.P. Jain¹⁶ too said that there is no self-sufficiency in the sense that in a dynamic economy people will go on consuming more and more, but from the point of view of their normal consumption today, to that you add the additional population that will come. We should produce all that is normally required plus a cushion for disasters. That is what I call normal self-sufficiency which, again, may cease to be self-sufficiency if everybody starts eating more.

Q: You said that the more prosperous people get, the more they will consume, but is it not true that it is the prosperous people who eat less? It is only the poor man who eats more. A rich man never eats so much.

13. On 10 January 1958. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, p. 792.

14. For Asoka Mehta's report, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 160-161.

15. PSP leader Asoka Mehta, while intervening in the Lok Sabha debate on 2 April, considered Nehru's concept of self-sufficiency as 'illusory'. He called for a long-term policy for importing foodgrains. He said the government should be constantly striving to get surplus wheat from the USA and Canada on long-term loans. 'This was a cardinal doctrine and when Nehru attacked it he was attacking the very possibility of economic development of Asia,' Mehta stated. Mehta further said that the biggest phenomenon was not the increase in population, but the rapid urbanisation of the people and the resultant rapid demand for food without a corresponding increase in production.

16. Union Minister of Food and Agriculture.

JN: An eminent doctor, Dr B.C. Roy—he does not now of course practise but even now I think he sits for an hour or so every morning just to treat people free—said that 80 per cent of the diseases he dealt with during his career were due to overeating. I think he is referring chiefly to the slightly better off classes, not the poor.

Q: You said that food production will continue to rise and we will have always normal self-sufficiency. Does it take into account the rate of population growth?

JN: Surely, when I say that, I have to keep that in view. Otherwise, it will have no meaning; keeping in view the rate of population growth, our rate of food production will go ahead, not merely keeping pace with the population growth but going ahead a bit even. Only then we can catch up.

Q: You said that targets of food production should be fixed for each district, for each village, and for each individual farmer. Along with that, will there be any machinery by which you would fix responsibility for failure to take action?

JN: The only machinery we have at the present moment for this is the community development movement. That is to say, in the 260,000 or 270,000 villages it covers, it can do this, not in the urban areas. The real machinery should be the village co-operatives. In every village, these cooperatives can undertake this check.

Q: Mr S.K. Patil, while replying to the debate in the Lok Sabha on the Irrigation and Power Ministry, said that one of the causes for the low food production in India has been the plethora of Ministries responsible for it—the Planning Commission, the Food and Agriculture Ministry, the Irrigation and Power Ministry and the State lords as he calls them.¹⁷ He wanted a coordinated effort. Have you any comments to make?

17. Replying to the debate relating to demands for grants for the Ministry of Irrigation and Power on 26 March 1958, S.K. Patil said that "...the agricultural production or food production today is the charge not of one Ministry, but somehow or other it has happened that about four different Ministries and departments have got something to do with food production...From the very first time I came into the Ministry I have watched our Prime Minister and other leaders speak. Sometimes they showed a kind of feeling that in spite of their best efforts, the agricultural production does not improve. Sometimes, when things go wrong, there is no fixation of responsibility, because everybody wants to get out of it...."

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JN: What Mr Patil said was, to some extent, of course a fact, not to the extent perhaps you have imagined. A cooperative effort is always necessary. There is no Ministry of the Government of India which exists in splendid isolation. They have all to be cooperative. The real point that Mr Patil was perhaps making was a point which I had ventured to make repeatedly in the course of the last year in Parliament, before the National Development Council, the Planning Commission and elsewhere, though not in such dramatic language as Mr Patil's. But the point was—and it is a very valid point of Mr Patil—that resources have been created by additional canals, additional tubewells and the rest, and although these additional resources have been created, they have not been used to the fullest extent. It is a thing that has troubled us greatly. For instance, thousands of tubewells were built and we found that only, maybe, 20% of them have been used, 80% not used—maybe for different reasons, perhaps the rates for supply of electric power were so high that people did not want to pay. They were not basically high but when you want to attract new customers, who are unused to it, you have to get them used to it first. For instance, take Bihar. When this fact came to their notice, they have reduced the rates and I think every tubewell is now being utilised. In fact, it is said that when you have this tubewell, to begin with, it is better to give electric power free for some time. Let them use it for some time and then gradually you can have whatever rates you like.

In the same way, big canals have been made and water is flowing but the water channels from the canals to the fields have not been made. This was not the job, Mr Patil would say naturally, of his Ministry—the Irrigation & Power Ministry. They make big canals. To make small channels from that is either the job of the State Governments or maybe that of the local area. Take a third example of not utilising the resources of wells in South India. In the course of the last few years, many of the wells have decayed. They were not looked after or repaired. If they were repaired properly, I believe they could be utilised with greater advantage. That was, I take it, Mr Patil's point, that while resources have been created, they have not been utilised as rapidly as they should have been. I might say that normally when resources are created in any country, there is some time-lag in their utilisation, but we dare not have that period in India, and we should not have that, and a plan means that we should not have a gap period. That is perfectly true. Without specifying whose fault it is, we may say that it is our fault, for that lack of adequate planning, so as to take advantage of something as soon as it is available.

Q: What is being done now?

JN: I have given an example that so far as the tubewells are concerned, every tubewell now is being used which was not used a year ago for various reasons.

It was there, but people did not make use of it because the rates were high. So far as the channels are concerned, it is a very big job, because there are millions and millions of acres of land. That also has been taken in hand in several States. I cannot definitely say what has been done about the wells. We have been pressing for it, but how far the State Governments there have taken this work of repair in hand, I cannot say. Of course, to some extent they are doing. To what extent, I cannot say. We have laid the greatest stress on this during the last six months or so.

Q: Mr Patil went a step further and said that the cultivation potential in March last year was 7.5 million acres, of which only some 4 million acres have been utilised. He wanted to appoint a committee to enquire how they could be utilised and then suddenly he discovered that he could not do it. Is there any procedure preventing the issue itself being discussed at the Cabinet level?

JN: There is no such procedure. We have appointed a committee on this. It is a normal way obviously, for a Minister; either he appoints a committee himself or he asks his colleague to appoint a committee, or he puts it up to the Cabinet. On this particular matter the Planning Commission appointed committees about nine months back, committees or several commissions, to go to each State to enquire into this particular matter of non-utilisation of the available resources. And these committees or commissions have produced long reports. In several States they are still functioning, and they are very helpful reports.

Q: Is there any truth in the statement that there is a lag in food production or the target is not being attained because the Centre is too soft on the States?

JN: I do not know. The States are autonomous and strong language on the part of the Centre does not win the goodwill of the State; often it irritates it. But what do you mean by "soft"? Does it refer to the legal power of the Centre or just using strong or weak language? Broadly speaking, the States are very cooperative. I am not complaining about them at all. They are very cooperative. It is sometimes easy for a person sitting on top to issue directions, not realising the difficulties in the States. But all these things, this changing situation in a dynamic economy, changing of pressures and all that are there and if difficulties occur we should not be surprised.

Q: Have we taken steps to control the damage and depredation caused to crops by stray cattle? Statistics show that the number of stray and useless cattle is rising rapidly. My question is whether steps taken in this direction will have any impact on food production?

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JN: Yes, not only cattle but other animals and insects. It is really a very important factor and the loss caused by these depredations is considerable. And many of our friends in their demands, or their approach to the cattle question, are negative in their approach, and they do not realise how much harm they do, not only to the food position but to the cattle also.

Q: Does the State take note of the fact that the more fertile the land becomes, the more readily it is turned to the cultivation of commercial crops? That is what happened in East Punjab and recently a party that went round to see the excavation work of the Rajasthan Canal saw the same in Ganganagar district which is one of the most fertile lands in north India.

JN: It is a matter of balancing commercial crops. We want commercial crops most certainly, but relative to that, food is more important.

Now, shall we go to some other subject? Somebody asked me about the language issue. I do not know what you expect me to say about it. My views are fairly well known. I think that the resolution passed by the Gauhati Congress after very careful thought is a very good resolution and a proper approach to this issue.¹⁸ That resolution does not go into precise details for the simple reason that the matter is being considered by a committee of Parliament and it was not considered right to impose a detailed decision from Gauhati on the committee of Parliament. Our views are quite clear in regard to the major things. If you accept that major approach of Gauhati, I think you will solve this question without doing the slightest injury to any party. In fact, the whole purpose of that resolution is that no non-Hindi-speaking area should be treated with any discrimination or should suffer from any change. The second is that the whole approach should not be rigid, it should be flexible. The third is that even when we are endeavouring to make Hindi a language for all-India use, English can also be used. We had not fixed periods. So I really cannot understand all this warmth about this matter. One thing I did not say, which is beyond my most distant conception, is that English should be called a national language of India. That is a falsehood which I shall never admit. I am all for English spreading in India, but I will never accept something which I consider absolutely wrong and untrue.

Q: We have got 14 national languages.

18. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 571-572 and 574-583.

JN: But English is not a national language. I am prepared to admit that English is the language of the Anglo-Indian community in India, I am prepared to admit that.

Q: The Anglo-Indians are Indians.

JN: I am prepared to admit to that extent. It can be used for the sake of convenience as much as possible.

Q: You need not fix in theory that English should be used as a national language. If the Gauhati resolution says that no period need be fixed during which English could be used, that is exactly the contention of the South. If the question of period is taken out, then there will be no controversy.

JN: Why should I be threatened and terrorised in this way, I should like to know.

Q: It is the people who want it.

JN: The history of this language question is that a number of Hindi enthusiasts in the past have thrown their weight about, and tried to generally impose their will on others, which was highly improper of them, and harmful to them, and which they have gradually begun to realise. I have spoken, as you know, against them a great deal and pointed out that this was not the way. Now, instead of their throwing their weight about, others are doing so. While, oddly enough, the Hindi enthusiasts are strangely silent, they have learnt from experience that they were wrong in that policy, I hope others will learn from experience that they are wrong in their present policy because we have said it is a flexible approach. And the major thing is not Hindi and English, the major change that is coming about all over India—whether one likes it or not—is the regional language taking the place of English. Nobody argues about that. If a regional language takes the place of English in the region, that language becomes the medium of instruction. That is the real change. Some of you and I have been educated in English as our medium of instruction. That is why we know English tolerably well. In future it is not be Hindi that will come into action, it is the regional language that will become the medium of instruction, not only in the primary stage but in the secondary stage and perhaps later, and that will make the knowledge of English much less deep than it has been. As a matter of fact, I believe English will be more widely known in India in the next generation than it is today, will be much more widely known, simply because education will spread and English, being often a compulsory secondary language, will be widely known. But it is true that while it will be more widely known, the quality of it will be a little

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less perhaps. All these things you can guess about the future. Therefore, I want to leave it flexible and give full place for English to function.

Take another aspect of the Gauhati resolution where it says that scientific, technical and like terms should be approximated to international usage, not in Hindi alone but in all the languages of India and should be more or less similar. If you realise the significance of this, the language of today is becoming more and more added up by technical and scientific terms. I think every year, if you take the English language, I do not know, but 10,000 technical and scientific words are added. Now a national language becomes more and more technical and scientific. Now, if the technical and scientific vocabulary of the Indian languages is similar and approximates to international usage, English, French, etc., then that itself is a link among the Indian languages, a major link, and, secondly, is a major link with foreign languages and English, a link which becomes bigger and bigger, because the place of technical words becomes bigger and bigger in the language, in scientific words. Here is another very major link between Indian languages and English as well as other languages of foreign countries. In fact, our idea is to approximate to the rest of the world and not to cut ourselves adrift. I do not say that of many of the people who are producing a kind of artificial Hindi at the present moment.

Q: Have you ever heard the Hindi version of your speech in the All India Radio bulletin? They make a Hindi version of it.

JN: They ought to be convicted of murder.

Q: I heard your speech on the Independence Day and afterwards in the news bulletin. The two speeches were entirely different.

JN: This is a murder of language which is much worse than the murder of an individual.

Q: You are not at all committed to this rigid date of 1965.

JN: I am not committed to any date. Nobody is committed to dates. The first is the date of introduction. The second is the date if you like, though no date is necessary, of Hindi being used, while even then English is also used by anybody or any State. Thirdly, it is patent that the Centre in such matters is not going to compel any State. Suppose I send a letter in Hindi to a State, I am not talking about now, but in the future. I shall certainly write to them in English if they so choose or send them a copy in English. There is no question of making things difficult. It is really about making things easier for everybody.

Q: One extreme view in the South is not only about the lack of rigidity regarding the date, but also that the Constitution must be amended so that Hindi will not be mentioned or specified as the official language of the Union.

JN: I disagree with you completely and, if I may say so, that is not going to be done.

Q: Mr Siddhartha Ray¹⁹ has made certain very serious allegations, very bad....

JN: I am afraid I have not read the 80-page document that Mr Ray read out. When the Chief Minister tried to reply to it, he was shouted down. I have no doubt that any allegation made should be enquired into. I have also no doubt that Mr Ray has misbehaved in a manner which is extremely deplorable and I am amazed that a person is functioning in this way.²⁰ It is against all standards of Cabinet, Parliament or decency. I hope such behaviour will not be repeated in India by anyone, because we want to keep up some standards in India. Any charges, *prima facie* charges, should be enquired into. If it is the fault of the Bengal Government, let them suffer for it. But Mr Ray has obviously adopted an indecent and improper way and he has no sympathy for it.

Q: A suggestion has been made in some quarters that the Congress Party is facing a kind of moral crisis in a large number of States of the Union.

JN: We have always been in a continuous crisis. Whenever I read old letters of mine to Mr Gandhi or to other leaders, I am surprised how we were facing some crises then in some way. But it is true we are worried about many things and we are worried most of all about, well, lowering of standards of behaviour. You have mentioned Mr Ray's case because that is an extreme case but there are many other types. I am not for the moment referring to the Congress only.

19. Siddhartha Shankar Ray (1920-2010); Barrister, Calcutta High Court; Member, West Bengal Legislative Assembly, 1957-71, 1972-77, 1991-92; Minister for Law and Tribal Welfare, West Bengal Government, 1957-58, but later resigned; Union Minister for Education and Social Welfare, 1971-72; Chief Minister of West Bengal, 1972-77; Governor of Punjab, 1986-89; Ambassador to USA, 1992-96.
20. Ray tendered his resignation on 9 March 1958 and made a statement in the Assembly on 24 March indicting the State Government for its inability to tackle widespread corruption in the Department of Food, Relief, Supplies and Land Revenue. On 17 March, a no-confidence motion, moved by him against the State Government, was defeated in the Assembly, although Chief Minister B.C. Roy could not complete his reply due to constant interruptions by the Opposition.

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but to all political parties in India. Naturally, being connected with the Congress, I feel what happens in the Congress more intimately. I am anxious they should set a standard. If they fail, it hurts me.

Q: Just now you said that Mr Ray's charges, if substantiated, should be enquired into. You suggested they should be enquired by the State Government or.....

JN: I cannot say that. My point is, if serious charges are made against Government, they cannot be muffled up. Some kind of enquiry should be made. If *prima facie* they are found to be correct, then a fuller enquiry should be made.

Q: Are you prepared to accept that popular feeling against actions of the Government has to be taken.....?

JN: Yes; but popular opinion about certain broad actions. Broadly, I am prepared to agree but what is popular opinion is not so obvious because a number of vigorous persons may shout a lot and say theirs is the popular opinion. They may organise some demonstration. It is not very easy to know what popular opinion is, but broadly I say that popular opinion, whatever it may be, has to be considered.

Q: In West Bengal there is something radically wrong about the food policy of that State.

JN: I can express no opinion about the food policy of the Bengal Government, because I have no knowledge of that.

Q: Can we have your comments on the anti-India views of Sheikh Abdullah since his release? In this connection, I might draw your attention to the recent statement made by the Kashmir Prime Minister that if today Sheikh Abdullah enjoys the support of some people it was not from the people of Kashmir, but from certain elements in Delhi who are trying to disrupt the unity of the State with India. Are the Government of India looking into this matter [so] that the activities of these elements in Delhi are stopped?

JN: Well, the activities of many elements in Delhi for the last several years, seven, eight, nine years have been very improper and often prejudicial. There are some people, there are organisations with headquarters here. And we have sometimes taken action against people too but, by and large, our laws are free and easy in these matters. It is not particularly easy to take action. As for Sheikh

Abdullah's statements, naturally I regret many of them, I am not happy about them. There is no point in just running him down. I do not like this condemning and running down people. He is opposed obviously to the policy we are pursuing. I regret particularly the manner of his opposition.

Q: Some of the newspapers in the country owned by big businessmen have been advocating, for the past few months, that you should retire temporarily. The public are concerned about it. Have you any comments to offer?

JN: I have not seen that comment that I should retire. My temporary retirement, if it is advocated by what you say certain lobby reports, may not be advantageous. It might have the reverse effect. Whether I retire or not, I suppose I do not want to become totally ineffective. I shall remain somewhat effective. I may retire when I feel like that. I am a man of moods, but it will not be for that reason.

Q: Apart from anybody advocating, as a point of fact, have you lately expressed the view in any communication to any colleagues here and in the States that you are feeling a bit tired and therefore.....I know you do not like the publication of such documents.

JN: Yes. I have stated that I feel stale. My body is as healthy as normally it is. There is nothing wrong as far as I know, but I do feel rather flat and stale, and I do not think it is right for a person to feel that way when he has to deal with vital and important problems. He needs freshening up and some creativeness in the mind. I have had nearly 11½ years without any respite. I think I may have some further years of effective service because I am bodily fit, and although I cannot judge my own mind, I do not think it is slipping, but it is, I think, stale and requires freshening up.

Q: The staleness of your mind has been referred to by the very same papers by referring to the Hungarian episode²¹ and your recent utterances on the Chagla Report,²² and that is why public apprehension is there about the staleness and the tiredness about which you are thinking, and this linking up by the newspapers is agitating the public mind.

21. For the Hungarian uprising of October 1956, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 35, pp. 421-422 and 455-456. See also Vol. 40, pp. 534-563 and Vol. 41, pp. 731-732.

22. For Nehru's speeches on the Chagla Commission report, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 355-363, 365-373 and 375-413.

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JN: Staleness of mind is one thing. The reference made by these newspapers would be interpreted by me not to staleness but to certain freshness in my mind. It depends on how you interpret things.

Q: Last time you were reported as taking a short holiday, we were surprised to see in the newspapers that you had been making about six speeches a day during that period of holiday.

JN: When was this?

Q: Some years ago in Chakrata, about two years ago.²³

JN: No, you are quite wrong there. For a day and half, I made no speech at all. By and large, except very important speeches, they do not tire me at all. I am not making any speeches, and excepting the important speeches in Parliament that I may make, I am only meeting people, my own countrymen somewhere or the hill people, and talking to them. It is not a formal speech that I make. I talk to them and that rather tones me up, coming into contact with them.

Q: What do you propose to do to remedy that staleness that you are complaining about?

JN: I am giving very serious consideration to that matter.

Q: I want you to comment on the conception Mr Jayaprakash Narayan has been expounding recently.....

JN: That is a particularly complex subject, Mr Jayaprakash Narayan's speech²⁴ about parliamentary democracy.

Q: I want to ask you about your opinion about the Wage Board.²⁵

23. In fact, Nehru visited Chakrata (now in Uttarakhand) from 25 to 29 April 1957.
24. While unveiling a portrait of Yusuf Meherally in Bombay on 30 March 1958, Jayaprakash Narayan said that the working of the party system and parliamentary democracy had not proved satisfactory during the first ten years of national independence. Besides the problem of poverty, the country today faced various other problems such as provincialism and linguism.
25. For decisions of the Wage Board for Working Journalists and subsequent developments, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 333-336 and Vol. 40, pp. 283-284.

JN: I cannot give any opinion about that. You want to put me in hot water by saying something about the Supreme Court. Sometimes I slip owing to my hurry but this time I am not going to do so.

Q: There has been a suggestion that labour legislation must be put outside the jurisdiction of the courts and many a time this question has been raised and every time Mr Abid Ali²⁶ says that it necessitates amendment of the Constitution which they do not propose to undertake. Can that thing be.....

JN: How can you put anything outside the scope of the Supreme Court?

Q: Apart from the question of wage boards, generally speaking, on Mondays when one goes to the Supreme Court one sees petty appeals being brought up against the decisions of the industrial tribunals. Therefore, the central trade union organisations have been demanding that the Supreme Court's power to grant special leave should be taken away in such matters.

JN: I do think that, apart from any merits, a kind of delaying, things being hung up, is rather unfortunate. How it should be done I cannot say straight off.

Now finally about Mr Jayaprakash Narayan's speech. I have not read the full speech. I read a little of it, and when Mr Jayaprakash criticises parliamentary democracy in India or elsewhere, there is much truth in his criticism, but the alternative he suggests, well, I can get no grip of it. In theory it may be all right, but in practice the evils of what he considers parliamentary democracy in India may appear in a much intense form than what he suggests. After all, whatever method of government you have, it depends on the quality of the human beings, and Mr Jayaprakash seems to presume that the quality of human beings will improve greatly if his advice is followed. Let everybody come together and let the best men do the job cooperatively. Well, if good men are there, there is no difficulty, have any scheme of government you like, but presuming that people become good in that way and are bad in Parliament—this is not clear to me.

We have to deal with human beings as they are. There are good men. There are self-seekers and all that, and we try to have checks and try to give incentives for goodness if you like, sometimes incentives appear to be greater to the individual than the evil. So you see it is a very deep question of philosophical approach to problems of government and all that. Nobody is satisfied today. I would not say 'nobody', but most people are not satisfied with the existing forms of government; they do not consider them perfect. They choose the best

26. Deputy Minister in the Union Ministry of Labour.

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out of the lesser evils, you might say. We may attach importance to something. I attach importance, let us say, to individual freedom; I do. But I do not take that individual freedom as being in conflict with others' freedom.

The Magyars' patriotic defences against communism are to some extent lacking in India. That is because we are an undisciplined people, and even our religion is an undisciplined thing. Also, our patriotism is largely a negative thing. But deep down there are vague but strong national forces at work which will oppose communism.

GBS: Do you think that the main political danger to India may be that the Congress party would get weaker without communism necessarily getting stronger?

JN: That might well be so. The real trouble with the Congress is that it has been in power too long. The serious thing is not that we may get defeated in certain States, but that we have got into the position where we are forced into compromise with other groups whose help we are seeking to keep an absolute majority.

GBS: What is this talk of your retiring all about?

JN: There never was any question of my retiring to the Himalayas for good. It occurred to me that it would be pleasant to get away from the routine of Prime Minister for a while, and the more I thought about the idea the more attractive it seemed.

But my idea of several months' break has not proved possible. The present position is that I shall probably take about a month's rest, trekking in the mountains, and then return here.

GBS: Did you know beforehand about the arrest 10 days ago, of Sheikh Abdullah?

JN: I might have thought that it was coming, but I was not, in fact, told in advance. We are in a delicate position here in such matters and we try to avoid interfering as far as possible.

GBS: Do you approve of the arrest?

JN: I hate arrests, as you can imagine from the fact that I have been arrested so often myself. I disliked it when Sheikh Abdullah was imprisoned the first time, and I dislike it again now. But in his case there were reasons and evidence which may be made public.

I see little prospect of an early settlement of the Kashmir dispute as such. It is not just Kashmir. It is the whole Hindu-Muslim question. Recent utterances by Pakistani leaders have not helped in this respect.

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To judge by some of their statements, they want not only Kashmir but parts of Punjab and West Bengal, where there are Muslims, as well. If we allow this sort of thing to start we shall simply disintegrate.

3. Press Conference—II¹

Question: What were the reasons for the defeat of the Congress in the Devikulam and Gurgaon bye-elections?²

Jawaharlal Nehru: They are momentary aberrations. You can analyse the reasons for the defeat. One should profit by them, one should not be complacent but one should not get excited about it either.

Q: What do you think about the Municipal Committee's decision to do away with certain types of gardens?

JN: The Municipal Committee are all in favour of gardens, but they say the people take our land and call it their garden, and they object to it, which I think is very reasonable.

Q: How serious is the foreign exchange crisis?

JN: There is no point in discussing here the foreign exchange crisis. It is broadly a continuing position.

Q: Are you planning to go on a holiday?

JN: I am the product of the holiday. I may tell you that I intended going away day after tomorrow but for the moment I am not going, because I find a fair

1. New Delhi, 4 June 1958. File No. 43(73)/56-58-PMS.

2. In the bye-election held in the Devikulam constituency in Kerala on 16 May 1958, Rosamma Punnoose of the CPI defeated the Congress candidate B.K. Nair and in the Gurgaon bye-election, Jan Sangh-backed Independent candidate Prakash Vir Shastri defeated the Congress candidate Mauli Chand Sharma. See also *ante*, pp. 393 and 531-532.

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amount of work which I have to deal with before I can think of going away. So for the moment I have postponed my going.

Q: When do you think the summit conference will be held?

JN: I really do not know if any particular progress has been made. I believe it is likely to be held. For the moment, as you know, there is President Eisenhower's proposal for a meeting of technical experts to consider how far it is possible to find out if there is a violation of any agreement on stoppage of nuclear tests, and Mr Khrushchev has agreed to exchanging notes about the location of the meeting and the rest of it. And I see from the published letter of Mr Khrushchev that he has suggested that some other countries, including India, might also be invited to send experts. Well, in regard to that our position has been all along that if we can help and if our presence is desired by the principal parties, we are prepared to participate and to offer our services, but we have no particular desire to push ourselves in. We are more anxious that such a conference should achieve results whether we should be there or not. If we can help, if our presence is likely to help, then we shall gladly go there. I suppose all this is, in a sense, step by step, leading to that so-called high-level meeting.

Q: What is your comment on India's defeat in the hockey match with Pakistan?

JN: If the other team is better, one should congratulate it. We would have liked India to win, naturally but if the other team, the Pakistan team, is better we should accept it, and try to better ourselves for the next time.³ That is all. But if I may say so—I do not know much about it, but our athletics and even hockey suffered a great deal from internal squabbles and sometimes even the best team is not picked out because of these petty jealousies.

Q: What is the role of the Estimates Committee?

JN: Well, that is a question which it is proper to deal with in Parliament, not in a press conference. I would point out to you one thing that the Estimates Committee is of course modelled after the Estimates Committee of the British House of Commons. In fact, most of our parliamentary procedure is modelled after that. The Estimates Committee, I think, performs a very important task. I should like to say that the Estimates Committee of our Parliament has performed

3. The final match of the Tokyo Asian Games Hockey Tournament between India and Pakistan ended in a goalless draw on 30 May 1958. But, Pakistan was awarded the Gold Medal by virtue of having no goal scored against them.

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very important and useful tasks in drawing attention to various things that we are doing, and making suggestions for their improvement. But rather unawares, one difference has crept in between the working of the British Estimates Committee and our Estimates Committee. Under the Rules of the British House of Commons, the British Estimates Committee cannot deal with questions of policy. It is prohibited from dealing with questions of policy. It does, of course, deal with questions of economy, efficiency, etc., etc., but is specifically precluded from dealing with questions of policy. Here, the tendency has been rather the other way. Our Committee has dealt with questions of policy.⁴ No doubt, sometimes their suggestions are good. That is not the point, and it is a matter for consideration how far we should follow the British rule on this subject.

Q: Apart from the role of the Estimates Committee which you have already defined, would you please let us know your reactions to the suggestion made by the Estimates Committee on Planning that the Prime Minister of India should dissociate himself with the Planning Commission in his capacity as the Chairman?

JN: I do not think it is proper for me to discuss their recommendations here. It is neither respectful to the Committee nor to the Government nor to the Planning Commission. If all of us went about expressing our individual opinions about such matters relating to Ministers, members of the Planning Commission, members of the Estimates Committee, there would be confusion. The Planning Commission, no doubt, will consider and express its opinion whatever it is and the Government will consider it. The matter may be even discussed in Parliament. I do not know.

Q: Last week a Bombay newspaper published a long and sober article under the headline "Colour Prejudice Rampant in India", citing examples of several forms of prejudice, such as hiring policies in public agencies. It stated that, today, in the cities of modern India, the emphasis is gradually being shifted from caste to actual colour. Does this seem to you to be true?

JN: I have not seen that before. I do not know much about it, I do not know who has written it, but it seems to me at least a very considerable exaggeration. There may be some basis for it. I do not know how people are hired in offices and other places. I had heard vaguely that sometimes colour counts for a little in the marriage market.

4. See *ante*, pp. 493-495.

Q: Do you agree with Vinoba Bhave's remark about the Government's incapacity to plan for the villages?⁵

JN: Well, I agree with him, but not perhaps in the way he meant that but in my own way. That is to say, I am convinced that effective planning cannot be done by the Government or any government agency by itself. If it has to be effective, widespread planning, you have to associate others, right down to the villagers. In that sense, I agree with him, but perhaps I do not agree with him completely in the sense he meant it. That is a different matter. It is obvious that any activity which you want to go right down to the village level, cannot be done in a bureaucratic way from the top. Bureaucracy, of course, has to function. Nobody is cursing bureaucracy, because the world is becoming more and more bureaucratic in a sense, but if the village functions by itself and in itself, something complete in itself, then of course, it becomes not only a nuisance but a danger. But if it functions more and more in line with the people generally, that is, if there is some kind of mutual cooperation and help, then it bears fruit. The big problem in the villages in India has been to make their very static life dynamic, to make them dynamically-minded, to change the economy of the village, somehow to make it move out of the ruts. Normally speaking, the village does not do that without some outside impetus. The outside impetus may be official, non-official, but it needs some impetus. Otherwise, it is too much stuck in those ruts. A competent authority, governmental, bureaucratic, official, can be a catalytic agent but the work has to be done by the people. It cannot do the work for the people.

Then there was some question about some Indo-Pakistan border firing.⁶

Q: In Punjab and also Assam.

JN: I have been trying very hard for the last many days and weeks to understand what lies behind this repeated firing on the Assam side. It is patent that either party firing across the river is not going to frighten the other country, or coerce it into doing anything. It is patent. It is childish to imagine that you can coerce any country that way. Suppose there is a dispute. Well, you are not going to settle disputes by this rather childish behaviour. As a matter of fact, on the Assam border, there was firing not only on the places where there is some dispute about the exact border, but in places where there is no dispute at all. I

5. While addressing the tenth All-India Sarvodaya Sammelan at Pandharpur on 31 May 1958, Vinoba Bhave said that planning in villages should be undertaken by villagers themselves and not by the Union Government.

6. For details, see *ante*, p. 417.

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just cannot understand it. Is it just an amusing pastime which people indulge in there, because you can produce no results except frustration, irritation and anger?

There are certain pending disputes about the actual border there—relics of the Radcliffe Award. Relatively speaking, they are very minor disputes. Maybe, half a mile this way or half a mile that way. Nothing much is involved. And any two reasonable persons sitting down on behalf of the two Governments can, I am sure, decide them in the course of a day or two. But some extraordinary fate pursues us, that these very simple questions which should be decided in the course of an afternoon, continue and give us so much trouble. The result is that one gets rather frustrated, and the thing becomes bigger and bigger. Well, I hope that on the Assam side these border troubles have ended. I do not mind dealing with them at any level, and we have informed the Pakistan Government that we are prepared to deal with them on any level, including the highest level. Let us sit down and decide these things at any level, at the level of the Central Ministers, the State Ministers or the Chief Secretaries, or whatever level they want, we shall have it. I do not mind what the decision is, provided it is arrived at in a proper way. I do not even mind if I have to give up half a mile of our territory this way or that way, but not all the power of the world can have that half a mile by coercion or terrorism. It is not a question of taking half a mile of territory, but it becomes a question of the prestige of our nation and protecting our people, and not allowing these dangerous and terrorist methods to succeed. The problem becomes entirely a different one. The real problem which is a tiny problem ceases to be there and something else comes up there and these two nations' prestige is involved. Therefore, this kind of thing is not right. Let us meet and decide it.

Q: Is it right that the first protest was lodged on this subject by Pakistan with India?

JN: What do you mean by 'first'? This has been going on for years.

Q: In the current series, is it a fact that the first protest was lodged by Pakistan?

JN: I absolutely do not know. Take for instance the Dawki village, which is not a disputed territory in any sense. In many of these areas what happens is that sometimes the river changes its course slightly, and thereby adds to Pakistan territory on that side or to our territory on this side, and slightly new positions are created, which should be decided by friendly talks and not by gunfire. But I should like to say that this recent firing on the West-East Punjab-Pakistan border about which news has only recently come yesterday or today—has rather upset me, because again it seems to me so utterly uncivilised and barbarous,

done without the least reason. And I am even prepared to say, with reservations, that the modern civilisation considers wars as a part of civilisation, I do not like them. But this kind of stabbing in the back or firing in the back suddenly without the least provocation is an intolerable nuisance, and we are informing the Pakistan Government accordingly. Absolutely without notice, some of our people being shot down, six of them dead before they knew what was going to happen and some others kidnapped and captured. This is a spirit of gangsterism. This is not the way in which Governments function, and it is patent that the Government of India is not going to tolerate this kind of thing. We are all for peace; but we are just not going to tolerate being hit on the head, and stabbed in the back, and we are demanding not only an ending of this firing but damages for every persons killed, and for every bit of damage caused. But the difficulty is one does not quite know whom to address in Pakistan.⁷

Q: What does our army do when they fire?

JN: Well, our army is there, it is true; and if they fire on our army, our army is likely to fire back. But if you are quietly sitting or engaged in peaceful activities, and somebody suddenly fires, well, what are you to do? By the time you wake up to the fact that something odd is happening, the firing has taken place and you are dead or some of your men are dead.

Q: Is it not time to wake up the army?

JN: There is no question of waking up the army. Our army is much more wide awake than any of us sitting here. But it is a disciplined army. No army can function off its own bat. I do not know how far the people on the Pakistan border are controlled by their senior authorities.

Q: What about the recent threat of people trying to organise a march across the Kashmir frontier, and so on?

JN: I suppose you mean the statement made by Ghulam Abbas?⁸

Q: Yes, and also by the union of ex-Prime Ministers of Pakistan?

7. See *ante*, p. 629.

8. One of the leaders of 'Azad' Kashmir, Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas, at a news conference in Karachi on 27 May 1958, had stated that a movement "connected with the ceasefire line" would be launched shortly by the people of 'Azad' Kashmir to liberate their brethren in the occupied Kashmir.

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JN: Well, well, we know that these are the days of trade unions. You know that some time back, last year, Allama Mashriqi⁹ also had a bright idea of marching into Kashmir, with hundreds of thousands of persons. But unfortunately or otherwise, he is now in a lunatic asylum. No, I am sorry, he is in an ordinary civil prison. But, he is, I believe, accused of being slightly mentally deranged. Now Mr Ghulam Abbas has said something about it. Well, it is not for me to say anything, except that I hardly think he himself means it; and if he meant it, I do not think he will succeed in even gathering so many persons; and if he gathers a few, well, they will stop at the border, or be stopped at the border. They can do what they like across the border; but they will not come across to this side.

I should imagine all this rather as an aspect of the internal tussles going on in that part of Pakistan of occupied Kashmir territory.

Q: Is it correct to say that Pakistan is supporting the hostile Nagas with equipment and even military training?

JN: It is a very delicate question. I think that the Nagas have, in the course of the last year or two, repeatedly approached Pakistan, as they have approached others, not only the Pakistan authorities, and I believe that some Pakistan authorities have encouraged them. To what extent, I cannot say, and in what way they have encouraged them.

Unfortunately, Pakistan's major policy appears to be based on one factor, and that is a hatred of India. Wherever they find somebody opposing India, they line up with him, whether it is in Goa or elsewhere; it has no relation to any other basic policy.

Q: You say that you are going to ask for damages for every bit of damage caused by Pakistani firing. Have any damages been claimed for the damages caused by them on the eastern border of India?

JN: No damage has been claimed and, broadly speaking, the damage has not been much; there has been a lot of firing, but the actual damage in those tracts is not very much.

9. Inayatullah Khan also known as Allama Mashriqi (1888-1963); Vice Principal, Islamia College, Peshawar; Under Secretary in the Education Department, Government of British India; resigned from government service and later founded the Khaksar Movement in 1930 aiming to free India from foreign rule; opposed to the division of South Asia, Allama, later became an ardent advocate of unification of Kashmir with Pakistan; led a march of his followers to the borders of Kashmir in 1957 intending to launch a fight for its liberation.

Q: Pakistan agreed to pay damages on a previous occasion. At least the present Pakistan President, when he was Minister of the Interior,¹⁰ agreed to pay India damages for an incident in the past. Have they so far paid the damages?

JN: Once they have, although of course they did not accept it as a precedent. That was a case in which Pakistan had fired from across the ceasefire line, and violated the truce, and the United Nations Observers had reported on it throwing the blame on the Pakistan side. Before their report had come, the then Pakistan Prime Minister had said that they (Pakistan) would accept their report and act accordingly. So when it came, we asked them to do so. They did not agree at first and, I think, correspondence went on for over a year, but ultimately they did pay some token damages, I think, of a lakh of rupees which went to the families of the people who had been killed.

Q: You said that you had received information that some Nagas were being encouraged by Pakistan or some Pakistan authorities. Could you please tell us in what way they were being encouraged? By the supply of arms and other equipment?

JN: I said that some Nagas in the past had been trying to approach the Pakistan authorities and other authorities too. They talked about going to the UN and all that. I said they had been encouraged by some Pakistan authorities whom they had approached. I cannot go into details.

Q: There was an accusation in the press note issued by the Assam Government that they had received some guns or rifles probably from across the border. Could you throw some light on this part of the accusation?

JN: No, it is difficult for me to be precise and accurate. They may have received a few guns and all that; I cannot give any definite information about that. It is always possible to get a few guns, but in the Naga area, we have still large dumps left from war-time. That has been the cause of the trouble. The Army was there and they left behind large dumps, and they are being used.

Q: Could you tell us something about France?

10. Iskandar Ali Mirza, the President of Pakistan, was Minister of Interior and Frontier Regions from 1954 to 1955.

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JN: I do not think it would be proper for me to deal with the internal situation in any country, much less in a great country like France.¹¹

There are troubles happening in other places like Indonesia¹² and Lebanon,¹³ and our policy has been that these matters should be settled internally by the Government and the people concerned, and that there should be no interference, which always tends to worsen conditions, and makes a relatively narrow or small issue a much bigger issue. That was our attitude in regard to Indonesia, and that is exactly the same attitude in regard to Lebanon. Let the people of Lebanon decide this way or that way, and come to terms. The moment outside factors come in, it becomes rather a pawn in international conflicts, and the people, who might otherwise have come to terms, do not approach each other, but look to their patrons elsewhere. That is always a wrong thing. Now, France is not a small country like the Lebanon. It is a great power; it is a great country and what happens to France is of the utmost significance to Europe and the world. I would not like to say anything about the internal developments in France, but I would venture to say something about their consequences on Algeria, and North Africa.¹⁴ Because in regard to Algeria, as you know, we have felt very deeply, very strongly; not only are we in favour of Algerian freedom and independence, as we must be, because of our broad policies, but we have been deeply shocked at the news from Algeria about the way the rising there has been put down, and the terroristic methods employed.

I am quite convinced that whether it is Algeria or whether it is any other part of any territory under colonial control, there can be no real peace without the freedom of that territory. What the relations of a free territory might be with another is another matter. That is again for the people of that country to decide. No imposed relationship can bring peace, because it is an imposition. A free relationship can always be accepted because it is a free relationship. So one of my anxieties at present is about the result of what has happened in France, in North Africa and in Algeria, as I have mentioned. Then there is Tunisia, which offers the rather odd spectacle of an independent country, represented in the United Nations, and yet with armies of occupation.

Q: The Congress President said at a public meeting in Jaipur last week that there were a number of suicides in the country owing to poverty and unemployment, and several starving people were surviving on mice, serpents and birds. But where, he has not indicated. He said that in the country there

11. See *ante*, pp. 671 and 674.

12. See *ante*, pp. 662-664.

13. See *ante*, pp. 630-633.

14. See *ante*, pp. 671-672.

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were a number of suicides and starving people were surviving on mice, serpents and birds. Where did he get that information?

JN: I do not know but I know that so far as suicides are concerned, the Congress President himself said the other day, somewhere, that in his own particular area of India, Saurashtra—I think it was Saurashtra he said—there was a suicide a day, by women owing to bad social conditions. That is a pretty bad record—not through hunger or anything, just social pressures, or call it what you like. That is mentioned, I think, even in the Report of the Rau Committee on the Hindu Code Bill,¹⁵ or something like that. I do not know what he was referring to, but in some of the forest areas of Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh and other areas, there are almost normally, I regret to say, such scarcity conditions whenever there is a bad harvest or anything. In fact, it is for the first time now that some effort is made to send them food. Previously no effort used to be made. They are rather cut off from communications and elsewhere.

Q: On internal conditions in France and the Algerian question.

JN: I have told you that it would not be proper for me to express any opinion, and I repeat that I really do not know what the effect will be. What is the good of my guessing?

Q: How is it that the people of Kenya are denied your sympathy? Particularly a letter appeared in *The Times of India* four days ago, which stated that some detenus, about 20 of them, were denied even drinking water for the last four or five days.¹⁶

JN: I think you started by saying that why do I deny them my sympathy.

15. The Hindu Code Bill was drafted by the B.N. Rau Committee, based on its report prepared after touring all over the country. The Bill was referred to a Select Committee of the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) in April 1948 and the revised draft was discussed in the Provisional Parliament. However, the Bill could not be passed and was allowed to lapse with the dissolution of that Parliament. Later it was presented in separate parts to facilitate discussion and its subsequent passage by the Parliament. Thus Hindu Marriage and Divorce Act (May 1955), Hindu Succession Act (May 1956), Hindu Law of Adoption and Maintenance (1956) were enacted. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 20, pp. 132-136 and Vol. 33, pp. 214-221.
16. In a letter to *The Times of India* published on 2 June 1958, R.M. Kaggiya and some other political leaders imprisoned in the Lokiatung prison in Turkana district of Kenya had written that they were "being subjected to a kind of treatment" which they thought was "not meted out to human beings in any other part of the world."

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Q: How is it that this thing has been figuring in newspapers for the last so many years, but nothing has been said by you about Kenya? It has also been waging a struggle for independence for the last so many years.¹⁷

JN: Well, a great deal has been said about Kenya and on this incident you said that some letter has appeared in some paper, I regret I have not read it. This is the first time I have heard of it. I know nothing about it. Naturally, it is a very ghastly thing and a very deplorable and objectionable thing to treat people that way, and prevent them even from having drinking water. I do not know what worse one can do.

Q: What are your views on the Soviet-Yugoslavia relationship and the suspension of economic aid to Yugoslavia?

JN: That again is a question of my passing judgement on a conflict between two countries. So far as the ideological conflict is concerned, it is obvious that I am no pundit on that subject to give an opinion about communist ideology, and to say what should be done, and what should not be done. Who am I to pass an opinion? For me to criticise either party would not be right in the circumstances.

Q: There is a general feeling that the Congress High Command's verdict on the charges against Sardar Partap Singh Kairon, the Chief Minister of Punjab,¹⁸ suffers from too many ambiguities. The High Command has held Sardar Partap Singh Kairon "constructively responsible" for some of the improprieties committed by his family members and also for several

17. The establishment of Kenya as a protectorate in 1895 and British Colony in 1921 resulted in exploitation of the country by the British. The ill-treatment of the African communities and acquiring their land for the railway line and white settlements had created deep resentment and resistance towards colonial rule. The Kenya African Union was formed in 1941 as the front organisation for African independence with Jomo Kenyatta taking the leadership in 1947. The country was thrown into the vortex of a violent struggle in the fifties by a political group called 'Mau Mau' with attacks on white settlers. A state of emergency was declared in October 1952 and political leaders were arrested including Kenyatta, who was believed to be the head of the resistance movement. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 22, pp. 378-396, Vol. 23, pp. 537-547, Vol. 24, pp. 625-630, 634, 637-638, 640-641, Vol. 25, pp. 505, 561, Vol. 29, pp. 251-252, Vol. 31, p. 352 and Vol. 34, pp. 402-404.
18. Some critics of Partap Singh Kairon had submitted a charge-sheet to Congress President U.N. Dhebar in the first week of March 1958, accusing him of adopting corrupt practices, ruling despotically, being communal and victimising his political rivals. For details, see *ante*, pp. 436-441.

administrative irregularities, and yet he has been asked to seek a vote of confidence.¹⁹ Do you think that Mr Kairon can stay in office undisturbed—after the strictures passed against him by the High Command—even though he may win the confidence vote by an overwhelming majority?

JN: Our opinion, I thought, had been expressed, in that report of the Parliamentary Board, with clarity and frankness. I do not know that I can add much to it. It seems absurd to suggest that he should be pushed out on some matters, for which others were largely responsible, although you said constructively he was responsible. But, on the other hand, no person, no Minister should continue unless he has the confidence of his immediate party. So we left it to them. We did not leave to them a judgment on those facts, but the mere fact that if they want to have him, well and good; if they do not want to have him, it is for them to decide.

Q: The phrase used is constructive responsibility. That has confounded people.

JN: What are the things coming under constructive responsibility—maybe you are right, it is perhaps somewhat confusing. When a document has been prepared by a number of persons, sometimes there is this confusion. It simply means that while a person himself is not responsible, a person in high office should take care that others, connected with him, also do not put him in a wrong position. Even there, as a matter of fact, some case is going on about his son. It is for the court to decide. Who are we to decide?

Q: Do you think a mere vote of confidence is enough to dispose of the charges of administrative irregularities?

JN: The vote of confidence has nothing to do with those charges this way or that way. We have disposed of those charges. A vote of confidence is simply, in the normal sense of the word that if people want him as their leader, let them have him, or let them not have him.

Q: What is the position regarding the charges of corruption? The Congress High Command has examined it and there is nothing in it. How is the Congress High Command competent to go into a judicial matter? Charges of corruption are normally examined by the judiciary.

19. See *ante*, pp. 441 and 452.

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JN: Normally they are examined by anybody who is asked to examine them whether he is a judicial officer or a civil officer or any officer or any committee, who is asked to do so. As a matter of fact, the position regarding that charge is that there is no evidence at all, not the faintest, slightest shadow of it. There is no question of examination, nothing to examine except a charge. I have never seen anything more fantastic and frivolous. A person who makes fantastic, frivolous charges suffers from the rebound.

Q: Shri Kairon gave a warning to the officials that if their dependents took part in the Hindi agitation, the officials were liable to be dismissed or removed from service.

JN: A very worthy remark to make. If an official is taking part in anti-Government activity, the sooner he ceases to be an official, the better.

Q: The dependents of the official took part. Will not the same responsibility attach to the Chief Minister for activities by his wife and dependents?²⁰

JN: No, absolutely not. The poor wife has no activity.

Q: Salary was drawn by producing medical certificate.....

JN: I am not going into that matter.

Q: Mr Kairon himself said that if the dependents of the officials took part in the agitation, the officials would be liable to dismissal or removal from service. He himself said so.

JN: If he said that, then I do not think that any person should be made to suffer vicariously for another's misdeeds.

Q: Why did he offer to resign? Is it the Parliamentary Board's idea to accept his resignation?

JN: Why did he offer to resign? You better ask him or the Congress President, because I have not seen Sardar Partap Singh Kairon for the last two or three months, excepting at the meeting, a few minutes before that Working Committee meeting. I have not seen any of these persons.

20. See *ante*, pp. 438-439.

Q: Do you equate the expression 'constructive responsibility' with the 'constitutional responsibility'?

JN: Actually, I think, both those words are not proper, not suitable or appropriate in the circumstances. There is no such thing as constructive responsibility. Unfortunately, it sometimes happens that a person's name or position is misused by his relative. That is not an unknown event and it is highly embarrassing to that person. He does not know what to do. He cannot cut off the head of his relative. He cannot disown everybody related to him. He tries to exercise his private influence to restrain the person concerned. Even some of our biggest persons have had this misfortune. Even Mahatma Gandhi's one of the greatest unhappiness was one of his sons.

Q: When Mahatma Gandhi's son became troublesome, he publicly dissociated himself from him. But the trouble is that these highly placed people do not do so publicly.

JN: All of us are not Mahatma Gandhi.

Q: At one time it had been said that Sardar Kairon offered to resign, but the Board thought that it had no proper authority to decide that question.

JN: That is so, because so far as the Board's opinion in regard to the charges was concerned, a resignation was not called for. Therefore it said so. But Sardar Partap Singh Kairon quite rightly had placed that resignation in their hands, and they said: "This does not follow in our opinion from the consideration of these charges. But after all this hoo-ha, let the Party consider it as a vote of confidence—not the charges, but—whether they want you as a leader or not."

Q: As a result of the meetings of the AICC and the subsequent meeting of the Working Committee, can we say that whatever be the resolutions adopted by the Working Committee, the matter has ended, or is there anything further to be pursued and done?

JN: Which resolutions are you referring to?

Q: I am referring to two resolutions, one in regard to the language; of course, that is a minor one. And the second one, which is perhaps more important, is about the Congress organisation and the code of conduct laid down for Ministers.

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JN: So far as the language resolution is concerned, we expect the various States to follow that. If it is necessary and if it is helpful, the Central Government may issue rules to that effect, or the President may. One thing is quite clear, that the language policy given in that Working Committee resolution is the policy of the Government, and the Government is going to see to it that it is followed in every State in India. In fact, it is the policy of the Constitution. There is nothing new. It is the policy which has been repeated on many occasions in the course of the last many years, and every State has accepted it. I am not criticising the States so much. But what has happened is that implementation has sometimes not come up to the expectation of that very State. As for the other matter—code of conduct, etc.,—naturally we want to pursue that. But these are things, intangibles, they are not some precise things that we can get hold of.

Q: May I put a personal question? I do not know how carefully you read newspapers, but it has been suggested for some time past that though you have very good intentions, when it comes to decisions, you are not firm about people and situations. I apologise before putting the question.

JN: I do not want to be firm. I think it is bad to be firm. One has to be firm sometimes; but to be firm always is to be dogmatic, which is bad. Never to be firm is also bad, for it simply means you are in a state of flux all the time. The only persons who can afford to be firm are the leader-writers of newspapers. They have no responsibility and less knowledge. They take up scraps of information, string them together and then pass their opinion on them in a rather pompous way.

Q: In other words, you do not think that newspapers reflect public opinion?

JN: Surely, who thinks? Whoever thought that newspapers in every matter represent public opinion? Of course, sometimes they represent and sometimes they do not. If newspapers represent public opinion, then newspapers have various opinions, which of them represents the public opinion? Especially when newspapers are writing against each other, which is it? Surely, newspapers represent a part of public opinion, obviously. Sometimes it may be a greater part or it may be the lesser part. At times they may not represent public opinion but they may represent the opinion of odd individuals. At other times they may represent the opinion of large numbers. You cannot say anything definite about it. But quite apart from this rather frivolous way of dealing with this question, it is obvious, you can hardly expect me to analyse myself and lay my soul bare before this press conference, my weakness and strength and all that. But the

chief thing is one virtue, on the whole, I possess. I lose many things, including my temper: but I do not lose my nerves easily, and it is a useful quality.

Q: You said earlier, with regard to your holiday, that you postponed it for the time being because there are certain problems which you should deal with. I hope it is not improper to ask you what these problems are? After all, the nation is interested.

JN: Should I make a list of the problems? There is no very special problem, but for the last two or three days we are all here, by all I mean the Cabinet Ministers and others, and we have to confer with each other in a variety of ways. There are constant problems with us, like the food problem which we have always to consider, like the economic situation in the country which we have always to keep in view. These are always two major things you have always before you. Then for the rest, having been away for a number of days, I find accumulation of things, papers, communications from other Governments which have to be replied to and so on.

Q: Is the holiday cancelled or postponed?

JN: No, I hoped to go, but I find I am not going day after tomorrow. I find I just cannot manage it. So I have sent word to find out and try to fix another date.

Q: Mr Kingsley Martin²¹ wrote in the *New Statesman and Nation* an article after he had met you here that his impression was that before the next general elections the Congress will split up into left and right and that you will lead the left. Is that impression correct?

JN: It is enough for me if I lead myself aright. My point is chiefly that I am rather an indifferent leader. I am an accidental leader. My success as leader is because I am an accidental leader, and an indifferent one, which is a contradiction in terms, but still there is some truth in it. In other words, I am a leader who does not care very much for leadership. I will be completely happy not to be a leader. And for a thing you do not care, you get it but the thing you care for passionately somehow slips away.

Q: About the Soviet Union-Yugoslav relations, the question that was put by our friend was as to whether the Russian decision unilaterally to stop economic aid to Yugoslavia was the right thing.

21. Editor of the *New Statesman and Nation*.

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JN: How can I answer that question? I do not know anything about the aid, what the aid was, on what grounds and on what conditions it was given, and why it has been stopped. How am I to answer that question and if I undertake a study of that question, how will it profit me to answer that question, I should like to know, about two countries' relations. As I told you, I find some difficulty in understanding this strong feeling on interpretations of ideology. I just do not understand that, because my upbringing has been different, not dogmatic or enthusiastic or anything. But this particular question which you referred to, it is an odd thing for me to say whether a country's aid to another country is desirable or not desirable. We ourselves accept aid from all manner of people, our only condition being that we accepted it in a friendly way with no condition or strings and we are grateful to them. Suppose they do not give the aid, we have no business shouting against them because they have not given the aid. It is highly improper and undignified for us to blame somebody, because he has not helped us, whatever our feelings may be in the matter.

Q: Now that we have an intimate press conference, perhaps you might tell us what you think of the future of our country. We get rather depressed at times. How do we stand?

JN: That is a fascinating question. It rather leads far. Obviously, in spite of our present difficulties, economic, foreign exchange and the rest of it, we shall get through our Five Year Plan, maybe with some modifications, some restrictions here and there, and this process of planning will continue—the process of industrialisation, the process of some kind of an advance in all sectors, education, etc., which is basic. I have no doubt that it will continue, because too much of a push has been given to that. And while we should remain completely alert, and we can never afford to be in the slightest degree complacent, I do not think we need suffer from too much gloom. And if there is gloom, as there is, it is more because of these international implications, of modern technological developments, the hydrogen bomb and all that. That is to some extent frightening, frightening not because Governments are evil-minded, but because power may go into the hands of any odd individual who might lose his head or he is evil-minded, any odd individual anywhere, apart from Governments. If fairly soon we do not come to international agreements, in the course of the next few years this power will spread out to all manner of countries, when it will be impossible to control them. But coming to our own country, the real question ultimately, here and elsewhere, is the quality of human beings that we produce. All economic and like planning is important of course, but always subject to the quality of human beings, and therefore I have been thinking more and more of what an

eminent economist has called 'an investment in man'.²² Investment of course in industry and agriculture, those are important, but the investment in man is meant to improve the quality of human beings. If you have that quality, everything else follows. If you do not have that quality, then you build on rather weak foundations. Of course, this question of quality affects the whole world today, to some degree or other, in various phases.

Q: Do you equate quality with character?

JN: Character is one of the things, a very important aspect. Quality means training too, quality means discipline, quality means a cooperative habit, quality means, negatively, the absence of all this business of caste, class, etc. Today you want trained men for the world to progress, and all the goodwill in the world without training does not take you very far although goodwill is important.

Q: When you say there should be more investment on man than in the past, does it mean that in future there will be more investment on things like education, etc.?

JN: I am not criticising the past. It is very difficult to have a right equilibrium. All the planning we have done until now is after all the first steps in planning. We have not got the data, we have not got the material, we are struggling. I am sure by the time we reach the Third Plan, our planning will be better. By the time we reach the Fifth Plan, our planning will be very much better. It improves with experience. When I said that I feel that you should lay greater stress, it is not criticism of the past but rather of the future.

Q: Would the quality of man be better after the Fifth Plan?

JN: Surely. If it is not, then we have failed, obviously because, ultimately, the whole object of planning is to produce a certain society and the society consisting of a certain type of individuals. Not a moulded type I mean and if the quality of man is not better after the Fifth Plan, then we have failed completely. There are two ways of improving the individual or the social group. One is the institutional way which is important. Of course, you create an environment which helps to produce better individuals. The other is the old, rather religious, way—that is not the right word—that is, produce good men who help to improve society.

22. Gunnar Myrdal further developed this idea in the third volume of *Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations*, published in 1968. See also *ante*, pp. 98-108.

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That is, a good environment helps to produce better men; better men help to produce better environment. They act and react on each other.

Q: You will agree that there are two important aspects. One is whether we have set ourselves in the right direction. Secondly, whether we are equipping ourselves to pursue that direction properly. Are you satisfied that the direction we have taken is right? It is a good one, of course.

JN: When you say direction, are you thinking of, say, the Second Five Year Plan or

Q: I was thinking largely of the national effort for our future, not only the Second Five Year Plan.

JN: Direction?

Q: The thinking, the making of minds.

JN: Here, we in India, are dealing with a problem in a context unknown to history. It has never been considered in this context. So, for anyone to have fixed and rigid ideas about it indicates rather that he has not even grasped the question before he has sought to answer it. All our economics in the past have been economics of industrialised societies. Their reflection of them on India produced, in England, America, Europe, etc., or lately in communist societies, economics in a particular framework. Now you have to deal here with an underdeveloped country, with an enormous and growing population, constant pressure of it and you have to deal with it according to our thinking in a democratic way. It is only now that very slowly people are thinking of the problems of underdeveloped countries in this context. The thinking, if I may say so without any disrespect, of leading British economists, for a generation or two, had little to do with the benefit of underdeveloped countries. They honestly thought in terms of a certain thing which was for the benefit for their country and its reaction on other countries. And so we have to evolve, through our own thinking, how to deal with the problems of India, profiting by the thinking in England, France, New York, Moscow, Peking, wherever it is. The decision should be ours, profiting by their experience as well as their thinking. And if I may say so, quite completely apart from so-called 'isms' like capitalism or communism or socialism, there is a certain common factor in the development of a country, industrially and otherwise, which every country has to go through, or whatever its 'ism' might be, if you have to reach a certain degree of a welfare state by production, by equitable distribution and all that.

All the world today, capitalist or communist, recognises that the welfare state should be the ideal. No doubt about it. They may disagree about the steps to it. We have not got too much choice. We cannot take the steps which led England or Germany or America to a welfare state through 150 or 200 years. We just cannot do that. Apart from the question of time, we have not got the opportunity to function in that way. We do not want to do so. We do not want to function and we cannot function in the way, let us say, of the communist countries, because they function in a peculiar context emerging out of the First World War, out of the Second World War. Things happened there. You cannot create artificial situations. Our method of working and practice have been quite different. We have been conditioned a good deal by our past, especially by Gandhiji. So taking all these factors together, you have to build up an industrialised society. At the same time where power is diffused as far as possible, not too highly concentrated, and where class differentiation, etc., becomes less and less, till ultimately it vanishes, we are very far from that stage now in India. These are practical problems to be faced. They may involve more institutional changes than we have faced today. The first thing to recognise is that the problem in India and Burma, etc.,—these countries round about here—is in its own way a unique problem which has to be faced and solved by our own thinking and experiences, and not by the thinking of others, which may of course be helpful to us. You can lay down the society you are aiming at, broadly speaking, not dogmatically. You can lay down the methods but after that you have to be constantly on the alert to vary them within those limitations whenever need arises.

Q: Would you accept the view that the problem of pace here is not so much the rivalry, if I may use that phrase, between the left and the right, but more that of the divergence in thinking between those who would place more emphasis on our traditional values, and those who would place more emphasis on science and the machine?

JN: That is a problem rather in the background, but I do not think even a person who lays stress on the so-called traditional values can today speak against science and technology. Nobody can really. But there is, I suppose, these two pulls in different directions, even though they do not come out in the open so much. When you use the word "traditional values" I do not quite know what you mean.

Q: In a recent statement Mr Vinoba Bhave has stated that he was totally opposed to family planning.²³

23. On 13 May 1958 at Sangli in Bombay State.

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JN: That has nothing to do with traditional values. I never heard of anyone of our ancient rishis discussing family planning. In fact the common blessing in those days was: May you have a hundred sons! It was because then the population had to increase. It was low population then. The problem is different now, when the population is already heavy. So I do not think that is a traditional value. But why should I discuss this matter here? I think Acharya Vinoba proceeds from an entirely different viewpoint about it. He probably thinks that it is some interference with God and nature and all that.

Q: You referred to institutional changes. Could you elaborate on that?

JN: I cannot. We have to consider everything. In fact, petty institutional changes are constantly taking place in society, in everything. Now, in the final analysis, it seems that it is not so much the system, important as the system is, but the hard work of a country or a people that counts—"hard work" meaning, not just pure muscle, but the capacity of a trained individual to work. Now, I put it to you, after the last War, the countries that suffered the most were probably Germany, Poland, etc., a large part of Russia, they were completely destroyed, and Japan on the other side. Now these countries, like Germany, Russia and Japan, with quite different political and economic systems have rapidly recovered and made good. You may call it a miracle of Germany or Japan, you may call it what you will. Now we talk so much of capitalism and communism. It is neither capitalism that has succeeded by itself, nor communism, but it is the hard work of a trained people, whether it was under a communist government or whether it was under a capitalistic government.

Q: These qualities came about from the regime which previously ruled over them.

JN: I am pointing out that the regimes were quite different. They were opposed to each other. The West German regime is surely completely different from the Russian regime.

Q: But the people are the same. Before the War Germany or Poland or Russia were under authoritarian regimes, whether it was fascism or the right wing or communism or the left wing. That way the mental make-up of the people of Germany today was made by fascist Germany.

JN: In eight years' time or ten years' time it had changed the whole country? I do not accept that. I do not accept that for an instance, that Germany, as she is today, was created and built by Hitler. It is absurd. Hitler had his influence, good or bad, but Germany is the creation of 100 years or more, whatever it may be. Germany built itself up after the Second World War, because of its capacity for hard work and because of the training of its people. So did Russia, so did

Japan. We do not attach enough importance to this fact and argue about policies and ideologies, forgetting that behind them is the trained hard-working individual who produces.....

Q: Who obeys implicitly?

JN: He does not obey implicitly at all. But he is a disciplined person who knows how to obey. There is one distinction, perhaps. Ever since Napoleon's days, in Europe, national armies grew up, conscript armies. So far as I know, only England kept out of this because of special circumstances. During the whole of the 19th century, England was a very prosperous country and she felt no need for that conscription. The whole tradition of Europe minus England, therefore, has been one of compulsory service for a year or two—not always—which gave discipline to the people, which taught them hard work, which taught them the value of manual work, which taught them to live together, rich or poor, in a common way, and in that sense it slowly broke down class barriers. That is the tradition of Europe, barring England. Now quite apart from the military aspect of it, it was a good thing. The consequence, as I said, was good for the health of the nation it was good for the discipline of the nation; it was good for the training of the nation; it was good for breaking down barriers between different classes. They all had to live together, and therefore Europe can build itself afresh quickly, because they have got that material and quality.

Q: Europe could build herself because in large parts of Europe they placed man at the centre of the universe, whereas in our country we place man somewhere near hell.

JN: That is a most extraordinary statement. I am afraid you are completely ignorant of what the Indian background is. In India every individual is a bit of God, not hell.

Q: He is a God and that is why he is not a man.

JN: I suggest that you might read a little more about those subjects. No, do not talk about that. They are good enough, but I agree with you that, as we have developed, we have got all these class differences, whatever our philosophy. Our philosophy is tremendous, it is overpowering, it is so amazingly high that whenever I look at it I am impressed tremendously. But it is perfectly true that having that philosophy, in actual life we have not followed it, and we have had these numerous stratifications—depressed classes and all that. It is perfectly true and that has been very harmful to us.

10

LETTERS TO CHIEF MINISTERS

New Delhi
18 May 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

I write to you again after a fairly long interval. My last letter was dated March 26th. The session of Parliament ended ten days ago. It was followed by meetings of the National Development Council² and of the All India Congress Committee.³

2. I was unfortunately responsible for creating some concern and excitement because of a statement I made about my desire to retire for a period.⁴ I have already explained why that urge came to me and also why I decided ultimately to suppress it for the time being. At no time did I think of retirement from public activities and I did not even suggest withdrawing from the Prime Minister's Office for any lengthy period, although I would be happy indeed if this could happen. All I had said was that I would very much like to be away from my office for a few months and then to return to it if this was desired. During those few months also, I had no intention of resting all the time, though a part of the time might have been used for that purpose. I had intended to spend a few months in wandering about India in a non-official capacity, meeting friends and colleagues and quietly discussing matters with them. This was not to be a rush tour, but rather a slow pilgrimage to a few places, giving myself enough time to think and to feel what conditions were in the country and what we should do about them.

3. I was not merely thinking of India, but also of the wider world where none of the old knots are being untied and fresh knots are being made. The statesmen and men in authority in various countries express themselves in brave and sometimes even aggressive language but the situation continues to deteriorate. Everyone, perhaps in India also as in other countries, assumes rigid attitudes and casts the blame on others. I was not foolish enough to think that I could do much in the international sphere or even that India could make a great deal of difference. Nevertheless, I was troubled at this petrification of cold war attitudes everywhere, and I had a powerful urge to get away from the daily drudgery so

1. File No. 25(30)/58-PMS. These letters have also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers, 1947-1964*, Vol. 5 (New Delhi 1989), pp. 40-73.
2. The National Development Council met on 3 and 4 May 1958 in New Delhi.
3. The AICC met in New Delhi from 10 to 12 May 1958. See *ante*, pp. 514-528.
4. On 29 April 1958. See *ante*, pp. 501-502.

that I could at least think a little more clearly and calmly. The very idea of being away from office brought a tremendous sense of relief to me.

4. But this was not to be, and I have to carry on. In a day or two, I am going for ten days⁵ to Manali in the Kulu Valley. I shall return to Delhi on the 31st of May and, after spending five or six days here, go back to Manali. I hope then to cross the Rohtang Pass (13,500 ft.) into the high region of Lahaul where I hope I shall be able to trek for a fortnight or so.⁶ As the time approaches for me to go away, I feel more and more detached from the problems that normally overwhelm us, and my mind thinks more of mountains and glaciers. Perhaps, this is a way of escape. I hope, at any rate, that this little holiday will refresh my mind. Physically, I am as well as ever.

5. What is happening to India and the world? We are a people given to introspection and self-analysis and even to self-deprecation, except when we go to the other extreme and think ourselves the salt of the earth. Just at present we are in a mood of self-deprecation. To some extent, that is good provided it is not carried too far. There is much in India that is distressing. And yet, when I look round at our neighbouring countries, India stands out almost as a model of progress and success. There is Indonesia racked by civil war, with her economy at breaking point. There is Pakistan facing an ever-deepening crisis, both political and economic, and, even more so, a breakdown of the spirit of the people. There have been frequent changes there of Prime Ministers and the Governments.⁷ It is quite likely that during the next few days there might be another change of Government as a consequence of the judgement in the Gurmani Defamation Case.⁸ But it is not the coming or going of Governments that matters so much but rather the almost visible cracking up of the structure of the country. The leading figures flit about like shadows without any substance, chasing each other and full of distrust of each other. The public has no faith in them and no respect for them. The one figure who at least commanded respect and affection and was a man of integrity was Dr Khan Sahib and he is no more, killed by an assassin's dagger.⁹ His great brother, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, is happily still there, but

5. From 20 to 31 May 1958.

6. Nehru was at Manali again from 10 to 23 June and went up to the Rohtang Pass on 16 June and returned the next day.

7. Before Firoz Khan Noon became Prime Minister of Pakistan on 16 December 1957, I.I. Chundrigar held the post from 17 October 1957. His two predecessors were Mohammad Ali Bogra from 12 August 1955 to 12 September 1956 and H.S. Suhrawardy from 12 September 1956 to 17 October 1957.

8. The reference is to the involvement of Firoz Khan Noon, the Pakistan Prime Minister, in the Gurmani Case in which the verdict was yet to be delivered. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 667-668 and *ante*, pp. 610-611.

9. Dr Khan Sahib was assassinated in Lahore on 9 May 1958. See also *post*, pp. 859-860.

he is completely isolated from the governmental apparatus. His occasional utterances indicate contempt of those in authority. Pakistan is thus in a state of flux and it is difficult to find any stabilising element in it. All the massive help that she has received from the United States has built up her defence forces to some extent, but not given her what really matters to a nation. It is curious to notice that most of the countries that have received military assistance have not prospered.

6. Even our neighbour Burma is in the throes of an internal crisis. Our good friend, Prime Minister U Nu, is facing a rebellion in his own party and from his own colleagues.¹⁰ This internal conflict is becoming progressively more bitter. Early next month, there will be a meeting of the Burmese Parliament which may decide one way or the other. Whatever the decision may be, this internal conflict cannot do good to Burma.

7. In Ceylon, internal troubles have revived again and the Government is facing great difficulties over the issue of language.¹¹

8. In Western Asia, Lebanon has recently been the scene of revolutionary outbreaks. It would appear that the present Government, and especially the President, are not in tune with their people. President Chamoun¹² wants to be elected for a third term which is against the Constitution of Lebanon and this is one reason why there has been so much conflict.¹³ Behind this internal conflict in this small state of Lebanon lie the rivalries of the Great Powers as well as the rivalries of the Arab nations.¹⁴ Among these Arab nations, Egypt stands out today apparently strong and full of confidence. President Nasser has just returned from his visit to the Soviet Union¹⁵ with enhanced prestige and a hero to his people as well as to large numbers of the Arab race elsewhere.

10. The two socialist groups in the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, led by Thakin Kyaw Dun and U Kyaw Nein respectively, were drawing apart. On 27 April, Thakin Tha Khin, the Home Minister, resigned from the Cabinet after he failed to prevail upon Prime Minister U Nu to reconstitute the Cabinet.

11. See *ante*, pp. 639-643.

12. Camille Chamoun was the President of Lebanon from 1952 to 1958.

13. The anti-Government disturbances that commenced in Lebanon in the second week of May in protest against the Government's pro-West policy claimed heavy loss of life.

14. On 13 May, the Lebanese Foreign Minister accused the United Arab Republic of creating disturbances; on 14 May the United States announced supply of arms to Lebanon and on 16 May it announced that it would send its troops to Lebanon, if asked for, but on 17 May stated that the Lebanese security forces would be "able to maintain constitutional order." On the same day, the Soviet Union charged the United States with interfering in the internal affairs of Lebanon. See also *ante*, pp. 630-633.

15. Nasser visited the Soviet Union from 29 April to 15 May 1958.

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9. In Europe, France is not only having its periodical Governmental crises,¹⁶ but is facing a deeper trouble which might lead to a change in the regime itself or a civil war. The army in Algeria has rebelled against the Government's authority and constituted itself as an independent authority for Algeria. The Algerian problem continues as difficult and as insoluble as ever.

10. Any major development in France must inevitably have far-reaching consequences in Europe and on the Western alliance. A minor result of these continuing crises in France is the delay in formalising the *de jure* transfer of the French settlements in India. This should have been done years ago, soon after the *de facto* transfer took place. But the succession of weak governments in France, overwhelmed by the Algerian crisis, dare not take up even a simple question like Pondicherry. And so, the position in Pondicherry, etc., continues to be an odd one. We are certainly in full possession and function there, but we cannot function in law as if Pondicherry was a part of the Union of India. Hence, difficulties arise.

11. No marked progress has been made towards what is called a Summit Conference, though there still appears to be a general belief that some such high-level conference will be held in the autumn. But the autumn is still far off, and every day brings its quota of unsavoury news.

12. Meanwhile, another and a larger sputnik¹⁷ has gone into outer space, and the United States has had some more atomic tests. World opinion against these nuclear tests grows in volume and in intensity, and nearly all the leading scientists have opposed them and pointed out the dangers.¹⁸ But this has so far had little effect on the Governments concerned.

13. In the Communist countries, there appears to be a return to greater ideological rigidity. This had led to a fierce controversy between the Soviet

16. A change of Government on 13 May 1958 led to serious protests and opposition by the French civilians and army officers in Algeria who demanded return to power of General Charles de Gaulle. De Gaulle, having announced his willingness on 15 May to accept office, was given support by all the right-wing parties in France.
17. On 15 May 1958, the Soviet Union launched its third Sputnik which was designed to return to earth intact.
18. For instance, on 2 May 1958 more than 600 British scientists, headed by Bertrand Russell and Lord Boyd-Orr, appealed to the British Prime Minister to take immediate action to stop nuclear tests.

Union and Yugoslavia,¹⁹ and China²⁰ has joined in with a tremendous denunciation of Yugoslavia's way of interpreting Communist doctrine. It is not for us to express any opinion about these controversies in other countries, more especially when they concern themselves with some ideological doctrine. But it seems to me that the Five Principles and, more especially, the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of another country cannot easily flourish when there is this type of controversy. You may remember that the Five Principles even say that there should be no ideological interference. And yet, I suppose what we have seen recently is ideological interference. The whole thing looks to me more like an ecclesiastical approach than a political one. Why this should have arisen at this particular time and whether this was the fault of Yugoslavia or the Soviet Union, I do not know. We have very good relations with both these countries as well as with China and the other Communist countries. Indeed, we have practically no points of dispute with them, and we do not propose therefore to get entangled in any controversy. But, these controversies do indicate an inner rigidity coming back, which may have some effect on international relations. Normally, these internal changes are due to some domestic development. I believe that this change is not a basic one, and that it is not likely to have any far-reaching consequences in the wider sphere. I think that the internal forces at work in many of these countries of Eastern Europe, including of course the Soviet Union, are moving towards a greater liberalisation, and these forces will make themselves felt progressively, even though there might be lapses from time to time. The danger is that we live in a world where some accident might unleash the forces of nuclear war, and in such a situation everything that adds to tension is bad. In the United States also, there has been on the whole a greater rigidity of outlook.

14. Looking at this picture of the world outside India, we may well congratulate ourselves on how India stands today, internally as well as internationally. We have difficult problems in our country: we have the continuous

19. The programme announced by the Seventh Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, held from 22 to 26 April 1958, was criticised by the Soviet Communist Party. The League's programme, while appreciating the growing popularity of socialism as evidenced by the extension of state ownership in different countries, warned against the dangers posed by (i) the state's tendency to impose itself on the society, (ii) the monopoly of communist parties over socialist thinking, (iii) the working class of a country, acting ostensibly as the vanguard of the international communist movement, acquiring a "hegemonic position" over other countries, and (iv) world peace being threatened by military blocs.
20. On 5 May 1958, *People's Daily*, the official organ of the Chinese Communist Party, described the Yugoslav programme as "a wild attempt to induce the working people of various countries to take the road of surrender to capitalism", and stated that it had coincided with the attempts of "the imperialists led by the United States to step up their sabotage of the world communist movement."

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pressure on account of foreign exchange as well as internal resources; we have various disruptive forces at play. And yet, it may be some consolation to think that, by and large, our problems are more under control than those of most other countries, and that, in spite of difficulties, we are marching ahead. I have no doubt that we shall overcome our present financial troubles and the Second Five Year Plan will yield place to the Third. What I am worried about is something deeper than money or financial resources. How do we stand in our minds and spirit, how far do we adhere to the basic principles that give strength to our people?

15. It was this problem that came up at the meeting of the All India Congress Committee. There was no magic path leading us out of the forest of our difficult problems. But I believe there is a progressive realisation of them and a determination to meet them.

16. In Kashmir recently, Sheikh Abdullah was arrested under the Preventive Detention Act.²¹ I cannot say that I am happy at his arrest. Throughout the previous four years of his detention, I felt unhappy and it jarred upon me. So I felt again. But the fact remains that Sheikh Abdullah by his activities made it difficult for any Government to remain quiet. It has been a matter of deep grief to me that an old colleague, who has in the past played such a brave part in our national movement and in the liberation of Kashmir, should have drifted away so far and should have sought to rouse communal passions. He has been connected also with other undesirable activities.

17. Anyone listening to the Pakistan Radio broadcasts or reading the Pakistan papers will imagine that everyday there are lathi charges, shootings and killings in Kashmir ever since Sheikh Abdullah's arrest; that hundreds of people have been killed; that tens of thousands have been arrested. The fact is that apart from some hartals on the day of his arrest, there has hardly been even a demonstration. There has been no lathi charge, no shooting and no killing. Only four persons have been arrested, including Sheikh Abdullah. Indeed, life flows on in Kashmir calmly and without a ripple on its placid surface. I do not mean to say that many people in Kashmir are not unhappy and agitated over Sheikh Abdullah's arrest. He is popular with many, but what I am pointing out is how the most amazing falsehoods are circulated in Pakistan, even from official sources.

18. On the borders of East Pakistan and Assam, there has been frequent firing.²² Repeatedly there is an agreement and a ceasefire, and a day or two later, this is broken. In terms of damage, nothing much is done, though unfortunately a few persons have died. But it is difficult to understand why this kind of thing should be indulged in day after day and week after week.

21. During the 29-30 April 1958 night.

22. See *ante*, pp. 411, 414-419, 420-424.

LETTERS TO CHIEF MINISTERS

19. Whatever may be happening in the rest of the world, we in India have to look after our own country and solve our own problems. Among these problems, the question of foreign exchange has again become a vital and urgent one and there is still a greater drain every week than we can afford. This is due to various causes, notably a decline in our exports because of the American recession and certain developments in Europe. The result of all this is that we have again to tighten our belts and avoid expenditure involving foreign exchange, and at the same time to do our utmost to push our exports.

20. Connected with this foreign exchange situation is the question of food. Whichever way we start considering our various problems, whether it is the Second Five Year Plan or the development of industry or our major schemes in India or foreign exchange, we come back to food. That is the central factor of the situation. If we win on the food front, we win all round. If we fail there, that failure affects all other major activities. Therefore, it is of the utmost consequence for us to increase our food production and to avoid any imports of food. I have written to you often about this and I am writing again because there is nothing more important than this before us. The food problem can only be tackled effectively at the village and household levels. It is no good passing resolutions or writing notes in the Secretariat. State Governments bear the major responsibility and State Agriculture Departments must now be considered the most vital departments for government because it is on their activity that everything depends.

21. At the National Development Council meeting, the question of our resources was considered and whether we should cut down the Plan figure of 4,800 crores to 4,500 crores. We have decided to retain the original figure, but to so divide it as to keep the part relating to 300 crores separate. Whether we can achieve all this or not—and I am convinced that we can achieve it if we try hard enough—depends on our food production and the way we can increase our internal resources. I am sure that there is enough money and enough desire to work in the country. How are we to combine all this so as to yield the results that we want? I finish this letter with this question addressed to you and indeed to all of us.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

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II

New Delhi
9 June 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

My last letter to you was written on the eve of my going to Manali in Kulu Valley. I spent eleven days there and I imagine that I could not have chosen a quieter and more peaceful place for rest and recuperation. Tradition says that many of our ancient sages, from Manu onwards, used to stay in this valley and meditate there. If so, they chose well, for it is peculiarly suited for quiet contemplation.

2. As in Kashmir, it is not merely the beauty of the place that affects the senses but something else is added on to it, something that exists in the very air of Kashmir. Of course, Kashmir is a big area and there are numerous valleys at various altitudes and the variety is great. But in its own limited way, the Kulu Valley is delightful and soothing.

3. Manali lies at the foot of the big Himalayan barrier. A steep climb of 7,500 ft takes one from Manali to the top of this barrier, the Rohtang Pass, which is 13,500 ft. above sea level. On the other side of the Rohtang Pass lie the high tablelands of Lahaul and Spiti, which further up extend to Tibet and Ladakh. This high country is very different from both the mountains and the plains on this side. It is treeless and almost rainless. Whether you stand at the Zoji La, the pass which takes you from Kashmir to the high valleys of Ladakh, or at the Rohtang, which takes you from Manali across to Lahaul, you see an astonishing contrast in the scene that confronts you. On the one side are thick, wooded mountains and terraced fields; on the other, bare rocks covered by grass or by snow or glacier above a certain level. This high tableland of Lahaul, Spiti and Ladakh (and presumably of Tibet also) represents a world utterly different not only from our plains but even from our mountains. The great Himalayan barrier stops the rain clouds from going across and the dust from the plains also does not pierce through, and so the atmosphere there is amazingly clear and we are often misled by this clarity in judging distances.

4. Lahaul and Spiti offer almost ideal opportunities for trekking and mountain-climbing. These mountains are not amongst the highest, but they are high enough to be a test of ability and endurance. Compared to other mountain areas in India, this area is easier of access. I hope, therefore, that more and more Indians will visit this area and see this new face of India, so different from its other faces. I hope that the love of mountaineering and adventure will attract our young men and women to this area. Most of us are still rather bound to the plains and afraid of the high mountains and snow and glaciers. I wish that more and more people would breathe the fresh and exhilarating air of these high regions and improve their body and mind thereby.

5. The Rohtang Pass is supposed to be one of the more difficult ones to cross and some of our advisers have been trying to induce me not to go there, because, according to them, it is risky. I have not been impressed by the advice of these people who know so little of the high mountains and have not made friends with them. I have been to much higher altitudes in Kashmir and Ladakh and have trekked across what are considered rather dangerous ice slopes and glaciers. At over 13,000 feet I have had a swim in a semi-frozen lake in the mountains. It is true that I was younger then and age cannot wholly be ignored, but I believe that my physical condition still continues to be fairly good.

6. It might interest you to know that the word Rohtang, which is Tibetan, has a somewhat ominous meaning. I am told it means "the field of corpses". This is only imaginary. Of course, there are always dangers for the unwary or inexperienced traveller who goes at the wrong time and does not take adequate precautions.

7. There is the broad tableland on the other side of the Rohtang, and on the Manali side there are the great trees which cover the lower Himalayas. There is a great variety of these old trees, but above all, and most impressive of all, is the Himalayan *deodar* which has always fascinated me by its look of grace and strength and its height and absolute straightness. There is a grove near Manali of these *deodars* which are over a thousand years old. These trees are cousins of the cedars of Lebanon, famous in Biblical history. Below these trees and sometimes in between them are terraced fields of buckwheat and rice and other foodgrains. Nevertheless, the people are poor and live a hard life; gradually, however, a new life creeps in and there are schools, hospitals and community development schemes which bring a promise for the future.¹

8. I have begun this letter in an odd way, telling you about matters which have nothing to do with the pains and aches of our politics and economics, and are far removed from the national and international conflicts that beset us. I have done so because I wanted you to share with me, to some extent at least, the peace and quiet which I experienced at Manali and the sense of detachment I had there from the problems which normally encompass me.

9. These problems are many. In the Western world there have been strange and disquieting developments in France and the Fourth Republic has quietly pattered out.² It may be that this change is preferable to the possible alternative

1. For a detailed description of the Kulu Valley, see *post*, pp. 829-832.

2. Charles de Gaulle took over as Premier on 1 June and the next day the National Assembly gave him full powers for six months to frame a Constitution for the new Republic. By a referendum held on 28 September 1958, 79 per cent of the voters approved the new Constitution and de Gaulle assumed office as the President of the Fifth Republic of France.

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of a civil war, which appeared to hover over France for some weeks. Nevertheless, it is distressing to see a country like France quietly slip into some authoritarian ways. I shall not venture to prophesy as to what will happen there in the future. I doubt if this change will settle the Algerian question.³ If Algeria continues to be a place of conflict, the whole of France will be affected thereby, as indeed she has been during the last two or three years. There is another aspect of this change which is worrying governments and chancelleries in Europe and elsewhere. What will be the attitude of the new French Government to the various alliances to which France has been committed? How will it affect the NATO⁴ and the proposal to have a summit meeting?

10. Today's newspapers announced the "election" of the new President of Portugal.⁵ This election has attracted almost worldwide attention because it has shown up the present government of Portugal and its authoritarian and oppressive character. There has been strong criticism of this government in newspapers in Europe and America.⁶ The election itself was a farce. But it indicated that Salazar's⁷ regime is gradually being undermined and there is great popular dissatisfaction with it. Indirectly this strengthens our claim to Goa.

11. In Lebanon conflict continues. There were serious dangers at one time of foreign intervention in Lebanon which might well have led to an international crisis of some magnitude. American and British naval forces were on the point

3. The Algerian question was finally settled by de Gaulle in 1962 with France signing the accord for the transfer of power with the Algerian *Front de Liberation Nationale*. Under the accord a referendum was held in Algeria on 1 July. The Algerians opted for independence and Ahmed ben Bella, the Algerian nationalist incarcerated in France for six years, took over as the first Algerian President.
4. De Gaulle resented the United States' dominant role in the NATO and what he perceived to be her special relationship with the United Kingdom. He argued for a tripartite directorate that would put France on an equal footing with the US and the UK. Not satisfied with their response, de Gaulle began to build a separate defence for France. In 1959, France withdrew its Mediterranean fleet from the NATO command and disallowed the stationing of nuclear weapons on French soil.
5. Rear Admiral Americo Tomas defeated opposition leader Lt. Gen. Humberto Delgado in the presidential election in Portugal. During the election campaign, serious riots broke out in Lisbon, Oporto and Braga in spite of the ban on political demonstrations. The opposition leaders were arrested on charges of fomenting riots and the press coverage of electioneering was kept to the minimum.
6. For example, 18 prominent public figures in Britain, in a letter published in *News Chronicle* on 5 June, condemned the repressive policy of the Portuguese Government. On 9 June, *Manchester Guardian*, commented editorially that the Portuguese dictatorship "is, indeed, less harsh than many dictatorships. But it clearly does not trust its own popularity enough to hazard it in a fair fight."
7. A.O. Salazar, Portuguese Prime Minister, 1932-68.

of being sent to Beirut to intervene. Fortunately, this was stopped at the very last moment.

12. Another important development in the European scene has been the revival of the old ideological conflict between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. The brief honeymoon period between the two countries which began some three years ago is over and newspapers on either side, and sometimes speeches, are carrying on this controversy in strong and bitter terms. Perhaps the bitterest language has been used in the Chinese newspapers against Yugoslavia. It is not for me to express an opinion on these ideological conflicts of Communist parties. Constituted as I am, and as most of us are, it is difficult to understand these dogmatic approaches in the realm of politics or economics, which resemble the ecclesiastical controversies of past ages. We are on friendly terms with the Soviet Union as well as with Yugoslavia and we shall continue to be friends with both countries. The one aspect of this question which disturbs me relates to the application of the Five Principles of *Panchsheel* to international relations. If those principles are accepted, then it should be open to every country to decide in its own way the policy it pursues, provided it is not aggressive or does not interfere with any other country. To try to impose any policy, ideological or other, on another country appears to be not in keeping with the *Panchsheel*.

13. Then there is the question of the stoppage of aid by the Soviet Union to Yugoslavia.⁸ Normally, it is open to a country to give aid or not to give aid. We ourselves have taken aid from many countries and have been grateful for it. If we do not get aid from a country, we have no business to blame it or to assume that we have a right to aid. But in the case of Yugoslavia, there appears to be another feature of this aid. There was an actual agreement for aid. The question therefore arises not so much about refusal of aid but of a breach of an agreement between two countries.

14. These various developments would tend to indicate that international tensions are not at all easing but are becoming a little more tense. At the same time, talks about a summit conference continue rather vaguely. Most people take it for granted that there will be some kind of a high-level conference and yet the sense of urgency has become a little less. For the moment, there is a proposal made by President Eisenhower, and accepted by the Soviet Government, to have a conference of experts to study how far it is possible to detect nuclear test

8. Aid to the tune of £100 million to Yugoslavia agreed to by the Soviet Union was unilaterally postponed on 27 May for five years. On 30 May 1958, the Yugoslav Government refused to accept or negotiate the postponement, and claimed compensation four days later.

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explosions.⁹ The argument of some people has been that it is not always possible to detect such explosions and, therefore, violations of an agreement for stoppage of such tests may well take place. The Soviet Union has suggested that Indian experts should also join this conference. In accordance with our normal policy, we have stated that we are always prepared to help and cooperate provided we are wanted by the principal parties concerned. We have no desire to push ourselves in.

15. So much about the outside world to which we can make little difference. What difference we can make depends entirely on our own national health and unity. There has been a good deal of talk in the foreign as well as the national press about our internal difficulties, political and economic. Much of this talk has been greatly exaggerated. But the fact remains that we have to face rather difficult problems in India and we cannot afford to be complacent about them. The economic outlook is not good, though I have no doubt that basically our economy is a sound one and that it will triumph over our present difficulties. What worries me is the tendency to faction and disunity and to violence. A distressing feature of the last two or three weeks was the strike at the Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur.¹⁰ These Works are vital for our industrial development. They are being enlarged and we have helped them in various ways. They have a reputation of being well run and of treating their labour fairly. Why then should this outbreak take place there, resulting in much damage and in great loss to production? This is a serious matter not only in itself but even more so because of the possibility of similar developments elsewhere in that great industrial area which is growing up in the West Bengal-Orissa-Madhya Pradesh triangle. I would not like to express any views about these incidents because I have not studied the situation there, though I have kept broadly in touch with it. But I have a definite impression that this was not a normal labour dispute. Rather it was a deliberate attempt to create trouble. Obviously, no government can tolerate this approach.

16. We talk of foreign exchange difficulties¹¹ and internal resources. The very keystone of our planning depends, among other things, on steel production.

9. Eisenhower and British Prime Minister Macmillan proposed on 8 and 20 April respectively to Khrushchev to hold a conference. Despite Khrushchev's rejection, Eisenhower repeated the proposal on 28 April and on 24 May, and suggested Geneva as the venue for the conference. On 30 May, Khrushchev insisted that the conference should be held in Moscow. See also *ante*, pp. 44 and 731-732.
10. The Mazdoor Union of Jamshedpur organised a strike in the Tata Iron and Steel Mills from 12 to 28 May 1958 for higher pay and allowances and recognition of the Union. The Bihar Government declared the strike illegal, and the strike, which was marred by violence, led to the imposition of curfew in Jamshedpur for a week.
11. The foreign exchange situation had worsened chiefly due to huge imports of foodgrains and heavy machinery. See also *ante*, pp. 115-121.

To try to hit at this vital sector of our economy is to play a role which is harmful to the nation and to the people as a whole, including the workers in these great steel plants. Even if there are grievances, they should be dealt with in some other way.

17. There have been many references in the press recently about the foreign exchange situation. Nothing very new has happened except that our exports have come down to some extent because of the recession in the United States and its effects in Europe. The result of our exports coming down somewhat has been to increase the weekly drawal of sterling balances from London. If this weekly rate continues in this way and nothing is done to check it, by early next year, there will hardly be any reserves left. It is necessary, therefore, to take immediate and effective steps to prevent this continuing decline.

18. There are only three ways, broadly speaking, of meeting this situation: (1) by increasing our exports, (2) by lessening our imports, and (3) by big-scale aid by loans, credits, etc. So far as imports are concerned, we have already cut them down to the bone. If there are any possibilities of further reduction, they will certainly be examined and given effect to. But most of our imports now are intimately connected with our manufacturing capacity. By cutting down imports we lessen our production and thus really come in the way of our developing economy. That obviously will be bad and we want to avoid that.

19. Then there is the question of exports. I have no doubt that these can be stepped up although at the present moment it is rather difficult because of the recession in Western countries. When we think of exports we usually have in view our traditional items—tea, jute, cotton textiles, etc. We should, no doubt, push these exports, but we must remember that the traditional pattern will not by itself help us much in the future, and we shall have to explore new patterns of trade. Further, we shall have to export even some articles which we normally need for our own consumption. Thus sugar, oilseeds, etc. This may mean some inconvenience to us and even the possibility of some prices going up. It may necessitate a measure of regulation, and we must be prepared for all this. We have to realise that we cannot make much progress without paying the price for it. We talk a great deal of austerity, but normally this means somebody else doing something which does not affect us. Now that we have to face this serious problem, we cannot function complacently or in a leisurely fashion. We have to take every effective step and be prepared for the consequences, whatever they might be, for the simple reason that the consequences of not taking effective steps are going to be much more serious.

20. Our critics and opponents—and they exist not only in foreign countries, but in India also—are constantly harping on the weakness of our economy and on the possibility even of its breaking up. Thus they create an atmosphere of defeatism. I do not at all agree with this appraisal and I think that India has great resources. The problems we face are the normal problems of every country

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which has gone through this phase of development. In the past, those countries relied on what was the international market for investment. That no longer functions, and there are many other difficulties in our way today. But if we pull ourselves together and face these difficulties with determination, as we intend doing, I have no doubt that we shall pull through and go ahead.

21. While there is absolutely no reason for nervousness, there is a great deal of reason for our realising what the situation is and adapting ourselves to it. There does not appear to me to be the atmosphere for a real effort in the country, an effort at austerity and hard work. Without such an effort success will not come to us.

22. An eminent foreign economist was comparing the measure of work done in India to the quality and measure in Europe or America.¹² He pointed out that we compared very unfavourably. First of all, we have too many holidays, secondly, our hours of work are not adequate and, thirdly, we do not work intensively, and so as a result we produce much less than is done in many Western countries. This applies, he said, not merely to plants and factories, but all along the line, including agriculture, our offices, our teachers, our students and our politicians. I suppose his criticism is true, apart from individuals who have to work very hard. It is ultimately on the amount of work that the nation does that our production will depend, and it is on that production that our progress will depend.

23. I have been thinking that it would be very good for our people to have a period of compulsory service for all young men and young women between certain age limits, say 19 to 22. In most countries of the Western world there is conscription for military service. This is not considered to be an infringement of their liberties or freedom. We do not want any such thing for military purposes, but some kind of compulsory period of training and service for every person appears to me to be very necessary. That period should be one year and for, say, six months in the year everyone should live in camps under some kind of military discipline. This will give them discipline, physical health and capacity for manual work and to work together for productive schemes. The next six months might well be spent in productive social work. The type of work will depend on the capacity and training of the individual. Another advantage of this will be to bring together everyone on the same level, whether he is rich or poor, and make him do exactly the same type of work, part of which will be manual.

24. The only objection that I can think of to such a scheme would be the difficulty of finding money for it. If the whole of India is brought into the purview of the scheme, this will be a very costly business. We need not start it

12. Gunnar Myrdal, Swedish economist and Nobel Laureate, dealt with this in his informal address to the Members of Parliament on 22 April 1958.

in a very big way, although everyone between certain ages could be made liable, by law, and we can call them up in batches as convenient and feasible.

25. Another idea which has often been mentioned, and with which I entirely agree, is that every graduate, before he gets his degree, should put in a certain period of work in an allotted sphere. The kind of work will depend on his training and capacity. He may have to work in a village or in a tribal area. This would, of course, apply to medical graduates also as well as to engineers and the like.

26. There has been a good deal of trouble in recent weeks on our frontiers with Pakistan, both in the East and the West. Each incident by itself, though annoying, may not amount to much. But the quick succession of these incidents is a little disturbing, especially when there is an agitation going on in Pakistan on the part of some people to organise marches into Kashmir.¹³

27. There is one small matter I should like to mention here in connection with Kashmir. Many of our Ministers, both Central and from the States visit Kashmir. Sometimes conferences are held there. On other occasions, Ministers, Speakers and others go there individually or with their families. There can be no objection to all this. But it appears to be expected that every such person who goes there, including his family, should be treated as State guests. The result has been a great burden on the State. Demands are made not only for particular types of accommodation which may not be available, but for motor cars, etc. During the tourist season especially, it is very difficult to provide these. I would, therefore, suggest that, as far as possible, no conference should be held in Kashmir or, at any rate, the burden of such a conference should not fall on the State. Further, Ministers, both Central and State, going to Kashmir, should avoid accepting the hospitality of the State Government.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

13. On 6 June, the Associated Press of Pakistan reported that over a hundred people from 'Azad Kashmir' had planned to cross in July the ceasefire line at various points "to join the forces of liberation on the other side." See also *ante*, pp. 562 and 765.

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III

New Delhi
30 June 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

Since I wrote to you last, I have again had a brief respite in the inner valleys of the Himalayas.¹ This was not exactly a respite from work as papers and files and messages pursued me there from day to day and I had to deal with them. Nevertheless, there was a great difference in dealing with some work quietly in the heart of the mountains within view of the high peaks covered with snow and with no interruptions and very few interviews.

2. In the course of my stay at Manali I paid a visit to the Rohtang Pass which takes one across the major Himalayan barrier to the high tablelands on the other side of it. This pass, as a number of other passes in the Himalayas, such as the Zoji La which connects Kashmir proper with Ladakh, leads to what might be called almost a new world. In this new world of above 12,000 feet or so, there are hardly any trees, practically no rain, little dust and of course temperatures are low, even though the sun may be piercingly hot. The physical conditions thus are quite different and for nearly half the year it is difficult to indulge in outside activity, like agriculture. Standing on these high passes, one sees the thickly wooded mountain-sides on one side and the rock and snow on the other, leading up to great glaciers and mountain peaks. The valleys have no trees but they are green with grass and sometimes bright with mountain flowers. Naturally, the people of these high regions, living in entirely difficult physical conditions, have a hard life and are tough physically. They would not survive otherwise. These high tablelands of Lahaul and Spiti and Ladakh connect up with Tibet and form, what has sometimes been called, the Roof of the World.

3. On my way to the Rohtang Pass, which is 13,500 feet high, I was happy to meet some young men and women, students or professors, who had gone on a trek to these regions. I wish that this habit of trekking on our high mountains would become more popular with our young men and women. Apart from the sheer joy of it, it has, I am sure, a considerable effect in improving our bodies and minds. It takes us out of our narrow shells and enables us to have a glimpse of something approaching infinity. The great oceans and the vast deserts and the high mountains have this effect on me and probably on others. But, of these three, the high mountains produce a greater sense of this infinity. We come out of our grooves of thought and action and tend to look at our daily lives in a better perspective.

1. From 5 to 23 June 1958.

4. Recently an Indian mountaineering expedition was successful in reaching the top of one of the great Himalayan mountains, Cho Oyu.² That expedition paid a heavy price in the death of our ablest mountaineer, Major Jayal.³ But, in spite of this calamity and the bad weather that pursued them, they persevered in their attempt and succeeded. This type of courage and determination gives one hope for our people.

5. You know probably about the Himalayan Mountaineering Institute which was established in Darjeeling soon after the conquest of Everest. Major Jayal was the first Principal of this Institute, and Tenzing Norgay, the conqueror of Everest, was the Chief Technical Adviser and Instructor. This Institute has made solid progress and has given training to a fairly large number of our people in the art and science of mountaineering. Indeed, two of the persons who went up Cho Oyu had been trained at this Institute. I have been wondering how we can, through this Institute or otherwise, increase facilities for our young men and women to come in contact with our mountain regions. I do not expect most of them to become expert mountaineers trying to perform wonderful feats, but I would like them to develop the habit of trekking in these regions, as large numbers of people do in Europe. I should like our universities to have clubs or associations for this purpose, providing simple equipment and advice and training. It should not be thought that this involves much expense. A trek in the mountains can be very cheap indeed, provided one is prepared for a little hard living. There are a number of Youth Hostels in various parts of India. Simple hostels or even log huts should, I think, be erected on the major trekking routes. Trekkers should as a rule carry their few belongings themselves in a rucksack on their backs. Such a trip would widen our horizons and give an idea of a new face of India which many of us know so little.

6. Since I wrote to you last, one major and very significant event has happened, the execution of Imre Nagy and some of his colleagues in Hungary.⁴ The Lebanese civil war has continued. In France, General De Gaulle is established as Premier. No one quite knows what General De Gaulle's advent may lead to, and all kinds of prophecies are made, both in his favour and against him. To those wedded to democratic processes, the manner of his coming has not been agreeable, even though the objection to him personally might not be great. For, after all, he came as a result of a military coup in Algeria, which was practically a revolt of the French army. Many people and groups voted for him because they thought that the only alternative was civil war or a military dictatorship, and it was thought that only he could control the rebellious elements in the

2. On 15 May 1958.
3. On 20 April 1958.
4. On 16 June 1958.

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army. He has now become Premier of France by some constitutional device, which is rather thin, and has been given practically full powers for six months. The test of his success or failure will lie in his treatment of the Algerian question. If he manages to settle this satisfactorily to the Algerian national movement, then indeed he will have justified himself; but this seems doubtful because the gap between the two viewpoints is much too big. If De Gaulle fails, then France will again face a deeper crisis. It is interesting to note that the major powers, including the USA, the UK, and the USSR, have been very cautious about their reactions to De Gaulle coming into power. On the whole, they have taken up a friendly attitude to him, though this is tinged with some apprehension about the future. It is particularly interesting to see that while the Communist parties in some non-Communist countries have spoken in strident terms against De Gaulle, the Soviet Union as well as other countries associated with it have expressed themselves with restraint. This indicates how a government functions differently and with caution even though some of its adherents or admirers lose all restraint and have little balance.

7. In Lebanon the visit of the UN Secretary General, Mr Hammarskjold,⁵ appears to have had a certain soothing influence. There was a great deal of talk of some kind of an intervention by the US or the UK Governments and there was also a warning from the Soviet Union that if such intervention took place they would not remain silent observers of it. The Lebanese Government demanded intervention and went up to the Security Council complaining bitterly about the help being given by the United Arab Republic to the rebels.⁶ While the internal situation became more and more difficult, the prospect of other powers being involved became grave. The UN Observation Force that was sent there, which includes an Indian contingent, and the UN Secretary General's visit have lessened greatly the chances of foreign intervention, even though this cannot be ruled out completely. Mr Hammarskjold appears to have had a restraining influence on those who advocate foreign intervention. Meanwhile, the international struggle goes on and the odds appear to be somewhat in favour of the so-called rebels. The small Lebanese army has, oddly enough, not taken full part in this affair and to some extent has tried not to get entangled in it. Perhaps the strongest element in the rebel forces is that of the Druse tribesmen.⁷ These tribesmen in

5. 19 to 22 June 1958.
6. On 11 June, the Security Council resolved to dispatch a UN Observation Group and an Observation Force to look into the complaint of the Lebanese Government made on 22 May 1958. For Indian participation in the UN Observation Group, see *ante*, pp. 630-631, 633.
7. The Druse sect, which grew around the figure of Caliph al-Hakim bi Amir Illah in the 11th century, had settled down in parts of Lebanon and Syria where they exercised autonomous control and feudal powers. At this time, the sect, led by Kamal Jumblatt, was opposed to President Chamoun's pro-West policy.

the old days gave a lot of trouble to the French when they were the governing authority there.⁸

8. During my brief visit to Beirut a year or two ago,⁹ I happened to meet the leader of these Druses, Mr Kamal Jumblatt,¹⁰ and had a talk with him. He was an interesting and dynamic person, a vague kind of socialist and a great admirer of India. It may interest you to know that he is attracted to Vedanta philosophy and has visited India on several occasions.

9. While in Lebanon we have lived on the verge of a possible world crisis; the event which has caused a great shock during these few weeks has been the execution of Imre Nagy and some of his colleagues. It was not only the execution itself but the circumstances of it that gave this shock. I need not go into this story, as you may have read it in the newspapers, of how, when he took refuge in the Yugoslav Embassy at the time of the uprising, he was handed over after an undertaking of safe conduct was given. That promise was broken soon after. Later, repeated assurances were given that he would not be tried. Those were also broken and a trial took place secretly and the world only came to know about this trial and sentence after the execution.

10. As you know, the Hungarian uprising of 1956 deeply stirred public opinion in great parts of the world. Tens of thousands of people were shot down there and several hundred thousand persons escaped as refugees. It was very difficult to defend the suppression of this uprising and how some of the brightest young men and young women had to suffer the extreme penalty for their nationalism and patriotism. Yet it might be said, and was indeed said, that the situation then was a very difficult one as there was a possibility of a world war. You will remember that it was just at that time that Anglo-French forces attacked Egypt. It was, therefore, possible to understand that the Soviet Government, alarmed at the prospect of a world war, was not prepared to take any risks and could not tolerate a movement which weakened it internally and might make an external attack easier. That was not an adequate justification for what had happened, but it might be considered an explanation of why it happened in a moment of crisis. The execution of Imre Nagy, however, took place without any such apparent crisis and appears to have been the result of a deliberate and well-thought-out decision. From this point of view it becomes even more significant why such a step should be taken at this particular moment and why should fierce attacks, on the ideological level, be made in China and the Soviet

8. Lebanon was ruled by France as a Mandatory territory till 1941, when it was taken over by the Anglo-French forces which left Lebanon in 1945.
9. On 21-22 July 1956.
10. (1919-1977); Lebanese politician and hereditary Druse chieftain; President, Socialist Progressive Party; Minister of several departments between 1960 and 1970; awarded Lenin Peace Prize, 1972.

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Union on Yugoslavia. It must have been known that Nagy's execution would produce powerful reactions in a great part of the world. Yet, in spite of this, it was decided upon.

11. I find it difficult to understand this or the fierce attacks on what is called 'revisionism'. It almost reminds one of theological disputes and the passions aroused in the Middle Ages in Europe between rival sects of Christians. There was the great controversy between Rome and the Eastern Church which had its seat in Constantinople before the Turks conquered that famous city in the 15th century, or the dispute of spiritual and temporal supremacy between Rome and the rival Pope at Avignon.

12. Our own way of thinking in India, with all its faults and failings, has not been rigid. We have been tolerant in our approach to philosophy and religion, and have seldom tried to crush an idea which was not in line with the orthodox traditions. Our narrowness has lain in the social sphere and in caste and practice. It is a little difficult for us, therefore, to understand these religious controversies of the Middle Ages. In India, there was a great schism in the Buddhist world between the Mahayana and the Hinayana and this led to great debate. But, even though the schism continued, there was no great violence attached to it. In the modern world the approach is supposed to be more tolerant insofar as religion and philosophy are concerned. But intolerance of the old type of religious bigotry has invaded the economic and social sphere. This is exhibited both in the Communist approach and the anti-Communist approach. This has become evident recently in the orthodox interpretations of Marxism and the violent reactions to what is called 'revisionism'.

13. It is not for us to enter into this controversy. But we are vastly concerned with the consequences of it and how far it adds to or lessens the tensions of the world. I think it would be true to say that these recent developments have added to these tensions and, therefore, made peace more difficult to achieve.

14. It is not for us, as I have said, to interfere in these controversies, because we are apart from them and wish to pursue our own way. We try also to avoid saying or doing anything which might add to the tensions and make coming together more difficult. We still hope, though with a diminishing faith, in high-level conferences which might help to relieve the present tensions. We have talked bravely of *Panchsheel* or the Five Principles. The first expression of these principles was in an agreement between India and China. Subsequently, many other countries adopted them formally, and no country could condemn them. An essential part of these Five Principles was "non-interference in each other's internal affairs for any reasons of an economic, political or ideological character." Observe the word "ideological" in this context. It was further stated in those days that there may be many ways of striving towards a socialist structure of society. Does the *Panchsheel* hold after these recent events, and has there not been an interference in ideological matters? It may be said that this interference

has only taken place in countries which call themselves Communist, and the principles would continue to apply to other countries. That is hardly a satisfactory explanation.

15. I do not pretend to understand fully these ideological conflicts which are almost theological in character. But, broadly speaking, the Yugoslav view, as it has developed, has been that socialism can be achieved by peaceful or evolutionary means and that Marxism has to be adapted to changing conditions. The Marxist doctrine of predetermination is not fully accepted. The Soviet view presumably is different. All this, of course, has undoubtedly a political significance, and the Yugoslav attitude, not so much because of the difference in ideology, but rather because it did not submit to the Soviet viewpoint, was considered a heresy and a challenge. What is even more significant is the reaction in the People's Government of China to it.

16. Does all this mean a more rigid line, both internal and external, in the Soviet Union and in the People's Republic of China? Does it mean that the process of what was called democratisation and liberalisation has been reversed? If so, apart from internal consequences, this is bound to have a powerful effect on the cold war and the tensions of the world.

17. The Indian Communist Party recently, at its Amritsar Congress,¹¹ declared for peaceful methods. But, in this controversy, it has expressed itself in favour of the old rigid viewpoint. The two hardly fit in, and one must therefore conclude that the Amritsar declaration had no real significance or meaning. Certain subsequent declarations by Communist leaders in India also confirm this conclusion.

18. I have written at some length to you about matters not directly related to our internal situation in India. Yet, it was my intention to write about this internal situation. I shall have to do this on another occasion. I shall say this here, however, that I am surprised at the exaggerated views taken about our basic economic situation in India. That situation is a difficult one at present, both in regard to food and foreign exchange. The difficulties have been increased by a number of factors beyond our control and by bad harvests. But we must not forget at any time that our basic economy is sound and our resources are considerable. We have to work hard and we have to correct our mistakes when we make them, as we sometimes do. The kind of difficulties we are facing are not unusual for a country going through a process of development as India is today. The very bigness of this task means that we have to face difficulties. Most of these difficulties are occurring in other countries, including China. But, of course, criticism is not permitted there, and the surface appears unruffled, whatever might be happening below the surface.

11. Held from 6 to 13 April 1958.

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19. There is a malaise all over the world and countries and peoples have lost their moorings. The advance of science and technology has thrown the world out of gear and there appears to be some kind of a mental and physical exhaustion in the greater part of the world in spite of the tremendous scientific advance. Man begins to feel helpless before these mighty powers that have been released and considers himself more and more a victim of external circumstances. Science has advanced beyond the comprehension of most people. While man is progressively conquering external conditions and the physical world, he seems to be losing grip over himself and there is an absence of faith in everything.

20. This is perhaps an inevitable phase through which we have to pass. The real danger is that war may come and prevent any future developing. If we avoid war we shall no doubt get over this malaise and present-day disease of our civilisation. We may realise again what the great men have always told us that the conquest of the physical world is not enough if it is not accompanied by a conquest of oneself.

21. We live in an age of cynicism and platitudes and hypocrisies. We repeat slogans which take the place of thought and even those slogans, from too frequent use, have lost all real significance. We accuse and blame each other. The idealism which gives strength to an individual and to a nation fades away and human values decline.

22. We shall have to think anew not in terms of slogans and dogmas but of a calculated idealism, related both to modern conditions and human values. The ideal must be clear, though in detail it may vary and must depend upon circumstances. The broad means and methods should also be clear. Do we adhere to peaceful methods or not? It is not enough to say that we shall adhere to peaceful methods unless something happens. That is a negation of peaceful methods.

23. We need not all think alike; indeed it would be rather unfortunate if we did so; but we should try to have some broad objectives and methods to which we can all agree and within that wide framework we can differ and try to convince each other or the people. What kind of India do we want? What kind of social framework? Are we seeking to build a free, equal and progressive society and doing away with privileged classes and groups? We should think out our basic approaches and agree to them, even though we may differ within that framework. But what is more important than even the objective is the methods we adopt. If there is no agreement on those broad methods, then a continuing conflict results. Having fixed our ideals and laid down our methods, we must consciously direct our living to that end. It is only when we live with a purpose and with an objective that life becomes worthwhile.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

MISCELLANEOUS

I. IN MEMORY OF ABUL KALAM AZAD

1. To Humayun Kabir¹

New Delhi
April 1, 1958

My dear Humayun,

I have read the typescript you have sent of Maulana Azad's book.² I have not only read the passages marked by you but the entire book with some care.

The book is very much Maulana's personal reaction to events. It is, in fact, his narrative of what happened and how it affected him. To change it in any way or to omit passages would not, I think, be fair to him or to his memory. In fact, omission of some important parts of the book would probably create a wrong impression in the mind of the reader as to what Maulana thought or felt on a particular occasion. That would be doing an injustice to him. I am, therefore, clearly of opinion that the book should be left as it is and published as it is without any changes or omissions of substance.³

I do not quite like the manner of presenting this work, that is, as stated in the title page—"As told by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad—recorded by Humayun Kabir". From this it almost appears that the Maulana's part in the making of this book is rather small. That is obviously not correct, and anyone who knew him or reads the book can see that. It is, in fact, his book, and I think this should be made quite clear right at the beginning. You have stated in the preface of how it came to be written. That is all right, as far as it goes. But I think the title page should state more clearly that the book is by him.

1. JN Collection.
2. The book *India Wins Freedom: An Autobiographical Narrative* by Abul Kalam Azad was first published in January 1959. The preface to it was written by Humayun Kabir and the book was dedicated to Nehru.
3. Humayun Kabir wrote in the preface of the first edition of the book on 15 March 1958: "When he (Maulana) had the completed text in his hands, he decided that some thirty pages of the text dealing with incidents and reflections mainly of a personal character should not be published for the present. He directed that a copy each of the complete text should be deposited under sealed cover in the National Library, Calcutta and the National Archives, New Delhi. He was, however, anxious that the exclusion of these passages should not in any way alter either the outline of his picture or his general findings. I carried out the changes according to his instructions and was able to present to Maulana Azad the revised and abridged draft towards the end of November 1957. He made some minor alterations, but there was no major change. In some cases, a chapter was thus revised three or four times. The book as now released represents the text as finally approved by him." The 30 pages that were withheld were incorporated in the 1988 edition of the book.

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The phrase "as told by so and so" is normally used for persons who are incapable of writing. It seems odd to use it in that way for the Maulana.

There are two very minor mistakes that I would like to point out. At page 47 there is a reference to Chiang Kai-shek staying at Viceregal Lodge at Alipur in Calcutta. As a matter of fact, he stayed at the old Government House at Barrackpur. I know this because I used to go to see him there and actually spent a night in that house then.

Near the end, at page 306, there is a reference to India's Defence expenditure. It would not be correct to say that about half of the revenues of the Government of India go to meet the expenses of Defence. The correct figure is slightly over one-third. There is also a reference to Rs 250 crores. I am not sure if this is quite correct, but I do not remember the exact figure.

I would think that the book might well be called:

INDIA WINS FREEDOM
An autobiographical narrative
by
Abul Kalam Azad⁴

I am returning the manuscript.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The book, when published, carried the title suggested by Nehru.

2. To S. Khan¹

New Delhi
April 21, 1958

Dear Shri Khan,²

I have your letter of the 14th April.³ I am interested to learn that you are thinking of producing a film to popularise the teachings of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. I

1. File No. F-9/2/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. A Gujarati filmmaker of Bombay.
3. Khan wanted to produce a film to popularise Maulana Azad's teachings which, he said, were "the greatest wealth left by him for the patriotic and freedom-loving Muslims of India" and dedicate it to the Maulana's memory. He wished to set up an institution for Arabic language and Islamic studies with the funds derived from his film project. Nehru sent a copy of S. Khan's letter to Humayun Kabir with the query: "What am I to say in reply?"

do not know enough about films to be able to say how this can be done. I would imagine that it is very difficult to present correctly the teachings of a great man. There are dangers that this might not be done with fidelity to his ideas.

Your suggestion that the income derived from the film should be used to set up an institution for the study of Arabic language and the true spirit of Islam will no doubt be appreciated. But much would depend on the funds available, as such an institute would require considerable funds.

As I do not know much about films, I do not read scripts and I cannot advise you on it. I suggest your getting in touch with our Films Division of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Mohammad Taher¹

New Delhi
May 9, 1958

My dear Taher,²

You have probably heard from Humayun Kabir that, apart from personal effects (which should not be sold), a car, copyright of a few books and an account in the bank, Maulana left hardly any assets.

He had shares of the face value of Rs 75,500 which he purchased for Rs 1,76,000 in 1947. The present price I am told would be about rupees one lakh ten or twenty thousand. But from Maulana Sahib's letters to the Income-tax Department it is clear that these shares are not his personal property. He held them in trust for the Congress and I am asking the General Secretary of the Congress to get them transferred to a special fund to be created by the Congress.

Regarding the copyright of his books, I understand that Maulana had transferred the copyright of *Tarjuman-ul Quran* to Nooruddin Ahmed³ during his lifetime. As such, Nooruddin appears to be the sole beneficiary. You had mentioned that some part of the manuscript is not traceable—if this is so, the loss is Nooruddin's.

1. JN Collection.
2. Member, Bombay Legislative Council, and son-in-law of Maulana Azad's sister Fatima Begum.
3. Nooruddin Ahmed, son of Maulana Azad's elder brother Abu-n-Nasr Aah Ghulam Yasin.

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Regarding Maulana's other books, like *Ghubar-i-Khatir* and *Tazkira*, they will, I suppose, form part of his estate.

You probably know that Maulana did not write an autobiography himself but Humayun Kabir helped him to prepare a book in English. I understand that the royalties for this book were to be divided equally between Maulana and Humayun Kabir. Kabir has decided to give his share to the Indian Council for Cultural Relations for prizes to be awarded in Maulana's name. The remaining 50 per cent are part of Maulana's estate, but it seems that Maulana had expressed a wish that this may be given to Nooruddin Ahmed.

The car is mortgaged to the President and it would be better if Mr Birla who has purchased it clears the debt immediately and pays the balance to Maulana's successors.

I understand that your mother-in-law and Nooruddin are the only two successors to Maulana's estate. I hope that matters relating to succession can be settled quickly and without any friction. It would be most unfortunate if anything is done which could in any way bring Maulana's name into a dispute.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Chief Ministers¹

New Delhi
May 10, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you about a memorial for Maulana Azad. I enclose a resolution which was passed by the Working Committee of the Congress on February 24th.² By this resolution, the Committee started the Maulana Azad Memorial Fund and appointed a Provisional National Memorial Committee. The purposes of this Memorial are mentioned in this resolution.

You will notice that the Provisional Committee consists not only of Congressmen, but of a number of other eminent persons. The whole object was

1. JN Collection.
2. The resolution proposed that (i) scholarships be given in memory of Maulana Azad, to promote the study of the countries of West Asia by Indian scholars and vice versa, (ii) chairs be created in Indian universities for the study of literary and cultural links between India and other countries, and (iii) libraries be set up in different places. For Nehru's draft of the resolution, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 829-830.

to make this Memorial a national one. The present Committee is a provisional one. Later, a fuller Committee might be appointed.

I feel that we must make every effort to make this Memorial Fund a success. That is the very least we can do to honour the memory of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. I hope, therefore, that you will help in informing people about this Memorial and encouraging them to subscribe to it. Apart from any major donations that we might get, I would particularly appreciate a large number of relatively small donations.

I might inform you that the Congress Party in the Central Legislature decided that each of its Members should contribute a minimum of rupees ten. The other parties in Parliament were invited to join this, and they gladly did so. Thus every Member of Parliament, to whatever party he might belong, has agreed to contribute rupees ten at least. Some, of course, are giving much more.

May I suggest that the various parties in your Assembly also might follow this example?³ The Congress Party, of course, will be especially interested in this because he was our intimate colleague, guide and leader for nearly 40 years. But I am sure the other parties would also like to join in this tribute to an illustrious countryman of ours whose name has been inscribed in the history of our struggle for freedom.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The first meeting of the Maulana Azad National Memorial Committee held on 9 May 1958 had suggested that the PM should write to all Chief Ministers asking them to take personal interest in raising funds.

5. To Humayun Kabir¹

Forest Rest House
Manali
22nd May, 1958

My dear Humayun,

I have received a letter from Mohammad Taher with which he has enclosed copy of a letter dated 13th May to you. As he has repeated himself in both these letters, I need not send you his letter to me.

1. JN Collection.

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I see that he has made certain enquiries from you. I hope you will be able to send him such information as we possess. It is evident that Fatima Begum is not at all satisfied about the non-existence of Maulana's translation of the subsequent parts of the Quran.² I do not know how to satisfy her about this.

She complains of the non-cooperative attitude of Nooruddin that he has not written to her. I suggest that you might ask Nooruddin to write to her a nice letter.

Is there any hitch in the way of an application for a succession certificate being put in now? As soon as this is done, the better.

As for the Sahitya Akademi proposal to publish Maulana's works, this is something quite apart from the publication of his autobiographical narrative.

It is very pleasant here at Manali and very quiet. But for the radio and the batches of papers that pursue me, I would be quite cut off from the world.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. On 7 April 1958, Nehru had written (not printed) to Humayun Kabir, enclosing the copy of a letter from Fatima Begum, Maulana Azad's sister, in which she had expressed her surprise at the report that the last volume of Maulana's translation of the Quran was not to be found; the Maulana had told her that the translation was ready.

6. To M.H. Faruqui¹

New Delhi
2nd June 1958

My dear Faruqui,

I have just received your letter of May 31.²

It is not quite correct to say that the works of Maulana Azad are to be published under my guidance. I hardly come into the picture. It is the Sahitya

1. File No. S.A. 267, Part. I, Collected Works of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (Main), Sahitya Akademi Records.
2. M.H. Faruqui, a government advocate from Allahabad, wrote that he had learnt that the works of Maulana Azad were to be published under Nehru's guidance. Faruqui added that according to Maulana's wish, he had completed the translation of Maulana's book *Tarjuman-ul Quran* into English and sent it to him in 1942. However, it was lost in Calcutta and he had to translate it again but Maulana could not see it owing to his untimely death. Faruqui requested Nehru to write the introduction to the book and to get it published if the publication of Maulana's works were under contemplation.

Akademi which has decided to have these works published, first of all in the original and then perhaps parts of them in translations. We have, for the present, appointed some persons to collect all the old material.

I understand that the Maulana transferred the copyright of the *Tarjuman-ul Quran* to his nephew, Nooruddin. Presumably this covers the translations of it.³ At any rate, I am not sure. I do not quite know what the position is. I am, therefore, sending an extract from your letter to the Secretary of the Sahitya Akademi.⁴

You are always welcome to see me. But I shall be leaving Delhi in three or four days' time for about two weeks.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Nehru had forwarded a copy of Faruqui's letter also to Humayun Kabir who replied on 6 June 1958 saying that Faruqui might not be aware of the arrangements made by Maulana Azad for the translation of his commentary on the Quran. He informed Nehru that Maulana Azad had asked Professor Abdul Latif of Hyderabad to translate its first chapter, and also permitted Syed Ashfaque Husain to bring out an abridged translation of the first chapter, which was published under the title 'The Spirit of Islam'. Kabir wrote that there was no complete translation of Maulana Azad's 'Commentary' and if Faruqui was able to do it, Maulana Azad's successors would agree, provided they got a share in the royalties.
4. Nehru wrote to Krishna Kripalani, the Secretary of the Sahitya Akademi, on the same day (not printed) and enquired about the publication of Maulana Azad's works. He hoped that they would be published in the original and the question of the translation would be considered separately. He suggested that the translation of *Tarjuman-ul Quran* should be published if it was of a high standard.

II. MANALI RETREAT

1. Planning the Kulu Manali Visit¹

I expect to leave Delhi on the morning of the 20th May by air.

2. It is not possible for me to be absent continuously for a long period. I have been thinking therefore of the possibility of my breaking my stay at Manali and coming back to Delhi for possibly four or five days and then return to Manali if this can be conveniently arranged. The period of my return would be before I go to the trek across the Rohtang Pass. Thus I could return about the end of May and go back on the 5th or so. This procedure would enable me to have a little more time after my trek. It is not possible for me to fix exact dates of the trek or afterwards. I cannot possibly afford to spend two weeks in Manali after the trek. But I could spend three or four days there. This programme for the trek and after cannot be fixed now, except broadly, without the dates. Much must necessarily depend on developments.

3. While I am at Manali, important papers should be sent to me there. I do not want bundles of un-important papers or press cuttings etc. I should like newspapers as well as foreign press cuttings.

4. When I am on the trek, obviously no papers can be sent. But any very important message could be transmitted by wireless.

5. No special arrangements should be made for the conduct of official work during my absence. The normal arrangements during my absence will continue.

6. As for the party accompanying me during the trek, it should be as small as possible. What you have suggested appears to be suitable. I agree that Hari² should not go on the trek. But he can go to Manali.

7. As for the PA, I agree that someone who is physically tough should accompany me. I should like the person who is going with me to like the idea of the trek.

8. I do not think any special arrangements need be made for code messages to be sent to me at Manali. Messages can of course be sent by wireless during the trek.

9. Members of the PM's Secretariat who want leave can certainly be given this leave for a period. Even if I come back to Delhi for a few days in between, this need not mean that the whole staff should be present.

1. Note to M.O. Mathai, New Delhi, 8 May 1958. JN Collection.

2. Hari was a member of Nehru's personal staff at this time.

2. To C.P.N. Singh¹

Forest Rest House
Manali
20th May 1958

My dear C.P.N. Singh,²

Indira and I arrived here today just in time for lunch.³ We found everything in perfect order and had an excellent lunch. In fact, the abundance of the good things of life rather took away a little from the idea of trekking in the mountains.

This is a lovely place. I knew it slightly, of course, and that is why I chose it. At the back of my mind was something more than a mere visit on this occasion. When I heard some time ago that it was possible to come by air right up to the Kulu Valley that made the journey fairly short and simple—about an hour and a half by air and two and a half hours by car, that is, about four hours in all from Delhi to Manali. Manali thus became easy of access, easier than almost any other suitable place in the mountains. It struck me then that it might be possible for me to come here for weekends in the future without much fuss or prior arrangement. I was anxious, therefore, to find out how this place would be generally suitable for such weekends. An essential part of this arrangement was that this could be done without prior arrangements. On looking around here I find that this is quite feasible. This Forest Rest House is comfortable and, of course, it is beautifully situated. It has crockery, cutlery, etc., in fairly good condition. There is a good little bazaar nearby from which most needs can be supplied.

Because of this idea of mine, I wanted to carry out some kind of a test experiment. This meant that, as far as possible, external arrangements and equipment should be avoided. Otherwise there will be no experiment. To some extent your abundant hospitality, though welcome, slightly comes in the way of this experiment. But anyhow, I have a good idea of the place and its conveniences which are adequate. I am, therefore, asking Captain Anand, your ADC, to take away some of the things he had brought with him which are really not needed. If I had wanted them of course I would have kept them. The next time I come here early in June I shall go across the Rohtang Pass for the trek. That will have to be as simple and as light as possible and we shall not take with us anything that is not absolutely necessary. I have not been on any real trek for many long years. When I used to go, chiefly in Kashmir, I learnt a lesson which has remained with me ever since. Every additional bit of luggage or equipment is a burden and a nuisance in a trek.

1. JN Collection.
2. Governor of Punjab.
3. Nehru stayed in Manali from 20 to 31 May 1958 and again from 10 to 23 June.

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So I hope that you will not mind my returning some of the things that you had sent here. It was very good of you to send these various articles to add to our comfort here. The local authorities have also done their best and brought a number of rugs and *namdas*, etc., from nearby places.

The real convenience here is, of course, the installation of the flush system and of electric light. That is good not only for me but for the future. Manali is really a most delightful place. I love big trees and many of my favourites—the magnificent *deodars*, chestnuts, birch trees, oaks and others are here in abundance. There are even some *chinar* trees imported from Kashmir, but they do not flourish well.

Indira and I will remain here till the 31st morning when we go back to Delhi. I expect to return with Indira and her children on 5th June. We shall spend two days in Manali then, partly to get used to the altitude before we go higher up for the trek. That trek is likely to last twelve days. Then again we shall spend a couple of days in Manali and be back to Delhi.

You must have seen the note issued by the Congress Central Parliamentary Board in regard to the charges brought against Sardar Partap Singh.⁴ This matter gave us many headaches. During the past fortnight, we have been terribly busy also with various functions and committees. Ultimately, we finalised this note. We were convinced that in regard to major matters, and more especially in regard to integrity, Partap Singh was blameless. But there were many other similar things which we did not like. If there had been any doubt in our mind about integrity, the decision would have been easy, though painful, and would have been against Partap Singh. That doubt was not there but, at the same time, we laid so much stress on high standards (which I regret are not always observed by some of our Ministers in various parts of India) and, therefore, we could not bypass or ignore a number of things that had happened which did not come up to those standards.

I realise that what we have done obviously does not put an end to the conflicts and factions in the Congress Party in the Punjab. Indeed, the next two weeks or so will, no doubt, be occupied in frantic canvassing which is deplorable. I need not tell you that I should like Partap Singh to win the vote of confidence by a substantial majority. I cannot think of any suitable alternative.

It is peaceful and quiet here.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. See *ante*, pp. 436-441.

3. To Daljit Singh¹

Forest Rest House
Manali
23rd May, 1958

Dear Daljit Singhji,²

Your letter of the 20th May, addressed to my Private Secretary, has reached me here at Manali. I propose to stay here for another week and then to return to Delhi.

It is my intention to come back to Manali after a week and then to go on a short trek across the Rohtang Pass to Keylong³ in Lahaul and back. But I am by no means sure that I shall be able to do this as the international situation is deteriorating in many ways and I may not be able to leave Delhi.

If, however, I am able to go on this trek, I want the fewest possible people to accompany me on it. I do not want a big caravan with all kinds of equipment and paraphernalia. I am not taking tents and shall stay in the Rest Houses which, I understand, are not too big. I am wondering, therefore, how far it will be convenient for you to go there at the same time. Normally, of course, I would have welcomed your companionship in your constituency, but I do not want to add to my caravan. If you can go separately to Lahaul and meet me there, you would be welcome.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Sardar Daljit Singh (b. 1909); teacher and journalist; President, (i) All India Backward Classes League, 1954-56; (ii) District Depressed Classes League, Hoshiarpur, 1956; (iii) Labour Union, Naya Nangal, 1957-60; Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Una, a reserved constituency in Punjab, 1957-67.
3. Keylong, about 72 kilometres from Manali, is the headquarters of the Lahaul Valley.

4. To Padmaja Naidu¹

Forest Rest House
Manali
Kulu Valley
May 25, 1958

Bebee dear,²

Your letter came to me some days ago in Delhi and I brought it here with me. I have been five days in Manali and I have not had so much rest and quiet

1. Padmaja Naidu Papers, NMML.
2. Governor of West Bengal.

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for at least eleven years, if not more. The place is almost ideal for this purpose, and living in a three-roomed cottage with Indu, surrounded by forests, gives me a new sense of freedom. Manali is not easy of access for the tourists and only those who persevere ever reach here. But apart from that there is a restful quality in the air. I can well understand the old legend which tells us that the *rishis* used to come here to meditate and to be near the gods. Hence this is called the valley of the gods.

The trees here are lovely—there is the Himalayan *deodar* dominating over others—going up straight and high, with something of permanence about it. The older *deodars* here are over 1000 years old and whatever the age, they do not lose their uprightness and dignity. Then there are other trees, some imported from abroad—the oak and the birch, the ash and the maple, the walnut and the chestnut. There are a few *chinar* trees but they do not flourish here. They were brought here from Kashmir.

We are going back to Delhi on the 31st May. I still intend returning to Manali a week later and then to cross the Rohtang Pass (13,500 ft) to Lahaul for a 10-day trek. But I am beginning to doubt if this will be possible. All kinds of strange and distressing events are taking place in India and in other parts of the world and I cannot run away from them repeatedly.

Nothing has been decided about my visit to Tibet. I am beginning to think that Chou En-lai³ is not at all keen on my going there. If I go at all this will have to be about the second half of September and I shall go by air. It will not be possible for me to go to Darjeeling then. It is difficult to find time for Tibet just then.

I am glad you went to Sikkim. I have promised to go there when the road to Tibet is ready.

I hope you are keeping well.

Love,
Yours,
Jawahar

3. Prime Minister of China.

5. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit¹

Forest Rest House
Manali
Kulu Valley
25 May 1958

Nan darling,²

Your letter of the 19th May reached me yesterday via Delhi. I learnt of N.C. Mehta's³ death as I was leaving Delhi. I was in a hurry then and I did not notice that he was in Srinagar where he died. It was your letter that told me of this. Death is always sad, more especially when it comes to one's contemporaries. As they pass off one by one, a sense of loneliness creeps over me and a reminder of one's own age. Ashok⁴ must have come from Vienna.

I have been here now for five days. They have been restful and very quiet. For rest of body and mind I could not have chosen a more suitable place. The weather has been good and I go out for walks, or ride and read a good deal. I have not had such a quiet time during the last eleven years or more. If it had not been for the radio and the daily packet of papers from Delhi, I would have been completely cut off from the outside world.

To some extent I have been able to detach myself from the rush of current events and problems and think of our broader and basic issues and realised how formidable they are. Essentially it is the quality of human beings that counts. How far are we succeeding in building up this quality in the mass of our people? Not much I fear. We go ahead certainly but our pace is slow.

You must suit your convenience about fixing your programme. Naturally, I would like to have some time with you before you return. I go back to Delhi on the 31st May and, as at present advised, I come back to Manali on the morning of the 6th June. But I am by no means sure that I shall come back here. All kinds of strange happenings are taking place in India and the rest of the world and it does not appear quite proper for me to run away from work and responsibility.

I have had a picture card from Betty⁵ from Athens. She advises me to go to that 'wonderful spot' for peace and rest!

My love to you,

Jawahar

1. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit Papers, NMML.
2. Nehru's sister and Indian High Commissioner to the United Kingdom.
3. Former Chief Commissioner of Himachal Pradesh.
4. Ashok N. Mehta, India's Chargé d'affaires in Vienna, was the son of N.C. Mehta. He was married to Chandrakanta, the eldest daughter of Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.
5. Krishna Hutheesing, the younger sister of Nehru.

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6. To Chandrakha Mehta¹

Forest Rest House
Manali
26th May 1958

My dear Chand,

Your letter of May 16 has managed to reach me here at Manali in the Kulu Valley. I am happy to have it and to have news of you.

It is obvious that this girl Margarethe Tschugguel² is quite hysterical. Just before I left Delhi for Manali, I heard of N.C. Mehta's death. Subsequently, I had some account of it from Mummy.³ N.C. was my colleague at Cambridge, though he was a year or so junior to me. It is sad to see one's old friends and colleagues pass away one after the other. One begins to feel lonelier than ever.

I suppose that Ashok is somewhere in India now. I wonder if I shall be able to see him before he returns to Vienna.

Indu and I came here six days ago. So far as I am concerned, this is almost a perfect place for a quiet rest. Manali is a small village at the end of the Kulu Valley and at the foot of the high mountain passes which leads to Lahaul. In spite of its loveliness, it does not attract many tourists because it is not so easy of access. So I have had a very quiet time, working a little and resting. I love the trees here. Some of them are typical English trees, like the birch and the oak and the ash. We have chestnut trees also and walnut trees and maple. There are a few chinars but they have not taken kindly to the soil here. The dominating tree is the Himalayan *deodar*, first cousin of the cedars of Lebanon. I love the *deodar* for its beauty and absolute straightness as it goes up high.

It was my intention to go down to Delhi at the end of this month and then to return after a few days for a trek in Lahaul. But I rather doubt if I shall be able to do so now because of strange happenings in France and the Middle East. Also another possible difficulty has arisen.

Indu who kept well for the first few days has unfortunately had fever since yesterday. I hope she will get over it soon. But I am by no means sure if she will be able to accompany me to the trek as she intended going with her two children. If she cannot go, perhaps I shall give up the idea of the trek.

The cherry trees here are full of fruit and are lovely to see.

I hope you have survived the Foreign Service inspection.

Your loving
Mamu

1. JN Collection.

2. A resident of Vienna. She had sent Nehru a manuscript of a play written by her. See also *post*. pp. 852-853.

3. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.

7. To M.O. Mathai¹

Forest Rest House
Manali
26th May 1958

My dear Mac,²

I think that I could not have chosen a better and quieter place than Manali. This is almost an ideal place for that purpose. Occasionally somebody comes to see me but, on the whole, people have respected my wishes and have cooperated.

Thank you for sending me another bunch of old letters. I am glad they have come and perhaps I might be able to deal with them before I return.

The arrangements for the trek are being made here by the District Magistrate. But I am beginning to fear that the trek will not come off. To be away from Delhi for weeks on end when all kinds of strange things are happening in India and the world does not appear to me to be becoming. But another difficulty has also arisen.

Indiraji, who kept quite well to begin with, has had fever for the last two days. Apparently, it is some throat infection and there are glandular swellings in her neck. I hope that in another day or two she will get over this. But then various questions arise. First of all, is it desirable for her to go back to the intense heat of Delhi just for a few days? It would obviously be better for her to stay on and the children and I can join her here later. But whether she will agree to this, I do not know. She wants to be in Delhi when the children come and she will also want to be there to make some arrangements for the trek.

The other question is, which I have not mentioned to her, whether it is right for me to take her on the trek if she is not completely fit. If she cannot go, I can hardly take the children and I doubt if I would like to go myself. However, this will have to be decided later, and will depend upon her physical condition.

Fortunately, we have got a competent doctor here, Dr Dipak Bhatia. He used to be Civil Surgeon in Simla. Apparently, the Punjab Government have specially sent him here to accompany us on the trek. He is looking after Indira.

You told me that you were going to Almora. I forgot when this was to take place. Possibly you intended going there later when I am supposed to go on the trek.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Mathai, fondly called Mac, was Special Assistant to Nehru.

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8. To Hamish McArthur¹

Manali, Kulu Valley
29th May 1958

Dear Mr McArthur,²

I have received today your letter of the 22nd May and also the reprint of your article on Central Lahaul. It was very good of you to write to me and send this old article of yours which I am sure will not only be interesting but helpful to us.

I have been in Manali now for nine days and I can think of a few places which can be so quiet and restful as Manali. I am going down to Delhi soon but hope to come back in the first week of June and then to go over the Rohtang Pass. It is my present intention to spend a few days in Lahaul, but I cannot find time to go to Spiti. A Prime Minister is not a free agent and he is conditioned and restricted in many ways. I am not quite sure even now if I shall be able to go to Lahaul because of strange developments in many countries, including my own. Much, therefore, will depend upon events outside India which might prevent me from going to Lahaul which is rather out of touch with the rest of the world.

I have never been to Lahaul before but I have been to Ladakh and I suppose that physical conditions in Lahaul are not unlike those in Ladakh.

I see that you are leading an expedition to Chamba. I wish you success in it.³

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. A resident of Surrey, England.
3. Nehru also sent a note to S. Dutt, the Foreign Secretary, on the same day saying that he would like to know if External Affairs Ministry had any information about this expedition. He also enquired: "Does it cross the 'inner line' anywhere and, if so, has permission been taken? Will any Indian officer accompany the expedition?"

9. Importance of Afforestation¹

During my stay in Manali, nothing has appealed to me so much as the fine trees round about here and on the hillsides. Many of these trees have been imported

1. The message, written at Manali, Kulu Valley, on 30 May 1958, was given to Romesh Chandra, Divisional Forest Officer, Kulu Forest Division, and was published in the *Van Mahotsav* supplement of *The Tribune* on 8 July 1958. Also available in JN Collection.

from abroad, some are indigenous. The magnificent Himalayan *deodar* dominates the scene and many of these trees are a thousand years old. I am particularly fond of the *deodar*. There is a certain dignity and serenity about it and almost an agelessness. It grows tall and straight and firm. Then there are the great chestnut trees, the oak, the birch, the maple, the ash, the pine trees and so many others.

In the orchards, we have cherry trees laden with their attractive fruit. The other fruits are not in season at present.

We celebrate every year the *Van Mahotsav* Day.² It is of the utmost importance that fresh trees should be planted wherever possible. Unfortunately, many are planted but not many survive. Therefore, it is not enough to plant them but to look after them. I think there should be a strict rule that no one should cut down a tree without planting two in its place.

We have great forests in India but, nevertheless, the area under forests is relatively small. In the Punjab, I am told, the forest area is even less than in many other states. Therefore, it is important that the Punjab should make a special effort in tree-planting everywhere and specially in the development of forests.

2. The *Van Mahotsav* or the festival of planting trees was started by the then Food and Agriculture Minister K.M. Munshi in 1950.

10. Random Notes¹

Technological advance has not only changed idea of war but has also altered ideologies—economic & other.

Automation -

Trend towards gigantism, concentration of power

Old type of revolution out of date

The world made now every hour.

1. Manali, 30 May 1958. JN Supplementary Papers. While at Manali, Nehru had plenty of time to read and reflect. These random jottings provide a peep into Nehru's mind.

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For an undeveloped country transition to modern developed capitalism is as difficult as transition to socialism. Perhaps former more difficult because of social pressures—Adult suffrage &c.

Strategy based on fear.

We must appreciate background of fear and apprehension of European Countries—U.S.A.-U.S.S.R. &c

“Negotiating for strength”.

If total war with nuclear weapons out of the question—that is, strategic use of nuclear weapons leading to terrible consequences—doctrine of limited war with tactical nuclear weapons also not feasible. Very likely to lead to same results.

Deterrents—Massive retaliation—Massive suicide.

Nuclear weapons have upset idea of no victory. No success in imposing a particular ideology.

Tito on 19/4/58

Progress made in transferring power from the State to
Social forms of ownership—creating new relationships between State & the economy—

between planning on one hand and independent economic initiative of separate organisations on the others.

Worker's control
Education—Science—public health
Social conscience housing &c, &c.
separated from State.

Nuclear tests

The crime against the future
'Le crime dans l' avenir'
(French biologist Jean Rostand)

11. To N. Khosla¹

Forest Rest House

Manali

30th May, 1958

My dear Khosla,²

As I told you this morning, I shall place Rs 500 at your disposal to render assistance to the family of the postal peon who died in the accident yesterday as well as to those who were seriously injured in this accident. This, of course, has nothing to do with the other help they may get through Government sources. This money I shall send you from Delhi.

I am having Rs 150 paid to you here. I should like you to give this to the Manali School. The money, I suggest, should be utilised for giving free books, stationery, etc., to the boys and girls.

Thank you for all that you have done for us during our very pleasant stay at Manali.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Instead of Rs 150 for the Manali School for the purposes indicated above, I am sending you Rs 200.

JN

1. JN Collection.
2. Deputy Commissioner, Kangra.

12. Books for Manali School Children¹

There is a school in Manali of boys and girls from six to seven years old to about fifteen. I promised to send them some books, chiefly in Hindi, but some in English. I should like you to get me a number of these books.

They should be children's books of course, and also a few for older children. You can get some from the Sasta Sahitya Mandal and some other place also. I should like to send a number of copies of my little book *Letters from a Father*

1. Note to Private Secretary, New Delhi, 31 May 1958. JN Collection.

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to his Daughter, mostly in Hindi, some in English and possibly one or two in Urdu. Also in Hindi my *Glimpses of World History*.

I should like to take these books to Manali when I return there.

13. Second Visit to Manali¹

I intend going to Manali again on Wednesday, 11th June, leaving Palam at 8.30 a.m. Indiraji and the children will go with me. Upadhyayaji² will not be going with me, but the cook and his mate will accompany us.

2. Please inform Air Headquarters so that they might arrange a Dakota to take us that morning to Bhuntar airfield.

3. The Deputy Commissioner of Kangra District, who is at Manali now, should be informed. He should be told that I intend staying at Manali for about ten or eleven days. I have not got enough time to undertake a trek to Lahaul or Spiti. But it is my intention to go up to the Rohtang Pass and return from the top the same day. This visit, therefore, will be a day's visit only and no elaborate preparations are necessary. All that will be necessary is for us to go from Manali to Kote and spend the night there. Early next morning we shall proceed from Kote to top of the Rohtang Pass, taking our lunch and other refreshments with us. We shall return to Kote the same afternoon. We can spend the night at Kote or return straightaway to Manali that day.

4. We need not fix the date of our visit to Rohtang now but that will necessarily depend on the weather. This can be done after we reach Manali in consultation with the people there. The party should be as small as possible. For instance, it will not be necessary to take cooks, etc., as we are returning the same day. Hill ponies should be provided for all those who are going up.

5. I have received a telegram (attached) from Kulu in which request is made that I should perform the opening ceremony of some new school building at Bhuntar. Presumably, this is near the airfield. If the Deputy Commissioner thinks this is desirable, I shall gladly go there. I should like to visit this school at Bhuntar anyhow.

6. You might send a copy of this note to the Deputy Commissioner, Kangra District, at Manali.

1. Note to M.O. Mathai, New Delhi, 6 June 1958. JN Collection.

2. S.D. Upadhyaya, who served as Personal Secretary to Motilal Nehru from 1923 to 1931 and afterwards to Jawaharlal Nehru, was a Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Satna from 1952 to 1957, and from Rewa, Madhya Pradesh, 1957 to 1967 and of the Rajya Sabha from 1967 to 1970.

14. Children, the Real National Wealth¹

On my first visit to Manali about two weeks ago I made a promise to the children to visit their school and witness their cultural activities. So I redeemed my promise now and am delighted to be amid you and thoroughly enjoyed your folk songs and dances. I expect that other schools will also encourage such cultural activities.

School children are the real national wealth, so we should take care of children at home, school and playground. The people of the Kulu Valley are most fortunate in as much as they are the inhabitants of a beautiful hill place. The lofty mountains around the Valley has made it all the more picturesque. You should work harder to make the Valley rich in every respect and increase its production. Our country, though poor, is very vast and is rich with its rivers, hills, forests and big cities. India is ours and we should all get together and serve her wholeheartedly to remove poverty. The inequalities should be reduced and there should be equal chances for all to prosper.

Though I am not able to visit the interior of the Lahaul Valley and Spiti owing to a short time at my disposal I hope to visit these places sometime later. All the same, the Kulu Valley and Lahaul and Spiti, and the difficulties of the people are in my mind.

1. Speech at the local Government Middle School at Manali, 15 June 1958. From *The Hindu* and *The Hindustan Times*, 16 June 1958.

15. Development of Kulu Valley¹

I had been to the Kulu Valley before. The first time I came here was in 1942.² I paid brief visits subsequently, chiefly during election times. On the present occasion, however, I have made a longer stay here. I was at Manali for ten days at the end of last month and now I have been here again for a week.

2. It is difficult to compare places. India has a host of beauty spots which attract for a variety of reasons. I have been to many of them and have been charmed by them.

1. Note, Manali, 18 June 1958. JN Collection.

2. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 12, pp. 312-320.

3. But I must say that the Kulu Valley and more especially Manali, which is at the end of the valley, have impressed me very greatly. No place in this valley is what is called a hill station. Perhaps that is one of its charms. But I can imagine few places in India which would repay a visit or a leisurely tour or trek. It is beautiful, of course, but it is also remarkably peaceful and calm. It has lovely forests, high mountains round about it, beautiful orchards with luscious fruits and close proximity to the high mountain Himalayan barrier which separates the high tablelands on the other side from the rest of India.

4. Manali, in fact, is near the foot of this great Himalayan barrier and within a few miles of it is the Rohtang Pass which takes one to those high tablelands of Lahaul and Spiti. The Rohtang Pass itself (13,500 ft) affords magnificent views on all sides and especially on the Lahaul and Spiti sides. The Pass is easy of access, though it involves some hard walking or riding, as one has to go up about 6,000 ft in almost as many miles.

5. The Rohtang Pass leads, as I have said above, to the high tablelands of Lahaul and Spiti, which is quite a different world from the rest of India. It is different not only because of its altitude which varies from about 11,000 ft upwards, but because it is on the other side of the major Himalayan barrier, which effectively stops the rain clouds from crossing. Thus, in Lahaul or Spiti there is hardly any rain at all. The dust from the plains also does not reach there. It has a cold, often harsh, but very invigorating climate. While the temperature may go down low, the sun is not only warm but sometimes very hot. There are lovely valleys and high mountains which invite the climbers of all types and degrees of training. The mountains of Lahaul and Spiti are probably among the most accessible, for climbing purposes, in India, that is, it takes less time to reach them than the other high mountains and there is every variety to tempt both the beginner mountaineer and the experts.

6. Lahaul and Spiti are more or less the same tablelands as that of Ladakh or, indeed, that of Tibet. I do not know much about Tibet but in Ladakh, as well as in Lahaul and Spiti, we enter a region which is practically treeless. It is above the normal tree line. The tree which persists at high altitudes beyond other trees is the birch or *bhoj patra* and the juniper shrub. Even these fade away at about 11,000 ft or less. It is, of course, possible with a great effort to grow some trees in some favoured places where there is plenty of water, as has been done near Leh in Ladakh. But, broadly speaking, this is a treeless, rainless and dustless region. This itself indicates the vast difference between these high tablelands and other parts of India. Standing at the top of the Zoji La (the pass which separates Kashmir proper from Ladakh) or near the top of the Rohtang, one sees the rich wooded valleys of the lower mountains on one side and the bare rock and snow and glacier on the other. But although there are no trees, there are plenty of flowers below the snow-line. These flowers are usually the small ones which are called Alpine flowers which sometimes make a lovely

carpet which frequently changes its hue as one generation of flowers succeeds another in the course of a year. This is common, of course, in all these high valleys in Kashmir, Garhwal or elsewhere.

7. Lahaul and Spiti have naturally been rather cut off from the rest of India in the past. During the last few years since Independence, there have been progressively more contacts. The organisation of the general election in these areas in 1957 was a remarkable feat.³ Slowly roads are being made, schools and hospitals opened, etc. The people of these areas are becoming more India conscious. They are Buddhists of the Tibetan variety. The land is poor and a great part of the year is snow-bound. But the people are tough and hard-working. They live chiefly on buckwheat and potatoes which they grow and foodgrains which they take up from the Kulu Valley. I think it is possible to increase food production there by the adoption of modern methods for such climates and soil.

8. For any person who wants to experience the delights of trekking in the mountains and in the highlands, I can imagine fewer places more suitable than the Kulu Valley leading up to Lahaul and Spiti. That is an experience which few who have had it will forget. The exhilarating air of these altitudes will invigorate them and tone up their minds and bodies. There is no other place that I know of, except of course some of the higher valleys of Kashmir, which can compare with this area in this respect. There are no doubt many other areas in India in the Uttar Pradesh mountains, in Sikkim and elsewhere which can attract the lover of mountains and trekking. But on the whole they are more difficult of access.

9. I have written about the Kulu Valley and Lahaul and Spiti not only because I have been greatly impressed by these areas, but also because not many people in India know about them. I should like them to be known better. They are one of the most attractive parts of India and I should like them to develop. Already foreigners who have discovered the Kulu Valley and the Rohtang Pass probably come here in larger numbers than Indians in spite of the lack of all conveniences here. Mountain climbing expeditions have come from England and have gone over to Lahaul or Spiti.

10. I do not suggest that any place in the Kulu Valley should develop into what is called a hill-station. I am not an admirer of the so-called hill-stations and I am not attracted by them. But I do think that we should encourage people to come here and afford facilities to them for that purpose. Some roads have been recently constructed which have made it somewhat easier to come to the Kulu Valley. Even so, the journey by road is a long one. I had the advantage of coming by air from Delhi to an airstrip at Bhuntar in the Kulu Valley. It took me about an hour and three quarters in a Dakota and it was a lovely flight. The

3. For a report of the first general elections in Spiti Valley, see *ante*, pp. 330-331.

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airstrip is thus good enough for a Dakota or any like aircraft. I understand that it can easily be extended. Whether it is possible to have an occasional air service here, say, once a week during the season, I do not know. But some time or other it would be desirable to have this. It saves an enormous amount of time. Probably from the point of view of carrying fruit it will be a very worthwhile and profitable service. The Kulu Valley abounds in luscious fruits.

11. What the Kulu Valley does not abound in are places where people can stay. I have known of many people coming here and returning the same day because they just could not find a place to stay. What is required, therefore, are decent, clean and simple hotels or rest houses, especially at Manali, because Manali is the base for expeditions across the Rohtang Pass. There should also be some kind of simple hostels, such as the Youth Movement has put up in many parts of India. I would like to encourage our young men and women to come on these treks. I was indeed glad to come across some of them on my way to Rohtang.

12. A jeepable road has now been built from Manali to Kote (seven miles) and a further two miles to Rahla on the way to the Rohtang Pass. The top of the Pass is about five miles from Rahla, but they are very hard and steep five miles, stony and narrow, and on the upper ridges crossing rather tricky snow slopes. It is proposed, I am told, to take this jeepable road right to the top of the Pass and across to Lahaul. The distance is not great. I suppose that it is 12 miles from Rahla to Koksar on the Lahaul side. But it will require hard work and considerable engineering skill which fortunately we do not lack. Such a road may not be passable for five months in a year unless some special steps are taken to keep it clear of snow. Nevertheless, I think that it is a good thing to build this road and thus connect Lahaul and Spiti more effectively with the rest of the world. Undoubtedly, this will result in much benefit to these areas. It will bring prices down there of many important commodities.

13. I have been wondering whether it will not be worthwhile to have a ropeway (apart from the roads) just over the pass for goods traffic. Probably the length of the ropeway will be much less than half the distance by bridle path at present because it will go straight. I have no idea as to how much this would cost, but I have a vague feeling that it is not very costly. Electric power presumably would be available at Manali.

14. The Punjab Government has, I believe, a Tourist Department. I suppose this Department coordinates its activities with our Central Tourist Department. Anyhow, I am sending a copy of this note to the Punjab Government also. But it is in the main meant for the Central Tourist Department.

16. Visit to Lady Willingdon Hospital at Manali¹

I was in Manali during the last week of May, 1958. I visited then the Lady Willingdon Hospital here. I was distressed to find that the hospital was not functioning at the time for lack of a doctor or staff. The hospital itself was well built and fairly well-equipped. Indeed, almost everything necessary was there except people to run in.

This struck me as very unfortunate, as obviously there was a considerable need for such a hospital in Manali. Manali is not only a place growing in importance but it is the gateway to the high tablelands of Lahaul and Spiti. Many people come down here from these high mountain areas. The stream of tourist traffic is also increasing.

Manali, therefore, was obviously important enough to have a hospital. There was a hospital but it was not functioning, which seemed very odd. I was told that it was not easy to induce doctors to come here. That surprised me, for Manali is one of the most beautiful and delightful spots one could choose anywhere. Certainly it is not a big city and does not have the amenities of a city. But to my mind it is infinitely superior to the cities.

I came back to Manali in the middle of this month and paid another visit to the hospital. I was happy to find that it had started functioning. Dr Ram Singh of the Christian Medical College Hospital at Ludhiana had come here to start it going again and he told me that it was their firm decision to keep this hospital functioning and to afford thereby good medical and surgical aid to the people of this beautiful valley.

I am very happy to learn this and I hope that this hospital will bring a great deal of relief to the people not only of Manali but even to those who come down the mountains from Lahaul and Spiti.

1. Remarks sent to the Lady Willingdon Hospital at Manali, 19 June 1958. JN Collection.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

17. To M.O. Mathai¹

Manali, Kulu Valley
19th June 1958

My dear Mac,

Thank you for your letter of 17th June.²

I respect competent doctors, but I do not believe in handing myself over to them body and soul. If I did not know something about myself at the age of 68, then doctors are not likely to throw light upon it except in the case of some emergency happening or unexpected development taking place. I have been and am still sure that relatively high altitudes are good for me, at least for a short time. My visit to the Rohtang Pass did me a lot of good, physically and mentally. I was tired, of course, at the end of the long day but I was not more tired than any other members of the party who were much younger.

If I am to follow Horace Evans³ advice in the future, I shall have to give up not only the proposed visit to Tibet, but even some of our hill-stations, like Simla or Gulmarg, and most parts of Kashmir.

By the way, Ahuja⁴ ought to know that Sir Horace Evans was what is called elevated to the peerage some years ago and is now Lord Evans.

My stay here is drawing to a close and in another four days I shall be in Delhi. I have naturally been exercised about various developments in India and outside. But I think that I did the right thing to come here and spend these relatively quiet days at Manali and round about. I shall certainly return fitter in body and mind and capable of thinking of hard work with a mind that is not so oppressed as it used to be. The heat of Delhi does not matter much to me. I can easily adjust myself to it.

I should like to send, after my return, a cheque for Rs 1,000 from the Folk Dance Fund to the Deputy Commissioner of Kangra for the encouragement of folk dance in Kulu and, more especially, for a troupe here which has performed before us and has been to Republic Day dances on several occasions. This money can be kept by the Deputy Commissioner or the Sub-Divisional Officer (Civil), who is a woman in the IAS, for the supply of equipment, dresses, instruments, etc., to this group.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Mathai had forwarded to Nehru Horace Evans' telegram which advised him not to climb places of more than seven to eight thousand feet height.
3. (1903-1963); royal physician to Queen Mary, King George VI, and Queen Elizabeth II, delivered Croonian lectures, 1955; created Baron, 1957.
4. An official at the Indian High Commission, London.

18. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit¹

Manali, Kulu Valley

19th June 1958

Nan darling,

I hope that after your return to London you have kept well. I came to Manali, as you know, with Indu, Rajiv and Sanjay. I have been here now for eight days and in another three days we return to Delhi. Delhi and in fact the whole of north India has had a terrific heat wave. Hundreds of people in Bihar, chiefly, and also in UP and Delhi have died of this excessive heat. Even here at Manali, the weather has been relatively warm.

I have felt sometimes a little unhappy at being here when there is so much suffering and so many problems down below. Not that I could have made any difference to them but a vague sense of guilt sometimes assails me. Yet I think it was the right thing for me to come here. Certainly, this has done me a great deal of good, both physically and mentally. If I had stayed on in Delhi, I would have done little good to others or to myself. I would have been unhappy and in a state of mental distress. Now, I hope, I go back more fit and in a better frame of mind. I am not oppressed by events as I was and that in itself is an advantage.

You know that I had set my heart on going to Lahaul and Spiti via the Rohtang Pass. Later, with some regret, I gave up the idea of going to Lahaul or Spiti partly because that would have taken more days than I could spare. But the idea of going up to the Rohtang Pass remained. All kinds of efforts were made, directly and indirectly, to dissuade me from going there, but I persisted in the idea. We had made all our arrangements when the day before we were supposed to go I received a message from Delhi by telephone forwarding the following telegram which Duraiswami² of the Safdarjung Hospital had received from Ahuja:

"Your letter to Colonel Rao.³ Sir Horace Evans considers inadvisable going above seven to eight thousand feet. Letter follows—Ahuja." (Ahuja should know that Horace Evans now rejoices in a peerage and is Lord Evans).

In spite of this directive, I decided immediately not to change my programme and to proceed to the Rohtang Pass which is 13,500 feet high, that is, far beyond the range permitted by Horace Evans. If I had not so decided, I would have felt intensely unhappy and, in a sense, crippled for the future. If 8,000 feet is the

1. JN Collection.

2. Professor P.K. Duraiswami, Orthopaedic Surgeon, Safdarjung Hospital.

3. Col. N.S. Rao, Professor of Clinical Medicine, AIIMS.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

upper limit permitted to me, I could hardly go to some of our hill stations (not that I am attracted to hill stations) or to the higher valleys of Kashmir or to Ladakh or to Lahaul or Spiti. I will have to give up also the idea of going to Tibet. The result of this would have been that I would have fretted and fumed and become disgusted with myself.

I had no intention of doing this and so without any doubt or difficulty I decided to keep to my programme for the Rohtang Pass. It was a hard climb, mostly done on horseback, though some parts had to be negotiated on foot as they were said to be rather risky on horseback. I returned mostly on foot as it was steep and stony. I was naturally somewhat tired at the end of the day. Apart from certain feeling of physical tiredness, there were no ill effects whatever. Indeed, the effects were all to the good, both mentally and physically. At the top of the pass, we remained for two or three hours, walking about a mile or two through the snow and going to the very edge of the steep descent on the other side into Lahaul and Spiti. It was a magnificent sight, indeed the whole aspect was one of the most impressive and pleasing that I have seen. I returned in the hope that I would visit the place again sometime or other and go down on the other side to Lahaul. The average altitude of the Lahaul valleys is over 11,000 feet, apart from the mountains which, of course, are very much higher and are considerably above 20,000 feet. The Spiti valleys are over 12,000 feet. I do not know when, if ever, I shall be able to go to Lahaul or Spiti. But the desire to go there will remain in a corner of my mind.

I suppose that Ahuja knows that I have disregarded the advice given to me. In two or three days' time I shall probably get the letter which he has written conveying more fully the advice of Horace Evans. I hope that Ahuja will tell Horace Evans, at some suitable opportunity, that I have not only survived the visit to the Rohtang Pass, which meant a hard and difficult climb to 13,500 feet, but have evidently profited by it. Before I went up the pass and a little after my return, my blood pressure was taken. There was absolutely no change in it. On both occasions it was 155/92. So far as I remember, this is a slight improvement on what it was when Horace Evans examined me last year.

Soon I shall be going back to face all the troubles and problems which it is our lot to face. But I am in a much better mood to do so.

Love,
Jawahar

19. To C.P.N. Singh¹

Manali, Kulu Valley
21st June 1958

My dear C.P.N.,

I am here for another day and then I go back to Delhi. I am very grateful to you for the arrangements you made here for our stay which made it so pleasant and agreeable.

I have become attached to the Kulu Valley and more especially Manali. These are delightful places and I am sure they can make great progress. I do not judge progress by something showy but rather by the people here generally becoming more prosperous. There is great room for that. I have been writing to Partap Singh about one or two matters in this connection.

This is an ideal place for tourism if only a few simple facilities were provided for.

There are so many little things that can be done cheaply and quickly. But our methods and procedure come in the way, more especially the procedures relating to the PWD. I think these should be looked into and revised.

It seems to me that whenever I have come to Manali, there have been big developments in India and the world. Last time there was a revolutionary situation in France,² apart from happenings in India. On this occasion we have this port workers' strike.³ In the Lebanon, the situation has become critical⁴ and in Hungary Nagy and others have been executed with far-reaching results.⁵ Anyhow, I am now going to face these problems and my stay in Manali has at least put me in a better mood to do so.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. See *ante*, pp. 674-675.
3. The ten-day-old strike of port and dock workers, protesting against the "undemocratic attitude of a trustee of the Bombay Port Trust in criticising dock labour union's activities in relation to a labour dispute" at a meeting of the Bombay Port Trust Board on 10 June 1958, ended on 25 June 1958 after Nehru gave an assurance that the Government were "determined to see that justice is done to the workers and their legitimate demands are agreed to."
4. Anti-government disturbances involving heavy loss of life broke out in Lebanon during the second week of May. The protests against the 'pro-western' policies of Lebanese President Chamoun were allegedly inspired by the UAR. During the crisis Anglo-US and Russian vessels started moving towards Lebanon adding to the gravity of the situation. See also *ante*, pp. 630-633.
5. See *ante*, p. 650.

20. To Partap Singh Kairon¹

Manali, Kulu Valley
21st June 1958

My dear Partap Singh,

Day after tomorrow morning I shall be leaving Manali after a very agreeable stay here. I must thank you and the Punjab Government for the helpful arrangements made for me here.

I have become rather attached to the Kulu Valley and specially Manali. I have also developed a great deal of interest in Lahaul and Spiti. I am glad you are going to Kyelong² for the meeting of the Punjab Tribes Advisory Council.

During my stay here, I have met various kinds of people, including *sarpanchs*, etc. I think there is plenty of room for development here and I am sure this development will follow. But I am afraid that our administrative procedures, and more especially relating to the PWD, are very slow and often expensive. Something will have to be done to change these procedures. Compared to the PWD, the Forest Department appears to do things much more expeditiously and cheaply. A forest hut costs much less than a similar hut built by the PWD. This applies to schools, etc., also. But, above all, the delays are very great.

I heard the story of a school in Kulu where the roof had broken down. It was dangerous for children to sit there and in fact they had to sit outside. It took months and months and very lengthy correspondence before the PWD could do the repairs and even now I am told these are not satisfactory. If the local authority was charged with this work, he would have done it very soon and probably much more cheaply and more satisfactorily.

Round about Naggar today many people complained to me about lack of water in their villages and their fields. This time, of course, is a dry time and yet there was a fair amount of water round about. All that was necessary probably was to bring a pipe between the places. I enquired about this and was told that a scheme was under consideration. I am developing horror of these schemes which go on being considered indefinitely.

I think that not only should the PWD be pulled up, but a certain latitude should be given to the local authorities to put up small buildings, schools, rest houses, etc., without this elaborate process of the PWD sanctions, etc.

I am enclosing a representation which I have received.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. In the Lahaul Valley.

21. To Padmaja Naidu¹

Manali
Kulu Valley
June 22, 1958

Bebee dear,

Your letter of the 15th June from Darjeeling reached me two days ago, via Delhi. I have been here with Indu and the children and tomorrow we return to Delhi after a stay of 12 days.

It is odd that on both occasions when I came to Manali, exciting and disturbing events took place in India and the world. On the last occasion there was the crisis in France and in Lebanon, apart from my troubles in India. This time we have had the port workers' strike, which is continuing, and the execution of Imre Nagy and others in Hungary, which is having, and will no doubt continue to have, far-reaching consequences. I have felt somewhat conscience-stricken at my restful holiday when a succession of events demanded my presence in Delhi. Anyhow, I go back now in better physical and mental condition.

Ever since I expressed a wish to go across the Rohtang Pass to Lahaul all kinds of efforts have been made to prevent me from doing so. The doctor here at Manali—a senior man sent by the Punjab Government—expressed his apprehensions. The local authorities sent a small group to reconnoiter and they came back with tales of risk and danger. In Delhi, when I went back there, I had to undergo a thorough check-up—blood pressure, cardiogram, &c. Not being able to discover any particular ailment or bodily ailment, the Delhi doctors said they would like to consult a well-known London doctor (the Queen's physician) who has been examining me regularly for the last five or six years. The day before I was to go to Rohtang I get a cable from London informing me that I should avoid going up higher than 7,000 or 8,000 ft. The Rohtang is 13,500 ft.

I decided to ignore this message and in fact helped to suppress it here. So we went up accompanied by the doctor here and oxygen and all manner of other things. It was a lovely day—we went the first day to the foot of the Rohtang and spent the night there. The next morning very early we started our climb and did it in good time. The sky was cloudless and the sun was hot even at that height.

We were well rewarded, for the views from the top of the Pass were magnificent. We went a little beyond the Pass also to have a peep into Lahaul.

So we returned, very tired but satisfied with our labour. The doctor, of course, took my blood pressure before and after and found no change. So much for doctors' advice.

1. Padmaja Naidu Papers, NMML.

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I have not come across any blue poppies here. There have been plenty of irises here but they are fading away now. Going up to Rohtang, much higher up, we saw primulas in various colours.

You write to me about yourself. What am I to say? Bidhan has often told me what a successful Governor you have made and how popular you are and how he is helped by you. Unless there is some overriding reason, I would like you to continue, I agree that Papi² should be with you.

Love,

Yours,
Jawahar

2. Leilamani Naidu, Padmaja Naidu's sister and a member of the Indian Foreign Service.

III. SORTING OUT 'A BUNCH OF OLD LETTERS'

1. Selection and Arrangement of Letters¹

I have gone through this bundle of letters here at Manali.² As they were arranged previously, there were large numbers which in my opinion were not suited for publication. I have, therefore, separated those letters which might be considered for publication.

2. I have also arranged these separated letters chronologically. It seems to me that if they are published, it would be easier to read them in this way than if the letters from my father were put separately from those from Gandhiji.

3. All these letters which I have selected for publication will require careful revision and editing. By this I do not mean any change in them but often a

1. Note, Forest Rest House, Manali, 23 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. During his holiday in Manali, Nehru made a selection of letters, arranged them for publication and prepared explanatory notes for *A Bunch of Old Letters* which was first published by Asia Publishing House in 1958.

reference to the original as I find there are typing or spelling mistakes. Some dates have also to be checked.

4. Further, it is not possible to understand these letters unless some explanation is given of the circumstances in which they were written.

5. I have not got the other letters with me, that is, letters from other people. When I go back to Delhi, I want those letters also so that I can go through them and pick out those suitable for publication. Both these sets will then probably make one volume.

2. The Editorial Approach¹

I have rapidly gone through the second batch of letters that you sent me and have separated those which could not be published. All these letters, that is, both batches—the first one and the second—are now being put together chronologically. I think this is a better arrangement than separating them according to the writer.

2. Although I have selected all these for publication, I should like a further scrutiny by me at a later stage. When I see them together, perhaps I might take out some more from this lot then.

3. All these letters, except a very few, are previous to Independence. That is right. But there are one or two exceptions to this. The letters from Bernard Shaw² are after Independence. I should like to include all his letters as well as my letters to him. These are not here, but I know that they are in a separate file in my room.

4. The letters are nearly all addressed to me and a few to my father. There are, however, a few of my letters too which it is necessary to include for the sake of clarity. One letter of mine to Gandhiji has to be included. It is not here with me. This was a long letter I wrote to him on my release from prison for ten days in 1933 or thereabouts.³ This letter was included in Tendulkar's *Mahatma Gandhi* as an appendix. It is a long letter. A copy of it should be made from Tendulkar's book.

1. Note to M.O. Mathai, Forest Rest House, Manali, 27 May 1958. JN Collection.
2. Famous British playwright.
3. In fact the letter was written on 13 August 1934 when Nehru was released from prison for ten days on account of Kamala Nehru's illness. It is printed in the *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 6, pp. 277-282, and also in the *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. LVIII, pp. 460-464, and D.G. Tendulkar, *A Biography of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. III, pp. 379-384.

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5. I should like to include any letters I have received from Gandhiji since Independence, that is to say, during the few months between August 1947 and January 1948. I do not know if they can be found anywhere. Probably they are not many. One certainly there is, his last brief letter to me a few days before his death.⁴ A photostat copy of this was taken, as you will remember. This has to be included. It is in Hindi and the photostat copy should also be added.

6. Another thing I should like to include is an address that Rabindranath Tagore gave at Santiniketan on my wife's death. I had copies of this address. It is probably dated March 1936.⁵ Tagore's letter referring to it is in the file with me but not the address.

7. When all these papers have been completed and put together in order, then I should like a careful revision of them from the point of view of typing mistakes, comparison of dates and, more particularly, footnotes to explain allusions which otherwise would not be understood. Sometimes names of people have also to be explained in footnotes as to who they are. I am afraid I shall have to do this myself.

8. When all this is ready, the question of publication will arise. It is better not to deal with the publication matter till all the manuscript is in full shape. In one of your previous notes, you had suggested that the publication might be done by the Asia Publishing House, Bombay. Tendulkar had also agreed to this and, I think, the publisher, P.S. Jayasinghe, also came to see me about it. I have no objection to this proposal. But, as I have said, we can consider this later.

9. It was suggested previously that Tendulkar might look after the publication side. Pitambar Pant⁶ has taken great trouble over arranging these letters and I should not like to give him further trouble. As the publisher is likely to be in Bombay, Tendulkar will probably be the best person to be put in charge.

10. As for the title of the book, I do not like 'Letters to Jawaharlal Nehru'. This will not be quite correct as there are other letters also. Perhaps we might consider "A Bunch of Old Letters", sub-title being 'A collection of old letters chiefly received by Jawaharlal Nehru from Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru and others'.⁷

4. For the letter written by Mahatma Gandhi in Hindi on 18 January 1948, see the next item.
5. Tagore's address on 8 March 1936 was in Bengali. Its English rendering was printed in *Visva Bharati News* of April 1936.
6. Head of the Perspective Planning Division of the Planning Commission. He had assisted Nehru at Allahabad in early 1946, and was also Secretary to Nehru in his capacity as the Chairman of the Planning Commission.
7. The subtitle as printed in the book reads: "Written mostly to Jawaharlal Nehru and some written by him".

11. There is one important aspect to be remembered. Letters from living persons, such as Dr Rajendra Prasad, cannot be published without their permission. A list, therefore, of such persons has to be made and copies of their letters sent to them so that they might be able to decide whether I can publish them or not.

12. In a previous note, you say something about copyright, etc. I think it should vest in me. The terms, etc., can easily be agreed to the normal rate of 15 per cent on sales and it will not be proper to ask for more or less. The book is likely to be bigger than was thought at first.

13. Tendulkar sent me a number of pictures—autographs as well as some complete letters—to be reproduced as photostats. Altogether the book may well have 350 pages or even perhaps more.⁸

14. I have noted down these various points so that I may not forget them later. But, as I have said above, we should not take any step till we have completed the manuscript.

8. The first edition of the book had 341 pages.

3. To Harivansh Rai Bachchan¹

New Delhi
June 8, 1958

My dear Bachchan,²

I am sending you a photostat copy of the last letter Gandhiji wrote to me. I am also sending you with it the enclosure he had sent, a telegram received from Pakistan.

I cannot make out what Gandhiji has written in the third line. As I read it, it is as follows:

1. JN Collection.

2. A well-known Hindi poet and former Professor of English in the Allahabad University, Bachchan was an Officer on Special Duty (Hindi), External Affairs Ministry, New Delhi, 1955-65.

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“चि. जवाहरलाल,

उपवास छोड़ो

साथ में पा. पंजाब के सीकर के तार की नकल भेजता हूँ... मैंने तुमसे

कहा वही कहा था। बहुत वर्ष जीयो और हिंद के जवाहर बने रहो।

१८-१-४८

बापु के आर्शीवाद”

The reference “उपवास छोड़ो” is not to his fast, but to a small fast I had privately undertaken, and he had got to know of it.³

If you can read this,⁴ send me a translation of this little letter.⁵

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. In the explanatory note to this letter, Nehru stated: “It was written on the day he broke his fast which was undertaken to indicate his unhappiness at the communal tension in Delhi. I was rather upset at events in Delhi as well as Gandhiji’s fast and for a day or two I did not take any food. This was not a regular fast but rather a personal reaction to events which hardly anyone knew. Somehow, Gandhiji got to know of it and hence his advice to me to put an end to it. The reference to a ‘jewel of India’ is a pun on my name Jawahar which means jewel. This was the last letter he wrote to me. Twelve days later, on January 30th 1948, he died at the hands of an assassin.”
4. In a note (not printed) to M.O. Mathai on 18 June 1958, Nehru wrote that Bachchan had sent his reading of Gandhiji’s letter and a draft translation and observed that he was “not quite happy about his reading.” Nehru gave Mathai on a separate sheet the translation “as it should appear in the book.”
5. English rendering of this letter printed in *A Bunch of Old Letters* reads:
“My dear Jawaharlal,
Give up your fast.

I am sending herewith a copy of the telegram received from the Speaker of Pakistan Punjab. Zahid Hussain had said exactly what I had told you.

May you live long and continue to be the jewel of India.

—Blessings from Bapu”

4. To Clare Boothe Luce¹

New Delhi
June 9, 1958

Dear Mrs Luce,²

A letter from me will surprise you. I think the last time I wrote to you was probably in 1945 from one of the higher valleys of Kashmir. Since then, we met for a brief while in New York.

I am writing to you to seek your permission to include two of the letters that you wrote to me, in a collection of old letters that I am thinking of publishing. Most of the letters that I received disappeared or were destroyed by the police or by some insects. When I was in prison, our house was often taken possession of by the police, and no one looked after these papers. Still, a number of them have survived. Many of them are from Mahatma Gandhi and many from others. I thought that these old letters might be of interest to the present generation. Some of them throw light on old controversies which belong to the dead past now.

I have two of your letters, copies of which I enclose.³ One of them, the earlier one, is entirely in your handwriting which is fairly clear and attractive. But there is one word in it which I have not been able to read. This is towards the end of the first letter, in the penultimate paragraph. I have tried to copy the word. Perhaps you could tell me what it is. The sentence, in which this occurs, runs as follows: "Tho I cannot guess what the thing may mean, nor what the position of the Japs at Chittagong bodes inside and outside India."⁴

Your second letter is partly typewritten and partly handwritten. That letter was sent when I was in prison in Ahmadnagar Fort. It came with a note attached as follows: "This letter has already travelled once around the world having been given to Mr Wendell Willkie⁵ by Mrs Luce when he left America. It is now being taken to you through the courtesy of Mr Ku."

I do not remember when that letter reached me or whether it was delivered to me at all in prison. But, ultimately, it did reach me because I possess it. I need not tell you that I could not meet Mr Wendell. That was an abiding regret

1. JN Collection.
2. American journalist, playwright and politician.
3. The two letters referred to, dated 25 August 1942 and 4 June 1942, are printed in *A Bunch of Old Letters* on pp. 489-490 and 497-498 in the 1989 centenary edition.
4. This sentence as printed reads: "Tho I cannot guess what the whole thing may mean, nor what the position of the Japs at Chittagong bodes inside and outside India."
5. Wendell L. Willkie was an American writer, politician, lawyer and author of *One World*.

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for me. I remember how the news of his great odyssey round the world excited us in prison and how much we admired him.

I hope you are well.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Preparing the Copy for the Publisher¹

I am giving on a separate sheet the explanatory notes to the letters. As I have stated they are of two kinds. One should be given at the top of the letter, that is, just after the serial number. The other is a foot-note.

2. I have found that one letter was given twice in the list. This was from Edward Thompson,² Serial Nos. 101 and 137. No. 101 should be deleted. This will mean re-numbering the subsequent letters.

3. You will see that I have made some corrections in the table of contents.

4. You mentioned that it would be necessary to get all these letters retyped.

I suppose this is desirable. In getting new copies made, the explanatory notes and the foot-notes that I have given should be incorporated in their appropriate places. I think it will be enough to have two fresh copies made. One copy can be given to the publishers for the printers and I can keep one copy. If, however, the publishers want more than one copy, then you can have more copies made.

5. Thus what remains to be done now is:-

- (1) Have fresh copies typed, incorporating the notes.
- (2) Have a new table of contents typed.
- (3) Await the approval of those to whom I have sent some letters and asked permission for them to be published.
- (4) Select some letters and signatures for reproduction from photostat copies.
- (5) An index will have to be prepared. This can only be done when the proofs of the book are ready. The index should only deal with the names of persons who have written letters or to whom letters were written. It should not refer to the contents of the letters.
- (6) A preface will have to be written by me. This will be done after the proofs, etc., are ready.

1. Note to M.O. Mathai, Manali, 12 June 1958. JN Collection.

2. Famous British historian and writer.

6. Two copies of the explanatory notes are being sent.

P.S.

In retyping these letters, this should be done continuously, that is, each letter should not be typed on a separate sheet. When these are printed, continuity will have to be maintained. Therefore, this should be done in the copies to be made now. Of course, there should be some spacing between two S. Nos. Otherwise, it should be continuous.

IV. GENERAL

1. To N.D. Jayal¹

New Delhi
April 10, 1958

My dear Jayal,²

I have your letter. If your confidential report is placed before me, I shall certainly write something in it.

But, in any event, I want to tell you that I have thought highly of your work in the Himalayan Mountaineering Institute and I imagine that you are our most competent mountaineer in India. It is always a difficult task to start an organisation, more especially of a new kind.³ Your presence there as the head of this Institute during its formative period has been very helpful, and you deserve credit for it.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. First Principal of the Himalayan Mountaineering Institute, Darjeeling.

3. The Mountaineering Institute was inaugurated on 4 November 1954.

2. Vinoba Bhave, the Saint among Men¹

In the ferment that is going on all over India, the excitement of working for the Five Year Plan, of improving our agriculture, of putting up big industries and small, of activities for social welfare and reform, of political and economic controversies, or arguments about language or state boundaries, of disruptive tendencies and appeals for unity, of disappointments and disagreements, in short in the troubled but dynamic scene that is India today, the frail figure of Vinobaji² stands like a rock of strength, modest and gentle, yet with something of the strength of India's long past in him and something of the vision of the future in his eyes. It is not for us, smaller folk, to judge him whether we agree with him or disagree in some matter, for he is above these minor judgements. He represents as none else does, the spirit and tradition of Gandhiji and of India.

It is well for us and for India that Vinobaji is with us, ever pointing upwards, ever using the language of affection and of appeal to the hearts of men and women. His concept of Sarvodaya may seem a little odd to many of us, and yet basically it is a far better word and concept than the many that we use. In fact, I have refrained from using it because I think we are not good enough for it and I do not wish to exploit a noble word and idea.

Vinobaji is of all India and no State or Province can deny him to the rest of the country. It is however the peculiar privilege of Maharashtra for having produced this saint among men. On the occasion of the Sarvodaya gathering at Pandharpur in Maharashtra, I send my greeting and homage to him.

1. Message sent on the occasion of the Sarvodaya gathering at Pandharpur in Maharashtra, New Delhi, 15 April 1958. File No. F-9/2/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Famous Gandhian, advocate and leader of the Bhoojan Movement.

3. To Sampurnanand¹

New Delhi
April 15, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,²

Your letter of April 11,³ with which you have sent me a copy of a long letter sent by Ram Manohar Lohia,⁴ reached me yesterday. Thank you for it. I have actually read through it. It is always helpful to see ourselves as others see us.

But I think that you have not always been just to Lohia. Sometimes he has been lodged in some UP prison. I imagine the right place would have been a mental asylum.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of UP.
3. Sampurnanand forwarded to Nehru Lohia's letter of 10 December 1957 to Muzaffar Hussain, the Minister in charge of Jails, wherein Lohia referred to Nehru and others like Nehru as Vashishthi Brahmin. Sampurnanand explained that "the term stands for pride, hypocrisy, the will to deceive others and exploit them for one's own ends...to enumerate only a few of its constituents."
4. Freedom fighter and founder of the Socialist Party.

4. On Request for Monetary Help to 'Indian Opinion'¹

The question of helping *Indian Opinion* has been before us for, I think, over a year.² The Congress President, Shri U.N. Dhebar, has been dealing with this and I have been in touch with him. I have corresponded with Mrs Sushila Gandhi³ and have met her son.

1. Note to M.K. Vellodi, the Cabinet Secretary, New Delhi, 16 April 1958. JN Collection.
2. The *Indian Opinion*, a weekly journal founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903 in Natal to help fight against racial discrimination, was being run by his son Manilal Gandhi. Manilal had approached Gandhi Smarak Nidhi for financial help as the Nidhi was helping other Gandhi Ashrams. After Manilal's death in 1956, his wife and son, Sushila and Arun Gandhi, approached Nehru for aid to the *Indian Opinion*. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, p. 849.
3. (1907-1988); niece of Kishorelal Mashruwala, a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi; married Manilal Gandhi in 1927; assisted her husband at the printing press at Phoenix; took over financial matters and became editor of *Indian Opinion* after Manilal's death; founding member of Durban Indian Child Welfare Society and Gujarat Mahila Mandal; started Kasturba Gandhi School in 1954 for poor children; managing trustee of Phoenix settlement till her death in November 1988.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The question is not merely of finding money, but there are many other difficulties. So far as I remember, it was found that it would not be possible to continue *Indian Opinion*.

I think you might write to Shri P. Kodanda Rao⁴ and tell him that this matter has been under consideration of the Congress President as well as others for over a year. They have met Mrs Sushila Gandhi and her son and discussed it with them. As a Government, we can do nothing in this matter.⁵

4. A prominent member of the Servants of India Society.
5. The *Indian Opinion* was closed down in 1961 due to financial problems. It was revived by the South African President Nelson Mandela in 2000. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, p. 849.

5. Tribute to D. K. Karve¹

Dr Karve² and friends,

We are gathered here today on a unique occasion such as has not occurred in my life and probably in your lives, and such as is not likely to occur again in our lives. I am rather overwhelmed by this occasion and all that lies behind it. I have come here, Sir, not to venture to congratulate you. It is we who have been blessed by you. If I have come here, it is to seek your blessings for all of us, so that we may have some measure of your spirit of service, your faith, and your perseverance, and may I say also your goodness, which after all is the salt of the earth which keeps life going. Though we may utter words of congratulations, in our heart of hearts, we feel both happy and sad. We feel happy that we have amongst us one of our own countrymen who can be said truly to be in line with the ancient sages of India. We are sad that we of the present generation lag so far behind.

1. Speech at the birth anniversary celebration of D.K. Karve, Bombay, 18 April 1958. *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches* (Publications Division, Government of India), Vol. V, pp. 423-425. Also available in *The Hindu*, 19 April 1958.
2. Dhondo Keshav Karve (1858-1962); educationist and social reformer; taught mathematics at Fergusson College, Poona 1891-1914; founded several institutions including Widow Marriage Association, Hindu Widows' Home, Mahila Vidyalaya and Indian Women's University, which later became Shreemati Nathibai Damodar Thackersey (SNDT) Women's University; awarded Bharat Ratna in 1958; author of *Looking Back* and *Atmavritta*.

We see the pomp and pageantry of kings and presidents, and of the publicity attending prime ministers. All this seems rather small and petty in your presence because you have shown us in your life something which is more durable, almost timeless in its value, a man of courage and devotion and wisdom, persevering in spite of difficulties through long years of effort.

Long years ago, you lit a candle in a sphere which was specially dark, to which you devoted yourself. Maybe today there are ten thousand candles, but it was that first candle which counted. And that makes us remember two sayings of the great Chinese sages. One is: "It is better to light a little candle than curse the darkness." Most of us, I fear, curse the darkness and are frustrated at the surrounding gloom, and because of that frustration we cannot achieve much. But the man who wants to achieve, lights the candle and the candles grow in number and the light grows. The second saying is: "All the darkness in the world cannot put out a candle which is lit." You have both these ancient sayings exemplified in your life, revered Sir. You lit a candle which has grown in numbers but all those who work in the direction which you indicated will always remember the candle which you lit.

We talk a great deal about education today. Some are dissatisfied with our system of education and criticise it. They may be justified. In any event, what you began long years ago before most of us were born, namely education of women, is certainly more important than any other sphere of education. I believe that it is more important, if there can be any comparison, for the women of a nation to be educated than its men. I say it by way of emphasising the importance of the mothers and daughters and sisters of a nation. One of the truest measures of a nation's advancement is the state of its women. For, out of the women comes the new generation, and it is from their lips and from their laps that it begins to learn.

Political revolution is important and economic revolution is still more important, but the most important of all is the social revolution in the people. It is in the measure that the social revolution succeeds that it provides the basis of the economic stability and progress. Women play the most important part in the social revolution.

We hear a great deal about the revolution in China. We may agree with it or disagree with it. But probably the biggest thing which has happened in China is the change in the status of women. It is a feeling of liberation from the old customs which bound them down. I have long felt that in India too we shall measure our advance on the political and economic plane by the social change, more particularly among the women of India. We are on the move. Speaking as a member of the Government of the day, I should like to say that the laws which have been passed in regard to women have given me a sense of achievement. I look upon these laws as measures which had long been due, and which would liberate the women of India and give them freedom to grow. I am

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convinced that if the opportunity is given to them to grow, the women of this country can render great service to this country and to the world.

Being an Indian, I naturally think of India more. I want the people of India not merely to survive but lead a fuller life from the material and spiritual points of view. I gain inspiration and confidence in that hope when I look back to the great men that our country has produced from time to time. When I see this line of great men who have come to us, sometimes when the horizon was the darkest, and have brought about change by their courage and labour and devotion, my optimism returns to me, and my courage also comes back in a measure.

You, Sir, are one of those who inspire and whose life is a record of what men can do, quietly and serenely, without shouting. The world cannot do away with men of your type, Sir, because when that type goes, the salt of the earth goes, and we become ordinary folk with no real quality in us to distinguish us. So I seek again from you, Sir, your blessings for us and for our people, whom you have served so magnificently through almost a century of effort.

6. To Chandrakha Mehta¹

New Delhi
April 21, 1958

My dear Chand,

You will remember my speaking to you about a girl named Margarathé Tschugguel. You met her, I think, and wrote to me about her. Some three months ago she sent me a manuscript of a little play she had written. I am afraid I have not read it yet because I have little time for reading. I shall try to glance through it now.

Why I am writing to you now is because I have received a letter from her in her curious Hindi. This letter has come to me through Edwina Mountbatten.² Why this girl writes through Edwina, I do not know, because a direct letter would reach me easily enough.

The Hindi letter which I am enclosing says that she is very ill and in fact that she is almost dying. As she is so ill, I should like you to get in touch with her and find out how she is. Tell her that I have received her letter and I am much concerned to know that she is ill. I hope she will get well. Also tell her that I received her manuscript of a play.

1. JN Collection.

2. Edwina Mountbatten was Chairman, St. John and Red Cross Services Hospitals.

I am enclosing a letter in Hindi for her which you can pass on to her.

She is evidently a very sensitive and sentimental girl and, as she is so ill, I should like her to have a word of cheer on my behalf. Perhaps this might give her some comfort.

Her address is:

Margarathe Tschugguel
Vienna V/55
Schonbrunnerstr 36/28

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz¹

New Delhi
April 21, 1958

My dear Begum Sahiba,²

It was good of you to send me Tazi's³ book.⁴ It has taken a long time to appear. I would certainly like to read it, but it is not easy for me to find time to read books now. For the present, I have passed it on to Indira.

The book reminded me very much of Tazi, how bright she was and full of intellectual ferment. I am glad she wrote a book and I have no doubt that it should prove interesting reading.

I hope you are keeping well.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Begum Jahanara Shahnawaz (1896-1979); politician and reformer; Member, Pakistan Constituent Assembly.
3. Mumtaz Shahnawaz (1912-1948); daughter of Jahanara Shahnawaz; Pakistani diplomat and writer, known to family and friends as Tazi.
4. Her novel *The Heart Divided* was the first novel on the Partition of India, which her family published unedited 11 years later.

8. To Escott Reid¹

New Delhi
April 22, 1958

My dear Ambassador,²

Thank you for your letter of April 8 which I was happy to receive. I have looked through your list of books in the Guide to India. I confess I have not read some of them myself. But the selection is, on the whole, a good one. I suppose that no two persons would make the same list.

We miss you and your wife³ here. Your successor, Mr Ronning,⁴ has however already made friends with many people here.

It is true that we are having a difficult time in a variety of ways. I have no doubt that we shall pull through, but for the moment it is rather an exhausting business. I am secretly thinking of going to some inaccessible place for some time. India is a big enough country. But, oddly enough, it is not at all easy for me to find a place where I can have some quiet, unless I go to some high mountain beyond normal human habitation.

Indira, as usual, is working very hard. I have found however that work suits her, unless she goes too far.

Day after tomorrow I am going to Kerala on a four-day visit.⁵ This is my first since the general elections and the coming in of the Communist Government there. It is rather an odd situation for me as Prime Minister to visit one of our Chief Ministers who belongs to our Opposition.⁶

I shall gladly send you a photograph of mine.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Ambassador of Canada to West Germany. He was Canadian High Commissioner to India from 1952 to 1957.
3. Ruth Herriot.
4. Chester A. Ronning was the Canadian High Commissioner in India at this time.
5. Nehru visited Kerala from 24 to 28 April 1958.
6. E.M.S. Namboodiripad of the CPI.

9. To Satya Narayan Sinha¹

New Delhi
April 23, 1958

My dear Satya Narayan,²

Dr Atchamamba³ has sent the following resolution to the Lok Sabha Secretariat:

This House is of opinion that Government should install a life-size bronze statue of the Dandi March type of Mahatma Gandhi—the Father of the Nation and the architect of independent India—on the pedestal in the Central Hall of the Parliament House.

I am much distressed by this resolution and I have informed the Speaker accordingly. I do not like the idea of any statue of Mahatmaji in Parliament House. I object even more to such a statue being put up in the Central Hall.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs.
3. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Vijayawada, Andhra Pradesh.

10. Tribute to President Rajendra Prasad¹

You have done me a great honour by inviting me to unveil the portrait of our President. As you have said, the President not only occupies the highest office in the country, but is something more. Perhaps more than anyone else, he embodies in his life the Indian national revolution, the national movement through which we have passed. We had naturally a great national movement, of many facets, many aspects and many types of leadership and, if I may say so, that type which represented basic Indian tradition and more especially, if I may use that word, that part of India which is rural India, of which Rajendra Prasad should be said to be a symbol. Though we find in a sense that he is not a peasant—he is a high intellectual, a great educationist and an able lawyer—but, nevertheless, he represents the hard core of the type of people who formed the backbone of our national movement.

Most of those people we know who were in position of high leadership in the early days of this century have passed away. Dr Rajendra Prasad is perhaps

1. Speech while unveiling the portrait of Dr Rajendra Prasad in the Kerala Legislative Assembly Chamber, Trivandrum, 25 April 1958. From *The Hindu*, 26 April 1958.

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the only person remaining of that tradition, and it is a very good fortune for us that we have him still, not only because of his wisdom, his quiet dignity but also because of this link that he was with the leadership that launched many a struggle in the country.

Coming into this room a few minutes ago, I was naturally taken aback with a feeling of alarm when I saw a picture which I take it represents me. It is not for me to criticise the picture in the Assembly chamber, but I may say that that picture does credit to the artist and not to me. It is a picture of a blooming youth of 20 and I am afraid it is a long time since I was so young and so innocent, and my face at least bears evidence of that. Fortunately, I have not yet seen the picture I am going to unveil on the other side, and so I cannot offer any remarks about it. Anyhow, whatever it be, it is a picture which I like, and it is an honour to me to unveil it, at your invitation, and I am glad to do so.

11. To Stephen Ziering¹

New Delhi
May 4, 1958

Dear Stephen Ziering,

Your letter has reached me.² The questions you ask me will require a long answer, and I am afraid I have no time to send it. To some extent, you might find an answer to these questions in some books I have written. There are two such books, my *Autobiography* and the *Discovery of India*.

Gandhi was, of course, a very great man and his methods of peaceful struggle brought us independence in such a way that we remained friends even with our opponents, the British. He told us always not to hate anybody, not even our opponents. We were fighting against a system, that is, the British rule in India, and not against individuals.

As with most people in India, Gandhi was cremated after his death in Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Stephen Ziering, a teenager from Chicago, wrote that he had just finished reading Jeanette Eaton's book *Gandhi, Fighter Without a Sword* and was deeply moved by the Mahatma. He wanted to know: "What was Gandhi really like? How did you feel working with him? Where is he buried and what is it like there? Did Gandhi's fight for understanding between the religions of India and the abolition of untouchability work?" He further wrote that "if you could only answer one, just one of these things, I as a 14-year-old boy would treasure and cherish that letter for ever."

12. Homage to N.D. Jayal¹

Will you please convey to the next of kin of Major Jayal my deep sorrow at his death?² The news of this came to me as a shock and I feel that the country has suffered the loss of her finest mountaineer. I came in contact with Major Jayal in connection with the Himalayan Mountaineering Institute and liked his many qualities. I admired especially his love of the mountains and of adventure. This is something we should like our young men to have in this country. I remember well when he came to say goodbye to me as he was going on this expedition which has proved fatal to him. He has set an example of courage and adventure which should inspire our young people.

1. Note to V.K. Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister, New Delhi, 5 May 1958. File No.F-9/2/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Major N.D. Jayal died of pneumonia on 20 April 1958 while on an expedition to Mount Cho Oyu.

13. To Khurshed Naoroji¹

New Delhi
May 7, 1958

My dear Psyche,²

Your letter of the 6th May.³ Your instinct not to believe everything that newspapers write is a sound one. But, why and how do you consider the *Times* a serious and responsible journal?

There is absolutely no truth whatever in the story of my going into a swoon. I do not think I have ever done so in my life except under strange circumstances many long years ago in prison.

It is true that there was a head-on-collision between my forehead and Satya Narayan Sinha's forehead. I was coming out of the Lok Sabha chamber and he was coming in. There was a thick curtain, and we collided with a bang. It was a slightly painful experience, from which Satya Narayan suffered more than I did, but neither of us fainted and no medical aid was rushed to us. Immediately after, I went for some interviews.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.
2. Granddaughter of Dadabhai Naoroji.
3. Khurshed Naoroji had enclosed a cutting from *The Times of India*, reporting a "head-on-collision" involving Nehru and Satya Narain Sinha on 5 May 1958, and had written that many of Nehru's friends were concerned about his health.

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14. To Shri Ranjan¹

New Delhi
May 7 1958

My dear Shri Ranjan,²

Your letter of the 5th May.

I really do not understand why you should want to attach my name to the University Library.³ Personally, I do not much approve of this practice, more particularly, in using names of living persons. Long ago, when I was Chairman of the Municipal Board,⁴ I got the Board to pass a resolution to this effect. Unfortunately, after I ceased to be the Chairman, they forgot about the resolution and named all kinds of roads after some of their own members. One has to give a lead in such matters and I have, therefore, been trying to prevent people from attaching my name to a building. I must confess that I have not always succeeded. I hope, however, that you will come to my help in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 9/30/57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Vice Chancellor, Allahabad University.

3. See also *ante*, p. 194.

4. Nehru was the Chairman of the Allahabad Municipal Board from April 1923 to April 1925.

15. To A.C. Bouquet¹

New Delhi
May 9, 1958

Dear Dr Bouquet,²

Thank you for your letter of May 8 which I have just received. I am interested to learn about the book on Peace Movements that you and Dr Murty intend to bring out. I should like to see this book. I am afraid however that I shall not be in Delhi when you are here.

As for my writing a preface to this book, I do not know when I can possibly have the time for it. When I come back from my brief holiday, I shall be

1. JN Collection.

2. Alan Coates Bouquet (1887-1976); taught Theology, History and Comparative Study of Religions, Cambridge University, 1914-36 and 1945-55; gave lectures at Harvard, Princeton, New York, California, Delhi and Andhra universities; author of *A Point of View* and *Studies in the Problems of Peace* in collaboration with Prof. K.S. Murty, 1960.

overwhelmed with work. But if you could kindly send me the typescript, I shall try to find out what I can do about it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

16. Dr Khan Sahib, a Great Freedom Fighter¹

Mr Speaker, Sir, it has fallen to my lot from time to time to make mention in this House of sad and tragic occurrences. I have now to inform the House that a member of the old Assembly, but much better known in other capacities, Dr Khan Sahib,² was, some little time ago today, stabbed to death.³ We have not received any details or particulars about this tragic incident except that, I believe, it occurred at Lahore. But, I think it is right that early mention of it be made in this House not only because he was connected with the predecessor of this House as a member, but also because of the great part that he with his great brother Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan,⁴ played in the struggle for freedom and independence of India.

We all know that, in spite of any differences that might have arisen, Dr Khan Sahib occupied a high place in office in Pakistan.⁵ On some matters we may not have agreed with him; but we always respected him, honoured him as an old colleague, as a brave captain in our struggle for independence and for various personal reasons and contacts also, because there are many people here who knew him personally.

So far as I am concerned, my mind takes me back to almost 50 years when I was a young boy of 18 or 19 when I first met him, and we were both students

1. Statement in the Lok Sabha, 9 May 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XVII, cols.14253-14255.
2. Khan Abdul Jabbar Khan, popularly known as Dr Khan Sahib, was elected to the Central Legislative Assembly in 1935 from Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa.
3. Khan Sahib was assassinated on 9 May 1958 at his Lahore residence by a former revenue official, who had been dismissed from service two years earlier.
4. Freedom fighter and Pakhtoon leader, popularly known as "Frontier Gandhi".
5. Khan Sahib was the Chief Minister of West Pakistan from 1955 to 1957. In October 1955 Baluchistan, NWFP, Punjab and Sind were merged into a single province called West Pakistan. In 1957 the Constitution of West Pakistan was suspended by President Iskandar Mirza after Dr Khan Sahib lost his majority support.

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in England, he was a medical student, somewhat senior to me, and during this long period of 49 years we knew each other. Although there have been many breaks, I can say about him as I can say about few persons, that though we may have differed, as we did often, I myself had hardly ever come across a braver man and a greater gentleman. So, it is a matter, I am sure, of deep grief to us that this great fighter for freedom, this great gentleman, should have been cruelly put to death in this way. I have no news as to who did it, what the object was, but I thought that before waiting for any further detailed information, I might mention this matter to the House as the House would be interested and I am sure the House would like to express its sorrow and send its message of sympathy and condolence to the members of his family.

17. To Harindranath Chattopadhyaya¹

New Delhi
May 19, 1958

My dear Harin,²

Your letter came to me some time ago. I am sorry for the delay in answering it.

I was interested to read of your reactions about Africa. I agree with you that most of our countrymen there are interested more in business than in any aspect of culture. I am greatly interested in Africa. Indeed I am all fascinated by it. I hope I shall be able to go there some time.

As for sending cultural teams there, it is a good idea. But I fear, at the present moment, we have almost banned any such thing because of financial difficulties.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Poet, playwright and artist, brother of Sarojini Naidu.

18. To Paul Dukes¹

New Delhi
May 19, 1958

Dear Sir Paul Dukes,²

I have received your letter of the 17th May and your book *Yoga for the Western World*. Thank you for it.

I have been rather distantly interested in the yoga system of physical culture for a long time. To some extent, I have practised it also, and I think I have greatly profited by it. I am convinced that it is a system of great value. Primarily, it is for the body, but that is only the first step. The next step is the training of the mind, and I suppose the third step goes beyond that, to the spirit or whatever it may be called.

I am no authority on this subject, but the little I know has appealed to me, and I think that it would be a good thing if many people took advantage of this training, which is, I believe, essentially scientific. It should produce not only a sound and healthy body, but a mind which has poise and equilibrium and which cannot be swept away by every wind that blows.

I am glad that you are carrying this message of yoga to other countries.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. (1889-1967); British author, intelligence agent and pioneer of yoga in western countries; member, Anglo-Russian Commission, 1915-1918; Intelligence Officer in the Soviet Union, 1918-20; Special Correspondent of *The Times* in Eastern Europe, 1921; works include *Red Dusk and the Morrow*, *An Epic of the Gestapo*, *Come Hammer Come Sickle*, *Yoga for the Western World* and *The Yoga of Health, Youth and Joy*.

19. Cable to K.F. Bunshah¹

I am happy to learn of success of your expedition in climbing Mount Cho Oyu.² I congratulate you and all the members of your team on this fine achievement. It was a matter of sorrow to us to learn of the death of Major Jayal. The fact

1. New Delhi, 19 May 1958. JN Collection.
K.F. Bunshah was the leader of the Indian Cho Oyu expedition.
2. Sonam Gyatso and Pasang Dawa Lama of the expedition team scaled Mt. Cho Oyu on 15 May 1958.

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that your team continued on this expedition and achieved success in spite of this tragic incident indicates your grit and determination which are praiseworthy. I hope that all the members of the expedition are keeping well.

20. To Sheila Grant Duff¹

New Delhi
May 19, 1958

Dear Mrs Grant,²

When your letter to me of May 9th came to me a few days ago and I saw your name at the end of it, I felt happy. It brought back to me memories of you, and these memories were pleasant.³

I am very glad to know that you are happily married and, with your husband,⁴ are engaged in farming. I imagine this is a much more satisfying occupation than many forms of public activity. Still I can understand your hankering after something else also to make the world a better place to live in for others.

When I suggested some time ago to retire for a few months,⁵ I had no intention of running away from my work. There was no such escape possible for me. All I wanted was a few months of activity, largely of a public character, but not as Prime Minister. Somehow, not being Prime Minister for some time appealed to me, and I looked forward to it with a great feeling of relief. However, that was not to be. But I am taking a brief holiday, and tomorrow morning I am going to the Himalayas. I shall do a little trekking at an altitude varying from 10,000 ft to 13,000 ft.

You ask me as to what you and your husband might do in India. I do not quite know what to say. For the moment I have no bright idea. Farming conditions are difficult in India. We have generally small holdings which we are now trying to build up into cooperatives. If you or your husband or both ever come this way, we would, of course, be very happy to have you here.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. British journalist and writer.
3. She had assisted Nehru during his visit to England in 1935.
4. Michael Sokolov, who changed his name to Sokolov Grant just before marriage to Sheila Grant Duff.
5. See *ante*, pp. 501-502.

21. Foreword to the Czech Edition of 'An Autobiography'¹

I am happy to learn that a Czech translation of my *Autobiography* is going to be issued soon. I wrote this book nearly a quarter of a century ago and the world has seen tremendous changes during this period.² There has been the Second World War, ending in the defeat of the Nazi and Fascist powers, the emergence of many nations in Asia and Africa into freedom and independence after long periods of colonial domination and tremendous scientific and technological advances. These are great and historic gains which should promise peace and progress to humanity.

Unfortunately, these tremendous achievements have not been followed by peace and the world lives under the shadow of cold war and the hydrogen bomb, and other weapons of mass destruction which are terrible to contemplate. New and vital problems confront humanity. Just when science had given the assurance of all-round progress and ending of poverty and misery all over the world, the danger of wholesale destruction faces humanity. The first duty and obligation thus for all men and women, in whatever part of the world they may live, is to put an end to this danger of war and to stop the terrible game of playing about with hydrogen bombs and intercontinental missiles. Unless the cold war is replaced by peaceful and cooperative methods in international relations, there is little hope for the future.

In this present-day world, the book I wrote in the middle thirties is very much out of date. It belongs to a world that has passed into history and yet it deals with a period in India's long story which has powerfully moulded and conditioned our nation and which brought to us freedom. Therefore for us it is important and for others too it may have interest, for it may help them to understand the background of India and the way we function.

Thus, whatever little virtue there may be in the book, if it serves in creating this understanding and in promoting goodwill between nations, it serves some purpose.

Almost exactly twenty years ago, I visited Czechoslovakia at a time of great stress and turmoil and danger for the people there who lived under the shadow of coming tragedy.³ I remember well that visit and my sympathy for the people

1. Manali, Kulu Valley, 27 May 1958. JN Collection.

2. *An Autobiography*, written by Nehru in prison except for the postscript, between June 1934 and February 1935, was first published in London in 1936.

3. For Nehru's reaction to the situation in Czechoslovakia during his visit to Prague on 16 and 17 August 1938, see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 9, pp. 109-110.

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of Czechoslovakia. That tragedy came and then war came and later defeat of those who had committed aggression on that country.

In writing this foreword, my mind goes back to that anxious period twenty years ago and all that has taken place since then. I earnestly hope that the method of war will no longer be used for settling an international dispute and that hatred and violence will gradually cease to dominate international relations.

I am writing this brief foreword from a remote valley in the Himalayan mountains where peace reigns even though the world may be torn by conflict. Through these words, I send my good wishes to the people of Czechoslovakia and express the hope that our two countries will come closer to each other in understanding and in cooperation for the peace and well-being of mankind.

22. Foreword to 'Bharat ke Pakshi'¹

When I was told that Shri Rajeshwar Prasad Narain Singh² had written a book on Indian birds, I was interested and delighted. It has always been a matter of surprise and some distress to me that there is relatively so little interest in India in birds, animals, flowers and trees. In western countries, there is an abundance of books, scientific and popular, on these subjects. Indeed, the number of such books runs into many thousands, and new books are constantly being produced. In particular, very attractive books for children are being issued on these subjects, and they have a large market. Indeed, an average European child knows quite a great deal about birds and animals, and often also about flowers and trees. How many of our children or grown-ups know much about them? Not many, I imagine. This is sad, for thus we miss one of the joys of life which nobody can take away from us, whether we have to experience good fortune or ill fortune. There is enough suffering in this world, but there is also a great deal of beauty. If we

1. New Delhi, 31 May 1958. File No. 9/33/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

This foreword was translated from English into Hindi by Harivansh Rai Bachchan at Nehru's request. See next item. *Bharat ke Pakshi*, written in Hindi was published by the Publications Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.

2. Rajeshwar Prasad Narain Singh (b. 1906); Member, Bihar Legislative Council, 1930-37, Bihar Legislative Assembly, 1937-39 and 1946-52; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-58 and 1959-66; author of *Azadi ki Kurbaniyan*, *Mughal Samrajya ki Jivansandhya*, *Bharat ke Pakshi*, *Our Birds*, *Hamare Briksha* and *Bihar ka Gaurava*.

cannot escape the ills and the suffering, we can at least balance it by an appreciation of the beauty and great variety of Nature.

A well-known student of birds in India³ once said: "He, whose ear is untaught to enjoy the harmonious discord of the birds, travels alone when he might have company." I remember that when I was in Dehra Dun Jail,⁴ I used to watch the flights of migratory birds, which took place regularly twice a year over us. In early winter, they came over the Himalayas from distant countries to the warmer climate of India. In spring, they went back to the northern climes. It was a matter of constant joy and surprise to see these migrations. In Ahmadnagar Fort prison,⁵ we were confined in an area which, when we went there, was barren and most uninviting. Few birds came there. But after some time, I noticed all kinds of tiny wild flowers coming out of the stony soil. My colleague, Asaf Ali,⁶ knew something about them, and it became a fascinating pastime for us to watch these flowers and sometimes collect them.

I am mentioning these two incidents, among many, to indicate how life, even when cut off from normal contacts, can be made full by watching some aspect of Nature's many ways. The clouds are beautiful during the rainy season, and it is an unending delight to watch their changing colours. Birds, when they come, become friendly companions. A flower is a precious reminder of the world's beauty.

I have just been spending some days at Manali,⁷ at the end of the Kulu Valley. Above it stands the snow-covered barrier of the Himalayas, separating the wooded plains below from the high and barren tableland on the other side, which leads through Lahaul and Spiti, ultimately to Tibet. At Manali, I watched our lovely hill birds and wandered about under the magnificent *deodar* trees. There were many other graceful and imposing trees. There was the oak and the birch, the walnut and the chestnut, the ash, the maple and the pine, and many others. But, above all, there was the Himalayan *deodar*, typical of our mountains, a magnificent tree, absolutely straight, shooting up to the sky and with a sense of agelessness about it. Many of the *deodars* around Manali were over a thousand years old. Thus, during my brief stay at Manali, I had the companionship of birds and flowers and these great dwellers of our forests. They filled my life during this all too brief period and prevented me from feeling lonely at any time.

3. Edward Hamilton Aitken (Eha), the author of *The Common Birds of India* and other books.
4. Nehru was in Dehra Dun Jail from 6 June 1932 to 23 August 1933, from 9 May to 11 August 1934, from 16 November 1940 to 28 February 1941 and from 19 April to 4 December 1941.
5. Nehru was in Ahmadnagar Fort prison from 9 August 1942 to 28 March 1945.
6. Leading Congressman of Delhi and former Governor of Orissa.
7. See *ante*, pp. 816-840.

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But, to come back to birds about which this book is written. What an amazing variety there is of these lovely creatures. It is not enough just to see them from a distance and have a pleasurable sensation. That pleasure is increased greatly if we recognise them, know their names or rather the names we give them, and can distinguish their songs and cries. If we become familiar with them in this way, then indeed they become our companions wherever we might be.

I am very glad, therefore, that this book on Indian birds has been produced in Hindi. Shri Rajeshwar Prasad Narayan Singh has added to the charm of this book by his incursions into literature and by the many pictures that he has given. I hope that this book will be widely read and will make more and more people interested in this world of bird life, which is so rich in India. I hope also that suitable and attractive books on birds will be produced in Hindi for children.

23. To Harivansh Rai Bachchan¹

New Delhi
May 31, 1958

My dear Bachchan,

I want you to do me a favour. I have been asked to write a foreword to a book in Hindi on Indian birds which our Publications Division is issuing. I found it difficult to write a foreword in Hindi. I regret to say that I do not even know the names of trees in Hindi. So I have written in English and I want you to translate this in as simple a language as possible, suitable to me.

I am, therefore, sending you the foreword in English. I am also sending you a kind of rough copy of the book itself in case you want to see it.

I should like to have the translation of my foreword soon before I leave Delhi again.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 9/33/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

24. Romanian Translation of the Bhagwad Gita¹

Please write the following letter² in answer to the one attached:-

Dear Mr Saraydarian,

About a year ago you sent a letter to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and with it you also sent a Rumanian translation of the *Bhagwad Gita*. The Prime Minister was at the time in Europe. On his return he saw this book. He does not remember if the book was acknowledged. The letter that you sent was unhappily misplaced. He wishes me, therefore, now to write to you to thank you for your letter and for the copy of the Rumanian translation of the *Bhagwad Gita* which you were good enough to send him. He very much appreciates this and he was happy to know that such a translation was made. The *Bhagwad Gita*, as you are well aware, is a book which has exercised very great influence on the Indian mind for generations past.

The Prime Minister wishes me to send you his thanks and good wishes.

Yours sincerely,

1. Note to Private Secretary, New Delhi, 1 June 1958. JN Collection.
2. Letter not traceable.

25. To Gulzarilal Nanda¹

New Delhi
June 9, 1958

My dear Gulzarilal,

I enclose a letter I have received in which it is stated that some local Congressmen in your constituency² have represented me as some kind of an incarnation and encouraged worship of a photograph of mine. This, of course, is very undesirable. As this matter refers to your constituency, perhaps you will be good enough to write to the people concerned.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. New Delhi, 9 June 1958. JN Collection.
2. Nanda was elected from Sabarkantha constituency in Bombay State.

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26. To Rajendra Prasad¹

Manali, Kulu Valley

17th June 1958

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 12th June from Pachmarhi. I am grateful to you also for your permission to include some of your letters to me in the collection I am thinking of having published.

As for the letter from the Oxford University Press, I do not see any objection to their including the two passages indicated by them in Brecher's book.² Some months ago, Brecher had asked me for permission about these and some other letters. He had been working at what he called a political biography for the last two years and in the course of his work he saw a number of papers in the AICC Office as well as in my office. It was then that he selected some extracts and asked my permission.³ I gave him that permission in regard to some extracts and not in regard to some others. Regarding the two extracts he gave from your letters to me, I told him that the permission would have to be taken from you. Hence I suppose the letter from the Oxford University Press.

I would suggest your asking your Secretary to write to the Oxford University Press telling them that you have no objection to the publication of these two extracts.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. The reference is to Michael Brecher's *Nehru: A Political Biography*.

3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 856-857.

27. To S.B. Warnekar¹

Manali,
Kulu-Punjab
18th June, 1958

Dear Shri Warnekar,²

I have received your letter along with the book of poems, *Jawahar Taranginee*.³ Thank you. I read the book though I do not know Sanskrit much to understand it properly. I learnt some Sanskrit in my childhood but unfortunately I did not continue it. I have often wished that I could devote some time to study Sanskrit once again but I have been too busy to do so. The little that I read in my childhood was of help in understanding your poems which I found very beautiful.

But I have a complaint. The manner in which you have written about me rather embarrassed me. I am aware that exaggeration is often resorted to in poetry but that age is now past and to bestow such great praise on any individual is neither good for him nor for the people. You will forgive me for saying this.

I am very happy that our ancient language Sanskrit is still so alive and is served by such a learned poet as yourself.

Thanking you once again.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Supplementary Papers, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Sridhar Bhaskar Warnekar (b.1918); Marathi and Sanskrit scholar; taught at Nagpur University; Prachar Mantri, Sanskrit Vishva Parishad, 1952-56; associated with Sanskrit Bhasha Pracharini Sabha, Nagpur, Maharashtra Sanskrit Parishad, Vivekanand Kendra, Kanyakumari and Manuscript Library, Nagpur University; works include *Bharataratna Shatakam*, *Sanskrita Natya Pravesha*, *Sanskrita Vangmaya Kosh*.
3. It was published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's Book University.

28. To Padmaja Naidu¹

Manali, Kulu Valley
20th June 1958

My dear Padmaja,²

I have just received your letter of June 14 here at Manali. This is about the proposal to have some kind of a memorial for Major Jayal.³

1. File No. 40(129)/57-58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Governor, West Bengal.
3. N.D. Jayal, noted Indian mountaineer and the first Principal of the Himalayan Mountaineering Institute, died of pneumonia during an expedition to Cho Oyu Peak. See *ante*, p. 857.

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I see no objection to the Himalayan Mountaineering Institute organising a fete to raise money for the memorial. Indeed, I think we should do something about it, though what we should do is not quite clear to me.

As you have already written to Krishna Menon on the subject of a scholarship to be known as "Jayal Scholarship", I need not say anything about it here. I think that such a scholarship would be suitable.

Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

29. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit¹

New Delhi
June 26, 1958

Nan dear,

I have just received your letter of June 23rd with which you have sent two letters from Karan Singh.²

I wholly agree with you that it would not at all be advisable for you to accept this gift of land without payment. This would have been inadvisable anywhere but, so far as Kashmir is concerned, we have to be even more careful. I suggest that you explain this to Tiger.

I am returning to you Tiger's two letters.

I returned from Manali three days ago. The monsoon has not reached Delhi yet and it has been very hot here. I suppose that in the course of a week or so we might have rains.

Leilamani fell ill a few days ago. She is somewhat better but as she is feeling very lonely in the Nursing Home, Padmaja has just come here this evening.

As you know, Indu will be leaving Delhi for Brussels on the 14th July.³ I do not quite know when she reaches London. She wants to be back in India by the end of the month.

Love,
Jawahar

1. JN Collection.

2. Karan Singh, affectionately called Tiger, Sadar-i-Riyasat, Jammu and Kashmir State.

3. Indira Gandhi, Vice Chairman of Central Social Welfare Board till 1957, visited Brussels to attend a meeting of a child welfare organisation.

30. Message to the Youth Hostels Association¹

I am glad to learn that the first Bombay State Conference of the Youth Hostels Association is being held soon.² I am sure that this Youth Hostels Movement is a good one which should be encouraged. Recently, I spent some days at Manali in the Kulu Valley, at the base of the great Himalayan barrier which separates the lowlands of India from the highlands on the other side. The two are joined together by the Rohtang Pass. It seemed to me that that area in the Kulu Valley and right up to the Rohtang Pass was ideal for our young people to trek, just as there are over so many other places in the Himalayas suitable for trekking. Because this is suitable for trekking, it is also suitable for youth hostels to be established in these mountain areas. Indeed, I was happy to meet some young students from the Bombay State wandering about these high mountain passes.

I send my good wishes to the Conference.

1. New Delhi, 27 June 1958. JN Collection.
2. The first Conference of the Bombay State Council of the Youth Hostels' Association concluded on 30 June 1958.

31. To Edwina Mountbatten¹

New Delhi
29th June, 1958

My dear Edwina,

I have just received your letter of the 23rd June. I have sent you a brief reply by telegram.

There will be no difficulty whatever about the Earl and Countess of Harewood coming to India in October.² They will of course stay at the Rashtrapati Bhavan in Delhi and at the Raj Bhavan when they go to any State capital. You have already more or less drawn up a tour programme for them. It will not be difficult to fill in details.

So far as I am concerned, I expect to be here in October and November. The President is likely to go to Japan in the last week of October. Probably Indu will not be in India then as she is thinking of going to the United States.

1. JN Collection.
2. See also *ante*, p. 727.

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I rather doubt if a visit to Chandigarh is indicated. It is for them to decide whether they would prefer Chandigarh to some old temple. Konarak, as you know, is slightly out of the way but it is obviously well worth a visit.

Indu is going to Brussels in about two weeks' time to attend a meeting of the committee of some child welfare organisation. She intends spending three or four days there and then she will go to London for an equally brief stay. Altogether she will be away from India for about two weeks.

Yours,
Jawahar

32. To Malwina Galon¹

New Delhi
30th June, 1958

Dear Mrs Galon,²

I have today received your letter of May 6th and I thank you for it. It was good of you to write.

When I referred to my retirement from office,³ this did not mean that I was retiring from work. All it meant was that for a few months I wanted to be free of the burden of office and devote myself to my work in other ways. We cannot escape from the responsibilities that have been cast upon us.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. A Polish citizen.
3. See *ante*, pp. 501-502.

GLOSSARY

ashram	abode of a hermit
balwadi	a pre-school centre
barkhali	a system of land tenure in Saurashtra, western India
Bharat darshan	sight-seeing tour of India
bhooswami	small landholders in Rajasthan
chaprasi	peon, orderly
char	landmass created by a course-changing river
charkha	spinning wheel
darshana	philosophy
deodar	<i>cedrus deodara</i> or Himalayan Cedar, a tree that grows on the Himalayan foothills
garasdari	a system of land tenure in Saurashtra, western India
gram pracharak	village level community development worker
gramdan	donation of a village
gramsevak	village extension service worker
hoshiar	clever, smart
Inqilab Zindabad	long live the revolution
jagir	an assignment of a tract of land and its revenue
jagirdar	a person holding a jagir
Jai Hind	Victory to India
jamadars	sweepers
Jana Gana Mana	the opening words of India's National Anthem
jathas	procession, march
kala namak	rock salt
khalasis	helper, porter
kharif	monsoon crop, mainly paddy
khidmatgar	attendant, servant
kisan	a peasant, a farmer
kranti ki jai ho	victory to the revolution

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kutcha road	unmetalled road, dirt road
Lok Mitra	friend of the people
Mahatma Gandhi ki jai	victory to Mahatma Gandhi
mantra	the sacred word, an incantation
masalchis	kitchen helper, one who helps the cook with masalas (spices)
maunds	a measure of weight (about 38 kilograms)
nagari	the script in which Hindi, Sanskrit and some other Indian languages are written
panchayat	village council
panchs	five elected representatives of the village council
Panchsheel	five basic principles of international conduct
pandal	a temporary pavilion, marquee
parikrama	circumambulation
patwari	village revenue records keeper
rabi	winter crop, mainly wheat and gram
samadhi	place of cremation or burial of a saintly person
sanyasa	renunciation of the world
sarvodaya	a non-violent movement in India meant for the uplift of all without the distinction of caste, creed or status
Shastra	religious and philosophical treatises
swayambhu	created out of oneself
taluqdar	large landholder
tehsil	sub-division of a district
toshakhana	store room meant for gifts, furniture and effects
tyaga	sacrifice, renunciation
vakalatnama	power of attorney
van mahotsav	celebrating afforestation drive
yuga dharma	duties and obligations suitable for a particular Age

(For the sake of historical authenticity the old names of places are retained in this volume. Here is a list of places with their new names.)

Aijal	Aizawl
Alleppey	Alappuzha
Alwaye	Aluva
Assam State	Divided into Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland
Bangalore	Bengaluru
Baroda	Vadodara
Bihar State	Divided into Bihar and Jharkhand
Bombay (city)	Mumbai
Bombay State	Divided into Maharashtra and Gujarat
British Guiana	Guyana
Burma	Myanmar
Calcutta	Kolkata
Calicut	Kozhikode
Cambodia	Kampuchia
Cannanore	Kannur
Ceylon	Sri Lanka
Cochin	Kochi
East Pakistan	Bangladesh
Formosa	Taiwan
Gauhati	Guwahati
Kotah	Kota
Madhya Pradesh	Divided into Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh
Madras State	Tamil Nadu
Madras (city)	Chennai
Mysore State	Karnataka
NEFA	Arunachal Pradesh

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New Guinea	Papua New Guinea
Nyasaland	Malawi
Peking	Beijing
Pondicherry	Puducherry
Poona	Pune
Punjab State	Divided into Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab
Quilon	Kollam
Rhodesia	Zimbabwe
Simla	Shimla
Trichur	Thrissur
Trivandrum	Thiruvananthapuram
USSR	Split into Russia and the Central Asian Republics
Uttar Pradesh	Divided into Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand
West Irian	West Papua
Yugoslavia	Divided into Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia

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This volume covers the period 1 April to 30 June 1958. During this time, the country was faced with problems of shortage of both foreign exchange and food.... Nehru exhorted the nation to increase productivity and emphasised the role of the community development programme in nation building. He envisioned national progress to be in the direction of socialism. However, for him there could be no socialism without democracy. Any policy that was to be initiated in the socialist direction had to carry the people along....

He was quite distressed by casteism, communalism and the growth of petty polities. All this led to his announcement on 29 April 1958 of his intention to retire from Prime Ministership, at least for some time.

The international situation was rather worrisome.... As usual, a lot of time and energy was devoted to India's relationship with Pakistan. On Kashmir, Nehru rejected third-party mediation.... In his statement in Parliament and in his letters to President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, Nehru clearly set out the Indian position on negotiations with Pakistan.

In Kashmir, the re-arrest of Sheikh Abdullah made Nehru unhappy but he supported the decision of the Jammu & Kashmir Government to proceed against Abdullah given his 'anti-national' activities....

Nehru went on a five-day visit to Kerala, the first State to be ruled by the Communist Party of India....(and) spent about a month at Manali in the Kulu Valley to rest, read and reflect.... He made use of the leisure at Manali to write a rather long letter to Home Minister G.B. Pant, articulating his views on the Hindi-Urdu debate.

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